

ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL

**CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS OF ETHNIC IDENTITIES:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF BELONGING IN THE URBAN
LANDSCAPE OF SARAJEVO**



Ph.D. THESIS

Tülay ZIVALI

Department of Urban and Regional Planning

Urban and Regional Planning Programme

DECEMBER 2022

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Thesis Advisor: Prof. Dr. Hatice AYATAÇ

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İSTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ LİSANSÜSTÜ EĞİTİM ENSTİTÜSÜ

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SARAYBOSNA KENT PEYZAJINDA AİDİYETE İLİŞKİN ETNOGRAFİK BİR
ÇALIŞMA**

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To my son Ali Beyrek,



FOREWORD

“Durmadiğın yer senin değildir”

“There, where you do not stay, is not yours”

“Tamo gdje ne ostaneš, nije tvoje”

N. Zıvalı

The above-mentioned observation goes beyond the notion of place attachment, but summarizes the main motive for this research subject in a solid manner. My curiosity for various kinds of attachments has started long before my academic studies. Moreover, my doctoral studies outreach far beyond the field of urbanism. This thesis presents just a small glimpse of research about place attachment and public space conducted in a period of seven years and yet, it does not feel to have been finished.

Firstful, I would like to express my utmost gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Hatice AYATAÇ, who became much more than a mentor since my stay in Turkey and throughout my doctoral studies. Since the day we have met and talked about the first intentions of my research, I felt the deepest respect and trust. She made everything go smooth -yet disciplined- in every step and every phase. I am grateful for her confidence in my abilities and the opportunities she has given me so far.

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I would like to thank my friends and family, but in particular my father Nedim ZIVALI for his endless and unquestioned support and patience.

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December 2022

Tülay ZIVALI
(Urban Designer)

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ABBREVIATIONS

BiH	: Bosna i Hercegovina
CEAP	: Cantonal Environmental Action Plan
EBDR	: European Bank for Reconstruction
FBiH	: Federacija Bosna i Hercegovina
EU	: European Union
GCAP	: Green Cantonal Action Plan
GHG	: Greenhouse Gas
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDI	: National Democratic Institute
OWHC	: Organization of World Heritage Cities
PA	: Place Attachment
RS	: Republika Srpska
SDGs	: Sustainable Development Goals
UN	: United Nations
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme
UNECE	: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
UNICEF	: United Nations Children's Fund
UNSG	: United Nations Secretary-General
USSR	: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WHO	: World Health Organization
WoS	: Web of Science
ZPR KS	: Zavod za Planiranje Razvoja Kantona Sarajevo



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CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS OF ETHNIC IDENTITIES: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF BELONGING IN THE URBAN LANDSCAPE OF SARAJEVO

SUMMARY

Citizens identify and differentiate themselves from others by exercising distinct, social, cultural and spatial practices. In this way, they build on the physical environment and adapt their socio-cultural structure to it. Increasing migratory movement patterns over the last decades raises the emergence of the changing socio-cultural assemblage of the city. Ethnic identity is one of the significant predictors within the light of this cultural variation. Ethnic representations and bonding to places does not only depends on the current urban landscape, but also on the memory of the place and how it represents the common ethnic identity in the multicultural setting. The most obvious portrayal of these representations appears in the core of the cities: the public space. Urban public space has a manifold comprehension in the socio-spatial approach of urban planning. Its multiple role and varying function within the urban landscape makes public space essential in shaping the public sphere. From this perspective, the process of the formation of the socio-spatial tissue of a city can be observed by focusing on public space. Public space is always contested by the existence of various kinds of people and is made in the very contradictions that take place in it through interconnected -but often exclusive- intimacies and their spaces. In other words, public space is generally seen as the place where the culture of a city is being (per)formed and where socio-spatial interactions become observable. One of the most important ways to examine the ethnic structure in the city is to try to understand how ethnic communities reads the city and how they position social relations and social processes on urban public space. Due to the the meaning attributed to the physical spaces of the city (or to the city as a whole) is subjected to different readings by ethnic communities with different cultural characteristics, physical spaces cease to be inanimate entities and turn into important elements in personal and social memories.

Sarajevo with its multi-ethnic character distinguishes various ethnic groups. Although, the major ethnic groups share similar values and traditions for centuries long. Therefore, the city has been faced with the paradox of diversity for a much longer timespan than most of the societies. A paradox, because ethnic diversity is a source of prosperity and strength. On the other hand, ethnic groups can possess places that they identify for themselves. And in between there is a thin line that has led to active conflict through the history of Sarajevo.

This thesis is an ethnography of how the multi-ethnic city of Sarajevo perceive and experience public space and investigates on place attachment regarding ethnic diversity in the context of Sarajevo. Accordingly, the main research question is stated as following: How is place attachment manifested in the multicultural urban setting? Related sub-questions investigate in the theoretical association between ethnic heterogene societies and place attachment on the one hand, and the experience of place

attachment from the perspective of experts and citizens in the context of Sarajevo. To unveil the research outcomes, a mixed-method model has been conducted and discussed in three stages, employing both quantitative as well as qualitative methods to mine the subject. This mixed-method model employs exploratory / theory-based research, descriptive / case-based research and explanatory / practice-based research stages. By the implementation of Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA), qualitative (narrative) data has been translated into either qualitative or quantitative results to evaluate place attachment in the context of Sarajevo. In scholastic sense, the study aims to extend the discussion around the theoretical background about the status of the individual and its representation within the society. Therefore, a systematic literature review has been conducted and a reframed theoretical model of place attachment (with the focus on ethnic diversity) has been proposed through reexamining main approaches and reclassifying prominent factors derived from existing literature. Based on a mapping approach, a morphological reading has been conducted to identify the spatial characterization of the representative public spaces through the four key historical periods of the city. The key periods have been evaluated with the Star Model of Publicness. This part illustrated the impacts of political, economic and socio-cultural dynamics in the transition of representational public spaces of each era. The proposed model of place attachment and related hypotheses has been utilized by applying an explanatory sequential mixed method for online surveys and in-depth interviews and evaluated through an axial coding method to produce experts' and citizens' narratives about place attachment in Sarajevo. Places of attachment and degrees of inclusiveness has been visualized to reveal the representational public places of belonging in the city. In this way, the study explores the spatial dynamics of human behaviour according to their ethnic identity that are a part of the inhabitants' daily life and thus to unveil the attitudes of place attachment in case of Sarajevo.

Moreover, the research provides knowledge about critical role of public space as ethnic representation and how it becomes a property of belonging. Both for the experts as well as the citizens a good comfort and image is essential to identify a place as 'successful'. Yet, the citizens identify historic values as significant for a place to prefer. These historic values are explained as shared Yugoslavian or religious values during the interviews. Experts think that both collective identity and personal identity plays a role in the formation of place attachment, while the citizens think that relationship with others can bridge a negative personal belonging to place. The perception and meaning to the certain experience may have common patterns within group members of a community which is preserved between generations. On contrary, in case of Sarajevo there seem to be an interruption in transferring values from generation to generation. Nevertheless, the results implicate that the age differences of people have a larger impact on the comprehension of place attachment, rather than the ethnic identity.

Thus, the research does not only stress on the physical factors of a broad historical comparison but is in a unique way associated with the contextual dynamics of the social structure. Consequently, the findings contextualize current debates concerning socio-spatial, socio-economic and political agendas in Sarajevo and the region. The research points out that these emerging contextualizations are twofold; the war-tourism in Sarajevo as stimulus for memory and the image of the city and, environmental attributes of place attachment in Sarajevo.

ETNİK KİMLİKLERİN KÜLTÜREL KARŞILAŞMALARI: SARAYBOSNA KENT PEYZAJINDA AİDİYETE İLİŞKİN ETNOGRAFİK BİR ÇALIŞMA

ÖZET

Bir kent, sonsuz sayıda fiziksel biçime sahip, ancak her durumda sosyal davranışı şekillendiren toplumsal koşullar ve ihtiyaçlarla ilgili olan yerlere sahip karmaşık bir organizasyon birimidir. Bu minvalde, ‘yer’ deneyimle inşa edilen bir anlam merkezi olarak tanımlanabilir. Mekânlar, hem daha pasif ve doğrudan bir deneyim modunda, hem de algılanış biçimleriyle birlikte, fiziksel atmosferdeki somut ve soyut ipuçlarını, mevcut varlıklarını ve zamanla dönüşümlerini içerir. Günümüz dünyasında transnasyonel göç dalgaları her gün dahada artarak toplumlar içerisindeki sosyal çeşitliliği artırmakta ve hiç olmadığı kadar birbirimizle hayatı paylaşmayı öğrenmemizi zorunlu kılmaktadır. Bu sebeptendir ki; toplumlar kendilerine ‘yabancı’ olarak tanımladıkları her bir mefhumla günlük rutinlerini paylaşmak durumunda kalmaktadır. Kentliler, farklı sosyal, kültürel ve mekânsal uygulamalar benimseyerek kendilerini tanımlar ve diğer kentlilerden kendini ayırırlar. Bu şekilde fiziksel çevreyi inşa ederler ve sosyo-kültürel yapılarını buna göre uyarlarlar. Son on yılda artan göç hareketi kalıpları, kentin değişen sosyo-kültürel birlikteliğinin ortaya çıkmasını gündeme getirmektedir. Etnik kimlik, bu kültürel çeşitlilik ışığında önemli yordayıcılarından biridir.

Etnik temsiller ve yerlere bağlılık sadece mevcut kentsel peyzaja değil, aynı zamanda yerin hafızasına ve çok kültürlü ortamda ortak etnik kimliği nasıl temsil ettiğine de bağlıdır. Bu temsillerin en belirgin tasviri şehirlerin merkezinde, yani kamusal alanlarda ortaya çıkmaktadır. Kentsel kamusal alan, kent planlamasının sosyo-mekânsal yaklaşımı ile çoklu bir anlayışa sahiptir. Kamusal alan her zaman çeşitli kimliklerin mevcudiyeti dahilinde tartışılmaktadır ve bu kimliklerin birbiri ile bağlantısı çoğu zaman dışlayıcı eylemler içermektedir. Burada fizik mekânın ise bu eylemlere aracı olarak yön gösterdiği ve farklı kimlikler tarafından sahiplenildiği gözlemlenmektedir. Böylece kamusal mekânların, kentsel peyzaj içindeki çoklu rolü ve değişken işlevi, kamusal ortamın şekillenmesinde önemli rol oynamaktadır. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, bir kentin sosyo-mekânsal dokusunun oluşum ve değişim süreci kamusal alana odaklanarak gözlemlenebilir. Kentteki etnik yapıyı incelemenin en önemli yollarından biri, etnik toplulukların kenti nasıl okuduklarını ve kentsel kamusal alan üzerindeki toplumsal ilişkiler ve toplumsal süreçlerde nasıl konumlandıklarını anlamaya çalışmaktır. Kentin fiziksel mekânlarına (veya bir bütün olarak kente) yüklenen anlam, farklı kültürel özelliklere sahip etnik topluluklar tarafından farklı okumalara tabi tutulduğundan, fiziksel mekânlar cansız varlıklar olmaktan çıkarak kişisel ve toplumsal hafızalarda önemli unsurlara dönüşmektedir.

Saraybosna’da farklı etnik gruplar yüzyıllardır benzer değerleri ve gelenekleri paylaşırsa da, kent çok etnikli karakteri ile çeşitli etnik grupları birbirinden ayırmaktadır. Bu mânâda, Saraybosna birçok toplumdan çok daha önce çeşitlilik paradoksu ile yüzleşmiş bir kenttir. Bu paradoks hem etnik çeşitliliğin bir refah ve güç

kaynağı olduğunu, hem de etnik grupların kendileri için tanımladıkları mekânları sahiplenme eylemini gösterebilirler. İşte bu iki denge arasındaki ince çizgi Saraybosna tarihi boyunca aktif çatışmalara neden olmuştur. Bosna Hersek'te 2030 Sürdürebilir Kalkınma Hedefleri çerçevesinin perspektifleri, diğer önceliklerin yanı sıra 'eşit fırsatlar toplumu' için bir kalkınma yolu için çabalamaktadır. Bu önceliğin ilke ve hedefi, toplumsal cinsiyet, istihdam, ekonomik ve her şeyden önce sosyo-kültürel eşitliği sağlamak için oluşturulmuştur. Etnik azınlıkların kamu tesislerine eşit ve güvenli erişiminin izlenmesi ve geliştirilmesi ve farklı etnik kimlikler arasındaki sosyal uyumun güçlendirilmesi, Bosna Hersek'te topluluklar arasında artan karşılıklı saygı, güven ve empati seviyelerine ulaşmak amacıyla öncelikli olarak oluşturulmuştur. Bu çerçevede, Saraybosna özelinde etnik yapıyı ve buna dair kentsel yansımaları anlamak ve kavramak elzemdir.

Bu tez, çoklu etnik yapıya sahip Saraybosna kentinin kamusal mekânı nasıl algıladığı ve deneyimlediğine dair bir etnografik çalışmadır ve Saraybosna bağlamında etnik çeşitliliğe ilişkin mekân aidiyetini araştırmaktadır. Çalışma çerçevesinde temel araştırma sorusu şu şekilde ifade edilmiştir: Çok kültürlü kentsel ortamda mekân aidiyeti nasıl ortaya konmaktadır? İlgili alt sorular, bir yanda etnik heterojen toplumlar ve mekân aidiyeti arasındaki teorik ilişkiyi, diğer yandan Saraybosna bağlamında uzmanlar ve kentliler açısından mekân aidiyeti deneyimini araştırmaktadır. Araştırma kapsamında etnik grupların mekân ile bağları ve mekân üzerindeki temsilleri, sadece fiziksel özellikler üzerinden değil, kent hafızası, toplumun kolektif belleği ve grup kimliklerinin çok kültürlü ortamlarda temsil edilmesi gibi konularla ilişkilendirilmiştir.

Araştırmayı yürütmek için hem nicel hem de nitel yöntemleri kullanan karma yöntemli bir model uygulanmıştır ve çalışma üç aşamada ilerletilmiştir. Bu karma yöntemli model kapsamında çalışma, keşfedici / teoriye dayalı araştırma, tanımlayıcı / vakaya dayalı araştırma ve açıklayıcı / uygulamaya dayalı araştırma aşamalarından oluşmaktadır. Etnografik İçerik Analizinin (ECA) yaklaşımı ile, nitel (anlatısal) veriler, Saraybosna bağlamında mekân aidiyetini değerlendirmek için nitel veya nicel sonuçlara çevrilmiştir. Çalışma, skolastik anlamda, bireyin statüsü ve toplumdaki temsili hakkındaki tartışmayı teorik arka plan etrafında genişletmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu nedenle, ana yaklaşımları yeniden çerçeveyerek ve mevcut literatürden türetilen, öne çıkan faktörleri yeniden sınıflandırarak, (etnik çeşitliliğe odaklanan) yeniden çerçevelenmiş bir mekân aidiyeti modeli önerilmiştir. Haritalama yaklaşımına dayalı olarak, kentin dört ana tarihsel dönemi boyunca temsili kamusal alanların mekânsal karakterizasyonunu belirlemek için morfolojik bir okuma yapılmıştır. Ana dönemler Yıldız Modeli (Star Model) ile değerlendirilmiştir. Bu bölüm, her dönemin temsili kamusal alanlarının geçişinde siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyo-kültürel dinamiklerin etkilerini ortaya koymaktadır. Önerilen mekân aidiyeti modeli ve ilişkili hipotezler, sıralı açıklayıcı karma yöntem kullanılarak, Saraybosna'da mekân aidiyeti hakkında uzmanların ve kentlilerin anlatılarının üretilmesi için veri toplama için anket ve derinlemesine görüşme uygulanmıştır ve analiz / değerlendirme için eksenel kodlama yoluna başvurulmuştur. Kentteki temsili kamusal aidiyet mekânlarını ortaya çıkarmak için aidiyet mekânları ve kapsayıcılık (inclusiveness) dereceleri görselleştirilmiştir. Bu şekilde, çalışma, günlük yaşamının bir parçası olan etnik kimliklerine göre insan davranışının mekânsal dinamiklerini irdelemekte ve böylece sosyal ayrışma ve uyumun yapıları çevre ile nasıl bir ilişki içinde olduğunu ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır. Buna göre, bu çalışma kısmen 'aşağıdan yukarıya' (bottom-up) bir bakış açısı olarak, kentlilerin bireysel hikayelerini merkezine alıyor. Bu bağlamda araştırma sırasında şu

konular incelenmiştir; Etnik çeşitlilik vurgusu ile mekân aidiyetinin teorik temelleri; Saraybosna'da sosyo-kültürel ve sosyo-mekânsal çevreyi etkileyen tarihsel kırılma noktaları; ve Saraybosna özelinde mekân aidiyeti ile ilgili ortaya çıkan öncelikli sorunsallar.

Araştırma, kamusal alanın etnik temsil olarak kritik rolü ve nasıl bir aidiyet özelliği haline geldiği hakkında bilgi vermektedir. Hem uzmanlar hem de kentliler için iyi bir konfor ve imge, bir mekânı 'başarılı' olarak tanımlamak için esastır. Fakat, kentliler tarihi değerleri bir yerin tercih edilmesi için önemli bulmaktadırlar. Bu tarihi değerler, görüşmeler sırasında ortak Yugoslavya veya dini değerler olarak açıklanmıştır. Uzmanlar, hem kolektif kimliğin hem de kişisel kimliğin yer bağlılığının oluşumunda rol oynadığını düşünürken, kentliler başkalarıyla olan olumsuz kişisel ilişkinin mekan aidiyet arasında köprü kurabileceğini düşünmektedirler.

Kişisel ve toplumsal belleğin boyutu, bir yere bağlanmanın oluşmasında en önemli unsur olarak görülmektedir. Hafızada kalan bir yer ögesine ilişkin algılar, mekânın kullanım şekline, kullanım süresine ve en önemlisi mekânı kullanan kişiye göre değişiklik göstermektedir. Belirli bir deneyimin algısı ve anlamı, nesiller arasında korunan bir topluluğun grup üyeleri içinde ortak kalıplara sahip olabilir. Aksine, Saraybosna'da kuşaktan kuşağa değerlerin aktarılmasında sekteye uğramış gibi görünüyor. Bununla birlikte sonuçlar, etnik kimlikten ziyade insanların yaş farklılıklarının mekân aidiyetinin oluşumunda daha büyük bir etkiye sahip olduğunu göstermektedir.

Çalışma, yalnızca geniş bir tarihsel karşılaştırmının fiziksel faktörlerini vurgulamakla kalmaz, aynı zamanda sosyal yapının bağlamsal dinamikleriyle özgün bir şekilde ilişkilidir. Sonuç olarak, bulgular Saraybosna ve bölgedeki sosyo-mekânsal, sosyo-ekonomik ve politik gündemlerle ilgili güncel tartışmaları bağlamsallaştırmaktadır. Araştırma, ortaya çıkan bu bağlamsallaştırmaların iki yönlü olduğuna işaret ediyor; hafıza ve kent imgesi için uyarıcı olarak Saraybosna'daki savaş turizmi ve Saraybosna'da mekân aidiyetinin çevresel nitelikleri.

Günümüzde, savaşın teşviikiyle çok sayıda turist Saraybosna'yı ziyaret etmektedir. Bu anlamda, savaş temelli turizm, sosyo-mekânsal dokunun canlanması ve toparlanması için birçok yeni fırsat yaratmış ve kente gelir sağlanmasına yardımcı olmuş ve özellikle turizm, zanaat ve dış kaynakların kullanımı alanlarında yerel toplum için (yeniden) iş olanakları yaratmıştır. Kişisel görüşmelere dayanarak, savaş turizmine yönelik tutumlar ve izlenimler üç kategoride sınıflandırılabilir; ahlaki farkındalık kaynağı olarak görülen savaş turizmi; ekonomik kalkınmanın birincil kaynağı olarak görülen savaş turizmi; ve savaş turizminin, Bosna Hersek'in kültürel ve doğal değerlerine karşı etik bir başarısızlık ve aşağılanma olarak görülmesidir. Ayrıca araştırma sonuçlarına göre, mekâna bağlılığın çevresel özellikleri, bireysel deneyimle ve kişisel duygularla çok yakından ilişkilidir. Özellikle sosyo-kültürel, ekonomik ve politik bir olay olarak savaş, bu deneyimlerin ve duyguların yeniden üretilmesinde önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Savaşın çevresel etkisi (ve dolaylı sonuçları), kanton düzeyinde politika oluşturma ve planlamada daha sonraki süreçler için ciddi zorluklara neden olmaktadır. Hava kirliliği yıllardır Saraybosna'daki en büyük çevre sorunlarından biri olarak belirtilmektedir. Ayrıca şehirdeki savaş sonrası demografik dağılımın ardından bu problem büyük ölçüde artmıştır. Kente fiziksel bağlılık ile psikolojik bağlılık arasında açık bir ayrım vardır. Bu tür aidiyetler Saraybosna şehrinin sosyo-kültürel, politik ve ekonomik gündemi ile ilgilidir. Fiziksel ve psikolojik travmalar sonrası koşullara (örneğin, savaş sonrası sosyal yeniden yapılanma, psikolojik rehabilitasyon) geniş bir

odak oluşturulmuştur, ancak mevcut politikalarda çevresel zorluklarla bütünleştirilmiş bu rehabilitasyon süreçlerinin etkisine daha az vurgu yapılmıştır.

Saraybosna yerelinde farklı etnik kökene sahip kişilerin kamusal alan aidiyetinde benzerlikler ve ayrışmaları incelemesi açısından ilgili literatüre açıklayıcı yaklaşım sunması, çalışmanın özgün değeridir. Savaş sonrası etnik çeşitliliğe sahip kentlerde toplumsal uyum, çatışma konuları ve kamusal alanların tasarımı farklı disiplinlerin bir arada çalışmasını gerektirmektedir. Türkiye’de de ihtiyaç duyulan bu bilgi ve görgüyü sağlama potansiyeli taşıyan Saraybosna kenti, çalışmak elzem hale gelmiştir. Mevcut çalışma ile Türkiye özelinde bir örnekle karşılaştırma oluşturulması halinde, araştırma ülkemizde yaşanan deneyimlere de katkı sunacaktır.



1. INTRODUCTION

A city is a complex organizational unit with places that have infinite numbers of physical forms, but is always related to societal conditions and needs that shapes the social behaviour. This behaviour requires a medium “created by human beings for human purposes” (Tuan, 1975: 165). Tuan (1975) describes ‘place’ as “a centre of meaning constructed by experience” (p. 152). Places comprise tangible and intangible cues in the physical atmosphere, their current presence and their transformation by time, along with the way they are being perceived, both in a “more passive and direct mode of experience” (Tuan, 1975: 152). From this perspective, ‘place’ is an “essential common good for developing collective and individual public expression” (Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2021: 83).

The ties and representations of ethnic groups on place are not only related to the existing urban landscape, but also to the memory of the city, the collective memory of (parts of) communities and the representation of group identities in multicultural settings. Ethnicity should not be reduced to a culture, because to practice from the assumption that a common culture is the basis for ethnicity, abolishes the cultural variation that endures within ethnic groups (Chandra, 2006) Therefore, “ethnicity and ethnic identity should be interpreted as products of intergroup relations” (Schimmele & Wu 2015: 4). Even nowadays, the increase of systematic and structural discrimination in the subjects of ethnicity and religion seems to be a global problem (Figure 1.1). This results in harming individuals or societies in forms of (in)active violence. Addressing the problem of discrimination through monitoring and evaluating gives the change to transform societies into “more inclusive, equal, resilient, just and sustainable systems anchored in human rights” (UN, 2022).

The exclusivity and complexity of the socio-cultural identity of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a result of its geographical position between the Eastern and Western civilizations. Traces of the past and present are being sensed due to many paradoxes of contradictions and discontinuities arising from ideological changes, through all over the country.

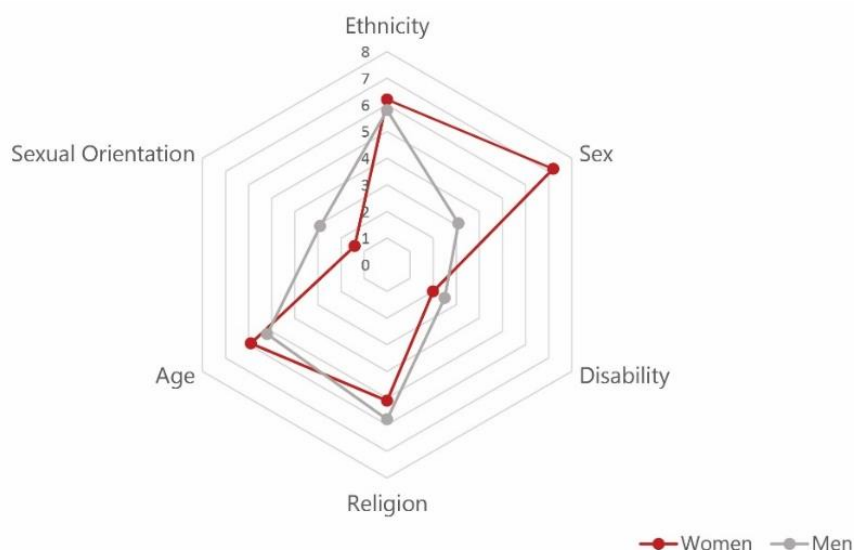


Figure 1.1 : Proportion of the overall population experiencing discrimination, by selected grounds and gender, 2017–2021 in percentage (UN, 2022).

Therefore, the perspectives of the SDG Framework for 2030 in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNDP, 2020) strives for, among other priorities, a development pathway for a “society of equal opportunities”. The principle and goal for this priority has been set up to achieve gender, employment, economic and -above all- socio-cultural equality. Monitoring and developing equal and safe access to public facilities of ethnic minorities and enhancement of the social cohesion between different ethnic identities has been formed as priority with the objective to reach increased levels of mutual respect trust and empathy between people and communities accros Bosnia and Herzegovina.

UNDP strives to tackle these problems with the following global indicators:



Sustainable Development Goal 10 Reduce inequalities:

“10.2 By 2030, empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status” (URL-1).



Sustainable Development Goal 11 Sustainable cities and communities:

The goal aims to encourage cultural participation and emancipation for inclusion of all people from different races, ethnicities and religions. Furthermore, providing open and safe access to public spaces for minorities has been strived (URL-2).



Sustainable Development Goal 16 Peace, justice and strong insitutions:

The goal aims to ensure inclusive, participatory, responsive and representative decision-making in harmony at all levels, particularly for opressed minority groups (URL-3).

Numerous concepts represent the many facets of how man interacts with the environment and other human beings. Place Attachment Theory is one of the most widely utilized social place theories in literature, identifying these interactions and allows to test them empirically (Prohansky, 1978; Cronon, 1992; Potteiger & Purinton, 1998). Recent studies on place attachment conducted by Lewicka (2011) indicate that in heterogeneous communities (eg. in terms of ethnicity), bonds with the territory less strong. However, Stolle et al. (2008) have demonstrated that strong ties with neighbours and frequent interpersonal interaction may improve the relationship with the territory and reduce the negative reliance. A variety of scholars on the topic outlines this contrast.

This research evaluates the notion of place attachment in the multi-ethnic environment of Sarajevo, one of the best cities representing its demographic balance. In this way, the study reviews and reframes the theory about place attachment and aims to overcome the beforementioned disparity. Moreover, the research generates new empirical evidence and insights in order to be helpful for emerging policy making and practices in the region as well as in comparator contexts.

The thesis exists of five chapters. Following the introduction chapter, chapter two outlines the theoretical foundations for the research, presenting a literature review

about the relation between ethnic diversity and public space, which discovers main approaches in the field. The chapter then provides an overview about (and (re)defines) place attachment. It explores the theoretical approaches for the concept and suggest a reframed model of place attachment regarding ethnic diversity. Particularly, five dimensions of place attachment regarding ethnic diversity are identified relevant for the following empirical study.

Chapter three introduces the case of Sarajevo. The chapter first introduces the larger context of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its spatial and geopolitical location in the Balkan peninsula and sheds light on the socio-spatial and socio-cultural appearances in the state. The section then focuses on the notion of publicness in the city and evaluates the conceptual evolution of public space through Sarajevo's different eras.

Chapter four first outlines the methodological approach in detail. It explains the two-sided data collecting, namely the survey method with the experts in field and the in-depth interview method with the citizens and related sampling strategies and data collection techniques. It also clarifies the data analysis methods, whereby qualitative data has been transformed into quantitative data with the coding technique. The chapter then presents the empirical data and findings. It provides the results of the experts on the one hand, and the residents' insights about place attachment (and related issues) on the other hand. The chapter presents spatial analysis (mapping) regarding the results where place attachment is exceptionally relevant in the urban layout of Sarajevo. Furthermore, the chapter emphasizes on the emerging issues of the city affiliated with place attachment.

Chapter five concludes the dissertation by summarizing the main outcomes and answers to the research question(s), reflecting both theoretical as well as the case study-specific results. Recommendations for further studies and practices in the light of the public policies are also presented in this section.

1.1 Scope and Aim

The urban public sphere has a multiple understanding with the socio-spatial approach of urban planning. The multiple role and variable function of these areas in the urban landscape play an important role in shaping the public environment. With this approach, public spaces in the city - and therefore the physical environment - can be

defined as the integrity that determines the space in which people live and interact. As a result of this interaction, there is a mutual formation. While human actions determine and shape the physical environment, the urban physical environment determines and directs human actions. From this perspective, the formation and change process of the socio-spatial fabric of a city can be observed by focusing on the public space. It is precisely for this reason that in this study, public place is defined not only as a physical space in which activity occurs, but also as a space of experience / meaning (Glaser et al., 2012). One can build upon this in various research fields (e.g. environmental psychology, human geography, social studies, political sociology). Trying to understand the structural features and problems of societies and to examine the reflection of ethnic diversity on public space in this research, opens up a common area under the umbrella of Urban Sociology.

This research is an ethnography of how the multi-ethnic city of Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina) define and perceive place attachment regarding the urban public space and with what socio-cultural and/or spatial priorities the belonging to a place emerges and represents the multiculturalism in the city. The main aim of this research is twofold; 1) to derive new theoretical insights and 2) empirical evidence of experts' and residents' approach to place attachment in the multicultural environment of Sarajevo.

In a scholastic sense, the study aims to open a discussion around the theoretical background about the status of the individual and its representation within the society reviewing several past and present concerns regarding place attachment in the city. The aim is to question this dilemma and bring the practice of public space to the multidisciplinary theoretical domain in order to review the current understanding process of place attachment where public space is the drive in the multi-cultural setting. Furthermore, the study sheds light to the spatial dynamics of human behaviour according to their social relations that are a part of the inhabitants' daily life and thus to reveal how urban segregation and cohesion are related to the built environment in the pre- and post-war situation of the city of Sarajevo. Thus, the research does not only stress on the physical factors of a broad historical comparison but is in a unique way associated with the contextual dynamics of the social structure. Accordingly, this study takes partly a 'bottom up' perspective, putting individual stories of citizens at its center. In this respect, the following issues will be examined during the research:

- The theoretical basis of place attachment with the emphasis on ethnic diversity,

- Historical breaking points affecting the socio-cultural and socio-spatial environment in Sarajevo,
- Emerging issues regarding place attachment in the case of Sarajevo.

1.2 Research Questions and Hypotheses

The research adopts the broad sense of place attachment and is set up to explore how place attachment – as a field of sense and activity that guide human attitude – facilitates prospects individual and societal behaviours to cope with the process of change in the case of Sarajevo. Accordingly, the main research question is:

- How is place attachment manifested in the multicultural urban setting?

Subquestions are:

- What is the theoretical association between ethnic heterogeneous societies and place attachment?
- How is place attachment manifested in Sarajevo from the perspective of the experts and citizens?

A critical outcome of the literature study is the contradiction of the impact of heterogeneous communities on place attachment. This contradiction can be divided into two approaches. There is a cluster of scholars that support the statement of Lewicka (2011) in which the author claims that in heterogeneous communities (eg. in terms of ethnicity), ties with the territory are weaker. On the other hand, Stolle et al. (2008) state that "good relations between neighbours and frequent conversations (social factor) can improve the relationship with the territory and significantly weaken the identified negative dependency" (Mantey, 2015). Based on this determination, the main hypotheses and sub-hypotheses of this study are:

- In heterogeneous communities (eg. in terms of ethnicity), ties with the territory are weaker.
- Good relations between neighbours and frequent conversations (social factor) can improve the relationship with the territory and significantly weaken the identified negative dependency.

Sub-hypotheses:

- Place attachment is based on the ability of frequent interpersonal interactions.
- Place attachment is the result of the interaction between experience in a place and the meaning making associated with that experience.
- Place attachment is a positive, affective bond between an individual and a specific place, the main characteristic of which is to maintain closeness (proximity) to such a place.
- Length of residence and efforts to return have a positive impact on place attachment.
- People tend to regenerate their homes, which they left behind, in their new, current surroundings to recreate a meaningful place yet again.
- One is being attached to a place mainly for its physical characteristics, resources and conveniences.

1.3 Research Design

The multi-ethnic case of Sarajevo since ages have suffered a war in the nineties and a demographic change afterwards. Due to this population change, economic, political and -last but foremost- societal relations have transformed. Despite these transformations, the society sheds light on past norms and values through its current experience and relations in the public sphere. Communities of different ethnic origins live together and reflect accordingly physical and mental attitudes, and as well as give clues about the past. In order to acquire these attitudes and clues, an ethnographic approach has been adopted throughout the research (Figure 1.2).

Ethnographic research in the research field is a branch of social and cultural anthropology where an ethnographer is obliged to spend a large amount of time in the field. To contextualize the phenomenon within the social and cultural context of the research participant, the ethnographer engages himself in their worlds of experience. To accomplish this deep interaction, ethnographers often depend on three types of data funds: participant-observation, interviews and field observation (Prus, 1996). Through these first-hand data the research encompasses a particular occurrence or/and relation between cultures, people, experiences and behaviours.

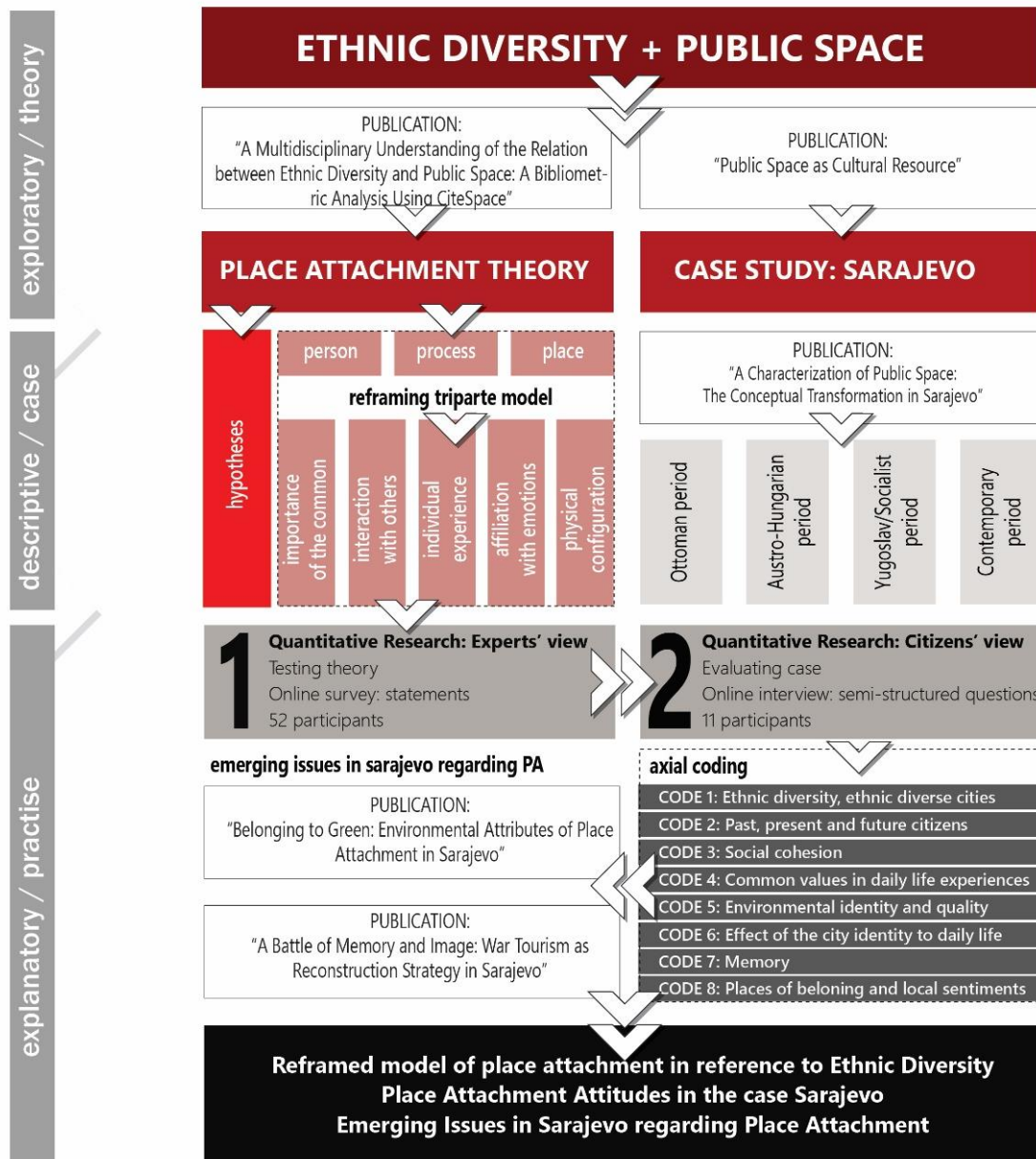


Figure 1.2 : Research Flow Chart.

1.3.1 Research methodology

One of the objectives of the research is to discuss the multicultural city through the phenomenon of place attachment both in scholastic sense and in daily public life. Sarajevo, which is the case area sheds light on the past with its unique memories and events. The memory landscapes formed in the settlements where diverse communities live together and accordingly reveal the non-physical mental representations of the settlements, as well as give us clues about personal perception and past experiences. Scarcity of online written documents and archival records about the socio-spatial layer

of Sarajevo city has led to methodological diversity in developing alternative tools to obtain data. In order to reach these clues, a mixed-method model was tried within the scope of the thesis and these were systematically conducted and discussed in three stages, employing both quantitative as well as qualitative methods to mine the subject. This mixed-method model employs exploratory / theory-based research, descriptive / case-based research and explanatory / practice-based research stages.

1.3.1.1 Exploratory / theory-based research phase

Since the research is carried out under the umbrella of urban studies, it is important to present the understanding of the relation between ethnic diversity as social phenomenon and public space as spatial occurrence. Literature review is one of the first steps to be taken as an in-depth and systematic search and identification of as many published research as possible (Gash, 1999). To define the boundaries of the research topics, capture new research directions and insights, catch up or eliminate previously methods regarding the research subject, a systematic literature review has been conducted. In the review, relevant data has been analysed with the bibliometric software Citespace and thematic clusters have been created. As result, Place Attachment Theory, an overarching theoretic approach related to the above-mentioned phenomena has been reviewed and a reframed model of place attachment (with a specific emphasis on ethnic diversity) has been proposed. Moreover, previous personal research regarding the region has been overviewed and linked to Sarajevo to establish clues or presumptive evidence for Sarajevo.

1.3.1.2 Descriptive / case-based research phase

To comprehend the status quo of the main theme and context of the research and to examine the concept of publicness in the physical urban layout regarding public spaces in Sarajevo, a mixed-method model was used to document and visualise the subject from a holistic perspective. To identify these clues, first a combination of archival and observational field research has been conducted to understand the conceptual transformation of public space in the case of Sarajevo. The city's representational public spaces of significant eras are identified and evaluated by its publicness through the Star Model (Varna, 2011). Furthermore, the inclusiveness of public spaces has been mapped and assessed.

1.3.1.3 Explanatory / practice-based research phase

The memory environment where communities of different origins (i.e. ethnicities) live together and accordingly reveal the non-physical mental layers of the urban landscape give us clues about the past and present experiences. An explanatory sequential mixed method (Creswell, 2015) has been adopted with a participatory approach. A quantitative study with experts (survey) has been conducted and then a qualitative approach has been applied with residents (interview) in furtherance of explaining and developing the quantitative findings. Hypotheses derived from the literature review have been evaluated by (1) 52 experts in the field and (2) 11 citizens of Sarajevo. The survey for the experts has been prepared by Google Forms and sent through email. Furthermore, in-depth interviews with residents are held as semi-structured interviews in which the participants are been lead by the hypotheses in form of questions. Each interview took approximately 60 minutes and is held in form of a video conversation through Zoom. The obtained data relevant for the research have been represented using various representation techniques and tools for the evaluation part. Data collected from the expert surveys have been transformed into quantitative representations, such as graphics, diagrams and tables. Data collected from the interviews have been analysed through an axial coding technique and according to the interviewees' behavioural responses and emotional states of the persons, in order to complement quantitative data of the experts.

Yet, a valid translation of the rough data is necessary in order to explore this repository. Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) is a research tool to translate gained qualitative (narrative) data into either qualitative or quantitative results (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Using content analysis the data has been quantified and analyzed. In this way, the expert study and residents' interviews have been studied separately, but have also been correlated to each other. In this sense both conceptual as well as relational analysis have been generated.

For each interviewee, a participant sheet has been created including their identity and quotations relevant for each code. A 'places of attachment' sheet and map (unveiling the nodal memory points regarding attachment) has been prepared and evaluated as representation for place attachment in the case of Sarajevo.

Two main emerging issues has been explored during the ethnographic studies. These concerns are theoretically discussed in detail and presented in relation with the participants' reflections.

1.4 Study Relevance

Key contributors to measuring the accomplishment of sustainable development targets are national statistics organizations. The yearly SDG progress report is developed by the UN Secretary-General (UNSG) in collaboration with the international statistics system. The 2030 Program reveals global data and attributes produced by domestic statistical systems per country/region. Reporting on the Bosnia and Herzegovina's progress toward reaching the SDGs will fall within the purview of the Office for National Statistics in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Working with government and non-government actors to identify nationally relevant SDG sub-goals and to propose a set of additional indicators relevant to the country are some of these. Others include the identification and development of new data sources and methods that will enable statistics to submit data at various levels of disaggregation (including religiously and ethnically). The monitoring process at all levels will be "rigorous and data-driven, based on individual country assessments and data that are high-quality, accessible, timely, reliable and disaggregated by income, gender, age, race and ethnicity, migration status, disability and geographical location, as well as other characteristics relevant to the national context" (UN, 2017: 13). Monitoring the progress in the implementation of the EU Framework directly contributes to the monitoring of gaps in equality by ethnicity, within the framework of the SDGs. UNICEF works closely with NSI and other national stakeholders in the Western Balkan countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia and North Macedonia) to ensure data disaggregated by ethnicity. The contribution of the research supports the monitoring process in case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also delivers significant designations for the regional scale.

The research offers a reframed model of place attachment in reference to ethnic diversity. Several motives and scientific gaps have been addressed by this research. The main motive to work from a socio-spatial perspective on the ethno-cultural diversity in the case of Sarajevo arised from the fact that the ethnic diversity in Bosnia and Herzegovina reveals that communities in some cities (e.g. Mostar) live very

divided which directly affects the users' behaviour on public space and is clearly observable in the city (Zivali, 2013; Zivali Turhan, 2019). This study is conducted to understand place attachment from a socio-spatial perspective arising from ethno-cultural differences in the case of Sarajevo. The desire to comprehend the bond between people and people, as well as people and the environment (and thus place attachment), research seems to be essential (and required), especially in a highly sensitive and dynamic geography with emotional and psychological barriers which needs to establish and enhance healthy social policymaking.

Furthermore, there is a necessity to enlarge the body of knowledge about place attachment regarding cultural diversity. Affective ties between individuals and places are not fixed in time and space if place attachment is thought to be dynamic (Low & Altman, 1992) and flexible (Brown & Perkins, 1992). There exists a vast amount of research in the field of environmental psychology covering tourism and heritage studies, migration studies and residential studies, but studies regarding multicultural societies and the relation to place attachment remains relatively new. This study aims to fill this gap and contributes to the existing body of knowledge by providing a reframed model of place attachment which is generated encompassing the conception of ethnic diversity.

Additionally, more than half of the existing studies used single research methods. Fundamental input has been brought in the methodology, whereby -despite previously used basic methods- a mixed method has been applied with the aim to evaluate and prosper both the intellectual as well as the pragmatic knowledge.

1.5 Limitations

The research emphasized on the attachment perception of both the experts and the residents of Sarajevo, taking the ethnic diversity in consideration. Since the organization for data collection was planned short before the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, the crisis situation had influence on the elaboration of the analyses that formed the basis of the thesis. The initial research design included an on-site field research of five months, whereby the participants would have been asked to contribute to the study by conducting commented walks in the city. Due to pandemic-related restrictions, the site visit has been canceled and the methodology has been revised during the research process. Possibilities for on-site research was not feasible and the

field study had to be conducted (mostly) remotely. The researcher had the chance to travel to Sarajevo in September 2019 for a week, but had limited accessibility and time to conduct full research on the site. Only observational studies have been carried out in the research area. In this sense, one of the challenges for this research was the planning and conduction of data collection process on distance. This preamble was drawn up in consultation between the researcher and the supervisor and approved by both. Due to the restrictions, it was necessary to approach the individual who have the most accessibility to the research and conductor. Remote data collection caused difficulties in reaching out to (local) documents and data and made the communication significantly more difficult with the interviewees. Concerning age and ethnic differentiation (which were the determinants in the sample), remote field research made it possible to detect ethnic differentiation between participants, as the author spoke to the participant in beforehand. Additionally, reaching out to the target amount of both expert and citizens was much harder than thought, as people (especially certain age groups) prefer to work in conventional ways. Interviews are held online as video conferences, which provided advantages such as more flexibility regarding time and place. On the other hand, obstacles such as the disability of the use of online platforms and connection problems.



2. THE SENSE OF BELONGING IN THE MULTI-ETHNIC SETTING

Concepts of space, place, identity, belonging and multiculturalism are dealing with each other on several bases and as a whole -due to their interrelated and even intertwined structures- forming the theoretical basis of this study. This chapter aims to (re)build a theoretical framework around place attachment with the specific emphasis on ethnic diversity. An extensive literature review has been conducted for the main construct of the theoretical infrastructure. The study provides insights about the critical role of public space as representation of ethnic value and how it becomes a property of belonging.

2.1 A Multidisciplinary Understanding of the Relation between Ethnic Diversity and Public Space¹

2.1.1 Culture and multiculturality

The international literature about culture is covered and widely defined by various scholastic disciplines. Generally in the field of urban sociology, culture defines social life, shaping groups, building social capital and creating identity for cities. According to Rapoport (1977), culture reflects a typical worldview. The worldview reflects ideals, and they are based on options that are extremely difficult to evaluate. Values reveal images and images reveal people's private life, their behaviour when making choices, what roles they play and how they use resources. Resources can be perceived as abstract (e.g. power) or concrete (e.g. money), but in a broader perspective, physical space is shaped according to human and is considered as an important resource since

¹ This sub-section contains content of the following publications prepared in the framework of the thesis;

Zıvalı Turhan, T., Ayataç. H. (2021). Understanding of the relation between ethnic diversity and public space: A bibliometric analysis, *Urbani Izziv*, 32(2), 73-86. doi:10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2021-32-02-01.

Zıvalı Turhan, T., Ayataç. H. (2021). Proučevanje povezave med etnično raznolikostjo in javnim prostorom: Bibliometrična analiza, *Urbani Izziv*, 32(2), 5-18. doi:10.5379/urbani-izziv-2021-32-02-01.

it is a tool used by human beings. Urban space are areas that are planned, organized or formed spontaneously for the society and benefit from the society. Unlike private life, urban areas are places where the activities of collective life continue and open to the benefit of all age, gender, occupation and cultural groups. Therefore, different cultures represent not only different ways of life, but also different ways of perception of the world and different value systems. In this context, values are a reflection of worldviews and -although they are easy to define and examine- they create a very complex picture when connected directly to the urban environment. The geographical features of any space cannot be isolated from its historical, social, economic content and cultural characteristics.

In most common sense the term culture is defined by Tylor as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by [a human] as a member of society” (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1979). According to this definition, the concept of culture draws wide-ranging boundaries to the social sphere. The study of culture contains systems of action, views of private and public life formed by world views, value systems, mental images or schemas and lifestyles triggering each other. These systems constitute a very central in human behaviour and environments, because behaviours can only be expressed and measured by specific actions or words. Besides, Tylor (1974) has considered culture as a social legacy which man acquires as a member of society. Similarly, as Izetbegović describes “The bearer of culture is man; the bearer of civilization is society” (1993: 46), it is necessary to comprehend the commune idea of the human being.

Society is an abstract concept and describes the organization built on the basis of social relations between individuals. Society is a group that is able to manifest themselves with a distinct identity around a common culture by at least partially showing a sense of unity on their own land. In addition, in order for a group to become a society, it is essential that it be an economically self-sufficient and biologically self-reproducible community consisting social institutions that meet basic human needs (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1979: 398). A distinction should be drawn between community, which is an internal group of people drawn together out of sense of belonging, and society, which is an external group of people assembled due to shared interest. A community is based on spiritual demands and ambitions, whereas a society is focused on material

needs and interests. In a society, people are anonymous individuals who are united - either separated- by shared interests, while people in a community are relatives who are connected by shared beliefs, mutual trust and the sense of brotherhood/unity. (Izetbegović, 1933: 170). Turner (1969) explains ‘communitas²’ by its origin as a spontaneous and self-developing community in which togetherness is in the core of religion, and cultural aspects of life such as literature, drama and fine arts, but its traces can also be found in laws, ethics, relationships, and even in economic (p. 171). Individuals act with certain perceptions and information in their minds in a life established by social relations (Sözen, 1991: 96). The influence of culture on this social understanding and knowledge is enormous as it is effective on social cognitions. Thus, there is a functional sense of culture (which refers to an organized structure of activity dealing with diverse past and present manifestations causing the human’s transmission and renewal) as well as an anthropological sense (which refers to the human’s way of life with its individual or collective norms and values).

As noticable, culture and its prolongment is always a complex matter, because exchange is never absolute, but in some cases it can be clearly characterized and indicated in several ways. The characteristics and principles of culture can be listed as following;

- Culture is learned,
- Culture is historical and continuous,
- Culture is social,
- Culture is a system of ideal or idealized rules,
- Culture meets the needs and is satisfying,
- Culture changes,
- Culture is integrative,
- Culture is an abstraction (Güvenç, 2003).

In connection, coexistence with different cultures is very important and necessary both in the world and in all societies (Taylor, 2014: 92). Cultural diversity is desired in the

² *Communitas* (Latin, noun) refers either to an unstructured community in which people are equal, or to the very spirit of community (URL-4).

idea of multicultural society. The problem of identity and recognition, which is the source of multiculturalism, has led to the emergence of identity movements. Identity movements date back to the rise of nineteenth-century nationalism (Calhoun, 2014: 167). The reason for the emergence of the concept of multiculturalism on the stage of history is immigration and the demands created by the culture, language, religion and ethnic differences caused by the migrationst. The main problems occurred in the identity movement were related to subjects as sexual identity, gender, and moreover ethnic and racial identity which formed the basis of multiculturality. Multiculturalism, raises the question of diversity and the question of identity and its recognition, problematizes the place and rights of minorities in relation to the majority, demands for acceptance of the community's uniqueness as a minority, demands for much greater social and cultural visibility and demands for much fairer, more equal access to public space and state resources. These demands for recognition of uniqueness and identity, usually ends in legislative action (from simple legal privileges to special privileges, or even to the assignment of the right to political autonomy). Requirements for the recognition of collective identities may relate to ethnocultural groups and various social movements and groups based on racial and / or ethnic admixtures (Semprini, 1999).

2.1.2 Ethnic diversity

Today's societies place a premium on cultural variety whereby usually referring to racial or ethnic variety. But when we consider cultural variety from a theoretical standpoint, the term "racial or ethnic diversity" raises the question of how racial or ethnic communities end up with different cultures, or more precise, how cultural diversity occurs and develops and if there are general processes to recognize in this development (Turner, 1999). The majority of the people erroneously believe that various races and ethnicities have distinct civilizations and thus different cultures. "Yet there is no necessary relationship between what we think of as race and cultural diversity. In fact, race itself is a cultural designation" (Allan, 2011: 108).

The concept has been undergone a change during the Middle Ages and has been used in the naming of non-Christian nations, that are seen as infidels in the church tradition (Amselle, 1998: 134). It gradually began to express racial characteristics and was used from the middle of the 14th century till the middle of the 19th century (Eriksen, 2010:

4). In the modern age, ethnicity is also used to define a community without political consciousness. The thing that divides an ethnic community from a nation is the idea of becoming a state is not been aimed. In this respect, there is a similarity between modern ethnicity and the understanding of ethnicity in ancient times. However, in the modern era, the assumption that each nation is based on an ethnic origin shows that ethnicity is not yet fully nationalized, but rather apolitical, whereas in ancient thought, the state community was excluded from ethnicity (Say, 2013: 158).

The concept of ethnicity is no longer used in the sense that it refers to race and tribe as in the past (Giddens, 2005: 133). The change of meaning of ethnicity through history of the concept of ethnicity has not only occurred in sense of race and tribe. Considering its historical development, it is seen that the concept has been used in different meanings since the ancient times. Today, -although ethnicity is still bounded with race or ancestry- it refers to a group that refers to a certain common identity as Giddens (2005) stated. It is known and adopted by all segments of society. Although there are (intentional or unintentional) graduations within the term. Upper culture or high culture is the general cultural characteristics that are valid in a society, while the subculture defines distinctive features of the communities in terms of religion, language, morals and ethnic origin with regards to the the upper culture. In this sense, ethnicity represents a collective recognition and belief (Say, 2013:159). It is seen that religious and cultural groups can acquire a sense of belonging and identity, as much as race and ancestry groups can do. Additionally, as Elliott (2010) points out that according to Hobsbawm's approach, the societies of the large territorial nation-states are so heterogeneous, that they are almost invariably and cannot claim a common ethnic origin. Giddens states that ethnicity shows the general form of expression of groups that can refer to identity.

According to Connor (2005), ethnicity has derived from the Greek term *ethnos*³ and characterizes a group of common origin. On the other hand Amselle claims (1998) that the real origin of the concept is based on the contrast between the terms *ethne*⁴ and *polis*⁵ and states that it is a political phenomenon, and in this sense, the science of

³ Greek, noun: people, unity of people with common blood or descent; sharing some biological or cultural characteristics (it refers to a basic human category, not a subgroup).

⁴ Plural of '*ethnos*'.

⁵ Greek, noun: 1) city-state 2) community of citizens of a city.

societies deprived from their own history. In contrast, Hutchinson & Smith (1996) and Peoples & Bailey (2011) argue that ethnicity refers to the common characteristics of groups of people and their traditions, ideologies and customs, which are said to be continuously transmitted over.

In today's world, many countries exist of many ethnic communities, and just in very few countries all citizens belong to the same ethnic/national community. It is evident that societies all over the world have not lived in fixed and permanent internal relationships in the past and do not even have a single center of value or belief system (Gellner, 1992). In summary, it is seen that contemporary definitions of ethnicity have been made in the context of social relations. For social scholars, ethnicity is a term that describes people who think that they have common characteristics that differentiate them from other collective structures in a society to which they belong and in which they exhibit unique cultural behaviours (or are viewed in this way by others). People tend to join others who have the same norms and values, whereby different groups of people evolve with different characteristics. One of the main approaches regarding this understanding is the conflict theory that emphasizes group differences. The classical conflict perspective sees all forms of inequality subsumed under class conflict. Clashes between groups are created by aforementioned differences and may lead to conflict. Tensions and conflicts arise when resources, status and power are unevenly distributed between groups in society and that these conflicts become the engine for social change. Mainstream sociologists helped to generate the paradigm of sociological thought and enquiry on this paradigm:

- E. Durkheim (American Sociology T. Parsons) who is mainly concerned with social solidarity,
- M. Weber (Chicago School-G.H. Mead) who is mainly concerned with status group,
- K. Marx (Frankfurt School A. Gramsci) who is mainly concerned with social class.

From a conflict perspective, race and ethnicity are mostly sources for oppression and conflict. Race and ethnicity can be used to devalue groups and to argue that they are inherently less than the oppressive group. Durkheim (1995) questions the creation of social solidarity and function of a diverse society and introduces the relation of

(ethnicity based) religion and conflict. Weber's outline shows that at the heart of ethnicity are other related variables such as race, culture, tribe, nationality and religion. Accordingly, public space is defined as an area of mutual relations, oppositions and negotiations (Weber, 1966). Marx & Engels (2008) consider that race and ethnicity are secondary to class struggle, however, other early conflict theorists saw racial and ethnic conflict as more central and even as the explanation of the classes themselves. The classes are defined as majority and minority, in this case through ethnic identities. As seen, religious differences can be seen as a sufficient reason for the identification of a community as ethnic, because the main factor in the existence of most of the ethnic communities exists of cultural characteristics, and in many cases, beliefs and practices arising from religion can be as effective as linguistic differences in social identification processes. The differences between the beliefs of the broad social environment -with which the subject community is related to (or may have an effect on) increasing the level of this sense of identity (Keser, 2008:11).

There are two main perspectives in the evaluations on the reason for the differences between ethnic groups. First, ethnic groups protect their own culture against the reaction of neighbouring groups. Second, cultural differences are associated with geographic and social isolation. Ethno-cultural differences persist despite interactions between ethnic groups. The emergence of a cultural partnership due to close relations does not eliminate the borders between ethnic groups, but sometimes makes them more (socially as well as physically) rigid.

2.1.3 Public space

People sooner or later join others who share the same norms and values. Yet, macrostructural theory argues that social relation -and we assume positive ones- also depend on composition of local community and its heterogeneity. Blau & Schwartz (1984) argue that heterogeneity promotes in-group relations, and as such it "increases the opportunity for members of different groups to get to meet and to know each other well enough for intimate relations between them to possibly develop" (p. 41). Public spaces are our urban commons, and thus one of the most significant 'common good' and a mediator for encounter.

The public space is basically the concept of political philosophy and occupies an important place in the ontology of the research field. Since it is a subject of current

debates, the concept of public and private space has been attempted to be defined according to the worldviews, political preferences of individuals, and the cultural/folkloric environment in which they live in. The above-mentioned approaches of public space have undergone many changes over the centuries. The word ‘public’ is etymologically derived from the Latin word *pubs* (*pubis*) and has been used as ‘*publicus*’. This term refers to people in unity and everything in common belonging to a community (Gökgür, 2017: 13). In its most obvious form, the mechanism of the ‘public’ – the individuals in a society and their engagement with each other – can be seen in the core of the cities; the public space. Public spaces belong to and are for everyone. The city centre must emphasize openness; everyone should be able to feel ‘at home’ in the city. Therefore, these places do not refer only to the space or only concern the built environment, but has a much broader meaning in urban life. The social significance of public space is immense for the vitality of the city.

While the concept of public space is attributed to political philosophy, it turns out that it was shaped during the functioning of the Ancient Greek state (*polis*). Regarding this appearance, Aristotle mentions (comments conservatively) about an order planned by Hippodamos⁶. The lands within this order were sacred, public and private. Accordingly, the lowest order of life is related to the works of the body; this life represents the private space. According to Aristotle, the public space is the place where politics takes place. The human being freed from the difficulties of this life fronts to the political sphere of life -the ‘*polis*’-, thus the public space (Aristotle & Jowett, 1999). The ‘*agora*’ (Figure 2.1a) was the central point of political, economic and social life and was a lively public space in the ancient Greek city, which remained very important for the functioning of political and commercial life in the city became a symbol of the public sphere in modern literature. The ‘*forum*’ (Figure 2.1b) is the Roman counterpart of the agora. The forum gathered political religious activities and was the venue for political and civic consultation. Besides temples and offices, shops

⁶ “The city of Hippodamus was composed of 10,000 citizens divided into three parts—one of artisans, one of husbandmen, and a third of armed defenders of the state. He also divided the land into three parts, one sacred, one public, the third private: the first was set apart to maintain the customary worship of the Gods, the second was to support the warriors, the third was the property of the husbandmen. He also divided laws into three classes, and no more, for he maintained that there are three subjects of lawsuits—insult, injury, and homicide” (Aristotle, Jowett, 1999: 37).

and markets, as well as theatres and a public bathhouse were to be found there. However, the commercial parts were only adjacent to the forum and not a part of it.

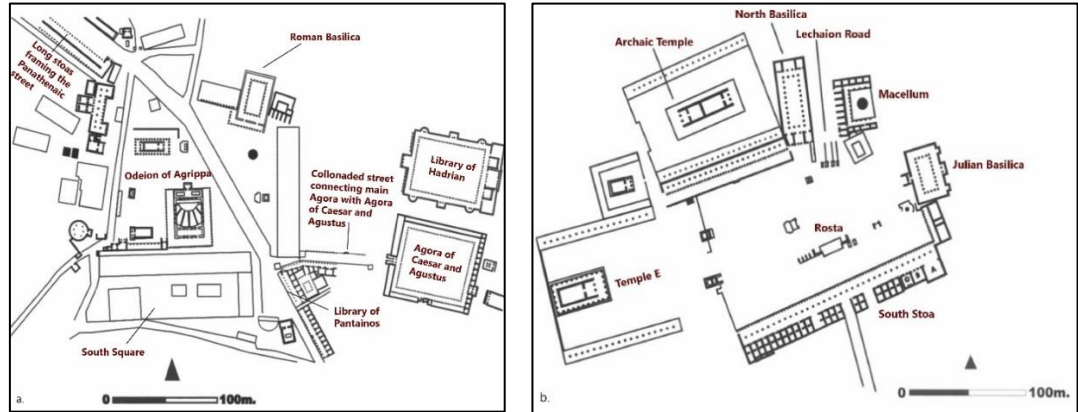


Figure 2.1 : a) The Agora of Athens in the second century; b) The forum of Corinth in the first century (Evangelidis, 2014).

Especially from the second half of the 20th century on, the quality, content and characteristics of public spaces have completely changed. The field descriptions that emerged as "common" areas for citizens" in the 1950s and 1960s turned into the concept of "public space" in the 1970s. Over the years, many contemporary scholars from various disciplines have contributed extensive research on this notion. Although publicity, and related concept such as the public sphere, public realm and public space are concerned by mainstream scholars as Arendt, Habermas and Sennett.

In Habermas's approach, the concept of public sphere (*Öffentlichkeit*) is considered as a factual/historical on the one hand, but loaded with a normative content on the other hand. The author (1991) aims to depict the historical rise and fall of a liberal bourgeois model of the public sphere and (1978) defines the public space as public sphere physically and symbolically. Habermas took a physical approach because streets, avenues and squares can express society itself in a positive or negative way. In addition, the occurrence of "public sphere"⁷ in a symbolic sense is due to the fact that it is an area where the necessary information circulates in the formation of public thought, public opinion, that is, individual judgment, and the freedom of the press is guaranteed (Gökgür, 2017: 14). In other words, Habermas's approach to the public

⁷ Habermas (1991) defines the public sphere as the sphere of private individuals come together as a public.

sphere is related to democracy and the rule of law. Free and equal people can negotiate on any issue using the public sphere as medium.

Arendt (1998) argues that the only way for people to make sense of what they know and experience is to be able to speak about it, and that this is the public sphere. Conforming to this approach of Arendt, public spaces are places where people act together in harmony. It is "participation" that separates the public space from the political space and the living space. Similar to Habermas, the public realm is considered from a normative point of view, and it is seen that it is basically considered as the formation area of public opinion to be formed with the active participation of the members of the society in order to prevent the totalitarian/dominant structures that form a barrier against ensuring human freedom (in the sense of generating ideas about the creation of oneself and about the society/community in which they live in).

Similar to Habermas and Arendt, Sennett claims that the public sphere is in the state of decline and has lost its effect compared to the past and considers this as a problem. Hereby, the philosophers have tried to indicate with a broad philosophical background that the loss of the public sphere means the disappearance of the most basic human abilities. In *The Fall of Public Man* (2003), Sennett argues that public spaces are no longer places where people express their public opinion by encountering with each other. In the development of modern urban individualism, the individual has become more silent in the city. Streets, cafes, shops, train bus stations, subways have become places where people look around rather than talk (Sennett, 1994).

The three approaches of the public space (each mentioned as different notions) emphasize on the "public" relation caused by discourse and communication (i. e. encounter) and its reflection on the physical occurrence of public space. The main feature of public space is openness. Firstly, openness means that actions and discourses in the public space can be seen and heard by everyone and they are announced and carried out in the widest possible way. Secondly, openness means that anyone can participate in activities and discussions on public space (Arendt, 1998). In this sense, openness means that the public space is a space without boundaries for certain people, but a space that is open to everyone's participation, is accessible and is not exclusionary but rather foster inclusiveness (Simmel, 1918; Habermas, 1991; Arendt, 1998). Moreover, the public space is in this sense a collective body (Arendt, 1998: 221), a place for gathering and encounter and a place reflecting identity. The established urban

planning theory and practice are distinctly pro-social: socializing in open public spaces is encouraged (Rishbeth et al., 2018: 37) at various residential levels in the city (Jacobs, 1961; Whyte, 1980; Gehl & Gemzoe, 1996; Carmona et al., 2003). Urban public space is thus a place where mundane practices articulate a personal and shared culture of sociability (Dines et al., 2006) and is therefore crucial for the quality of life of residents. As public spaces require a good visual and physical accessibility, Hillier et al. (1993) point out that “the most integrated spaces in the spatial system attract more movement, and with their gravitational force they carry the potential for creating social interaction” (Zıvalı Turhan & Atayaç, 2021). As ethnic variety expands, both disengagement and interaction mechanisms emerge in public spaces (Blumer & Solomos, 2015).

The public space, which is interpreted between the ‘state space’ and the private space, is an area where the state is subjected to a critical questioning, also differs with its function and location. These places vary in its physical characteristics where social activities, sports and cultural activities, public briefings, shopping facilities and commercial functions take place. Yet, it cannot be stated that there is a complete consensus on the concepts of public and public sphere within the Western intellectual framework. Although, there is highly consensus about the fact that public places (whatever they are) include to a great extend cultural reflections of the user; the ‘public’. Thus, in the context of human-public space interaction, culture is of great importance in terms of shaping the (urban) environment. Altman (1980) tries to define the concept of culture in terms of human-environment relations by separating it into various basic features:

- 1) Culture's beliefs and perceptions (values and norms) as a set of group or community behaviours and habits;
- 2) The use of the word culture to designate cognitions, feelings, and behaviours shared as consensus by a particular group;
- 3) The transfer of common beliefs, values and behaviour patterns from one generation to the next;
- 4) The emergence of culture in the physical environment; housing; settlement and the fact that the entire artificial environment reflects cultural values can be mentioned (Altman 1980; Turgut, 1990; Altman & Chemers 1993).

“Cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects. Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups” (Australia ICOMOS, 1999). Thus, places can have a variety of meanings for various people or groups. The place itself, context, usage, perceptions, memories and associated meanings, all have cultural importance. On the other hand, the representations of the common or shared cultural values are the forms of creating the common space. The struggle over representation of the common space may become an issue even before it is defined as the common space. It is possible for the common spaces to be misrecognised, corrupted and even usurped within and through these struggles. The dominance of socio-spatial identities may break the idea of the common. Some areas in the city may be occupied by closed and exclusionary groups and transformed into a collective or social spaces for themselves. These identities apply their own laws in the space and try to deny the existence of those who are different from “themselves”. It is therefore necessary to investigate potential ways for individuals to differentiate, construct and desire of common spaces. These places are not just the outcome of the activities that created them or the acts of interpretations. It is possible to experience common places as they form in the process of being utilized, defined, grasped, and conveyed collaboratively (Stavrides, 2012). Experiencing shared spaces as they are, is possible through their shared use, definition, understanding and expression (Stavrides, 2016). Shared space has always been a fragile spatial element that people shape through mutual relationships. In addition, an individual's cultural identity creates a sense of belonging to a place, making places meaningful to people. Representations of the public space or representations of shared space (space as a common property of a group that symbolizes a common collective identity) are forms of creating the common space. In fact, a common space can become the object of different representations even before it is defined as a common space. Due to different representations, they can also be misrecognized, isolated or abandoned and even forcibly appropriated.

Public space is a gathering place of different identities or, as Sennett (2003) states, a place where strangers meet and get to know each other. According to Hillier (1996) ethnicity is one of the most important elements of urban space. Ethnic diversity is a social structure that is formed on the basis of contacts between communities in the urban landscape. In terms of the ethnical value of culture in particular, the urban fabric

(and public spaces) are essential places of encounter for different ethnic and religious groups. Due to the wide variety of people living in cities, there are many different ideas on how and for what purposes public areas should be used. Disparate forms of perspectives and experiences on public spaces pose a significant challenge for intergroup interactions (CLIP, 2010).

Ethnic borders are primarily social, but they can also have a territorial aspect. Markets, parks, and public institutions such as libraries and swimming pools are examples of public spaces, but so are sites that were never intended to be gathering places, such as street corners or grassed areas between buildings. Consequently, the borders of public spaces may extend outside their zones. Barth (1969) introduces the ecological conception of the relationship of different ethnic groups towards natural resources in a territory. Human groups can coexist harmoniously in the same territory because they do not live in the same ecological niche (e.g. farmers and herders) and are often connected by economic exchanges or ritual ties, they can be essentially interdependent even though they do not live in the same ecological niche (eg artisans and farmers); finally, two groups may compete for the same resources in the same territory, in which case conflict is inevitable (eg if both groups are agricultural and there is too little land). This example counts also for ethnic diversity. Public spaces in the urban landscape can be considered as the “common good” or the “defensible resource” for ethnic identities in the same territory.

2.1.4 The conceptual engagement of ethnic diversity and public space

This section provides a constructive analysis of research approaches and methodologies applied to ethnic diversity as a social phenomenon in relation to public space which has been published in the journal *Urbani Izziv* Vol. 32 No. 2. The study examines 1,079 articles published between 1995 and 2020 included in the Web of Science database (Figure 2.2). The bibliometric dataset was manually filtered and query-based scientometric visualization was produced using CiteSpace software. The research explores how theory is applied and it outlines current trends, gaps, and common methodological approaches in the literature, which leads to new insights for the advancement of the thesis. The search was conducted in two parts. The first part was based on the word frequency analysis method, whereby the bibliographic records have been reviewed based on keywords. With this, the main topics of the contents have

been determined. The second part was based on co-citation analysis, which illustrates the frequency with which two (or more) articles are jointly cited in a third (more recent) source. The results of the co-citation analysis revealed the connections between the sources (and scholars) and, consequently, the current trends in the scientific field.

Criterion	Search terms
Query entry	ethnic* racial* racism + public space* shared space* urban space* urban public space* open space* open public space* common space*
Population	Ethnic groups
Setting	Open public space accessible to all
Outcome	Qualitative: perceptions and regulations regarding use of public space by ethnic groups Quantitative: correlation between ethnic groups and use of public space
Publication type	Peer reviewed publications indexed in WoS databases
Time span	1995–2020

Note: The asterisk retrieves any group of characters, including no character, in Web of Science.

Figure 2.2 : In- and exclusion search criteria for the dataset (Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2021).

2.1.4.1 Thematic areas

The keywords *public* and *space* evolve parallel to each other and appear to be connected to constant appearance across time (Figure 2.3). This suggests that research dedicated to urban areas is concerned with public open spaces. Public spaces, however, are not only studied at the level of the entire city, but also at the level of neighborhoods, which is evident from a considerable number of studies that focus on the spatial segregation of residents of urban neighbourhoods.

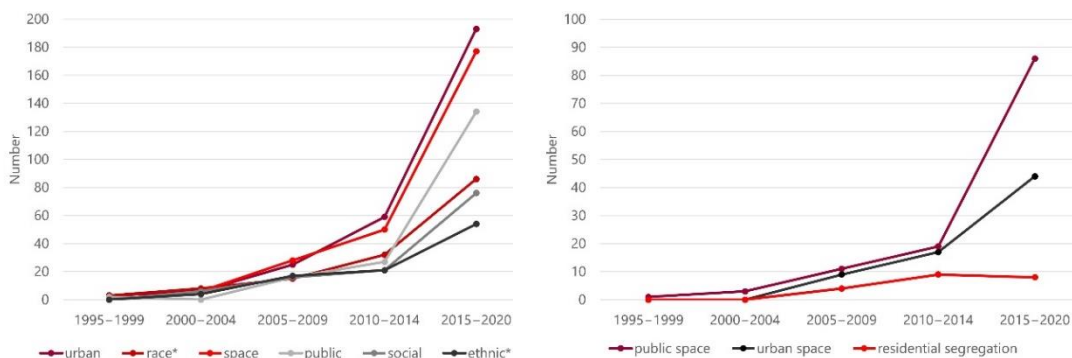


Figure 2.3 : a) most frequent keywords within the time interval; b) most frequent phrases within the time interval (Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2021).

Numerous studies show that people of different *race* and class do not encounter because of *residential segregation*. Examples show that the visibility of segregation is clearly seen while using public transportation (Swyngedouw, 2013; Lobo 2014). Furthermore, segregation is significantly recognizable in the school environment (Schmidt, 2015; Yu et al., 2018). A substantial quantity of research has been undertaken on the American continent, emphasizing on (sub)urban multi-ethnic settlements. Particularly, use of public space in mixed neighbourhoods with black and white *social* groups (Caliendo, 2011; Rollock et al., 2011; Gibson, 2018; Harwood et al., 2018) and including children and youth (Kaczynski et al., 2013; Vaughan et al., 2013; Trouille, 2014; Wilson, 2016; Rigolon & Németh, 2018) have been evaluated. Segregation has been defined in many studies in a broader context (such as educational segregation, spatial segregation, social segregation or economic segregation), and is often associated with urban violence, which raises questions about when and how segregation shapes violence in the sense of friction or active conflicts (Bhavnani et al., 2013; Trouille, 2014; Kutmanaliev, 2015; Ha, 2017; Zahnow, 2018).

Research related to terrorism and/or active violence against *ethnic* minorities on public spaces have also been an agenda subject. Articles that deal with multiculturalism and the integration of Muslim minorities and their daily activities in public spaces in the West (Schmidt, 2012; Kloek et al., 2013; Mohammad, 2013; Johnson & Miles, 2014; Hopkins et al., 2017; Joly, 2017) and the Orient (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003; Shuval et al., 2009; Monterescu, 2011; Aharon-Gutmann, 2014; Jadallah, 2014; Badarin, 2015; Shtern, 2016; Omer et al., 2018; Rokem & Vaughan, 2018) stand out.

The studies also address migration trends, mainly focusing on immigrants' sense of belonging in the *urban space* of the city and the opposition between homeowners and newcomers (Ryan, 2003; Ayata, 2008; Müller, 2011; Ehrkamp, 2013; Triandafyllidou & Kouki, 2013; Hall, 2015; Lobo, 2015; Demintseva, 2017).

On the basis of keywords, the research can be divided into four main thematic groups: “1) multiculturalism (the social phenomena related to the creation of ethnic diversity); 2) relation (containing the indices/parameters measuring the interrelation between ethnic identities or the relation between place and identity); 3) space (understood as the public space, the common good as spatial appearance); and 4) city (the constitutional system of networks that reveals socio-spatial relations)” (Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2021: 79).

2.1.4.2 Conceptual clusters

Links between articles form a network of co-cited articles show how publications differ from each other based on co-cited sources. Co-citation refers to how often two articles are cited together in other articles (Chen & Song, 2019). The indicated network contains 16 clusters of co-cited articles (Figure 2.4) and authors (Figure 2.5), of which six are the main ones. A cited author or article can be included in several clusters at the same time.

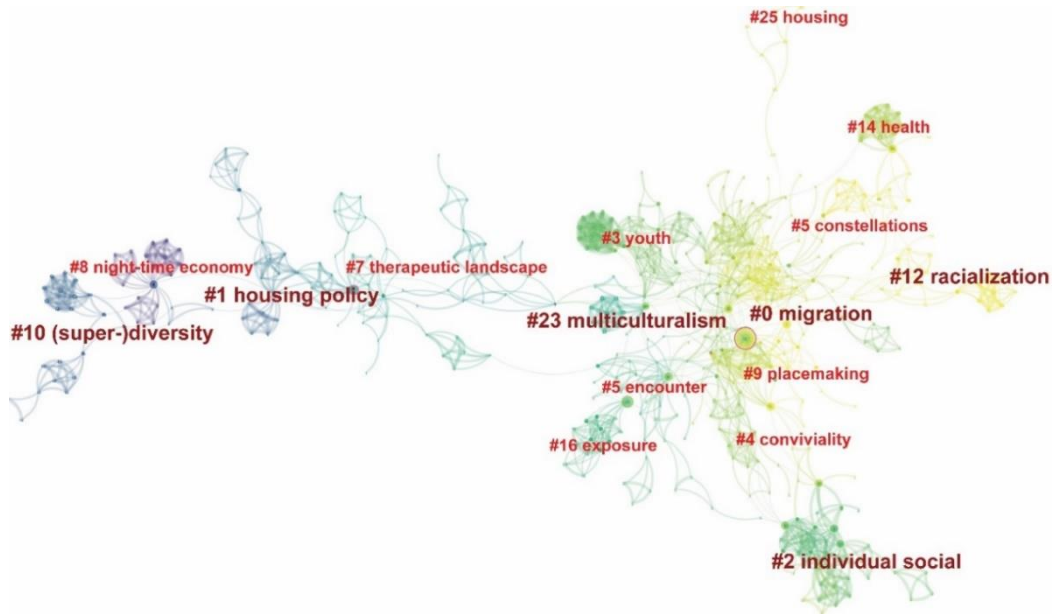


Figure 2.4 : Labelled cluster view of the review dataset (derived from CiteSpace: Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2021).

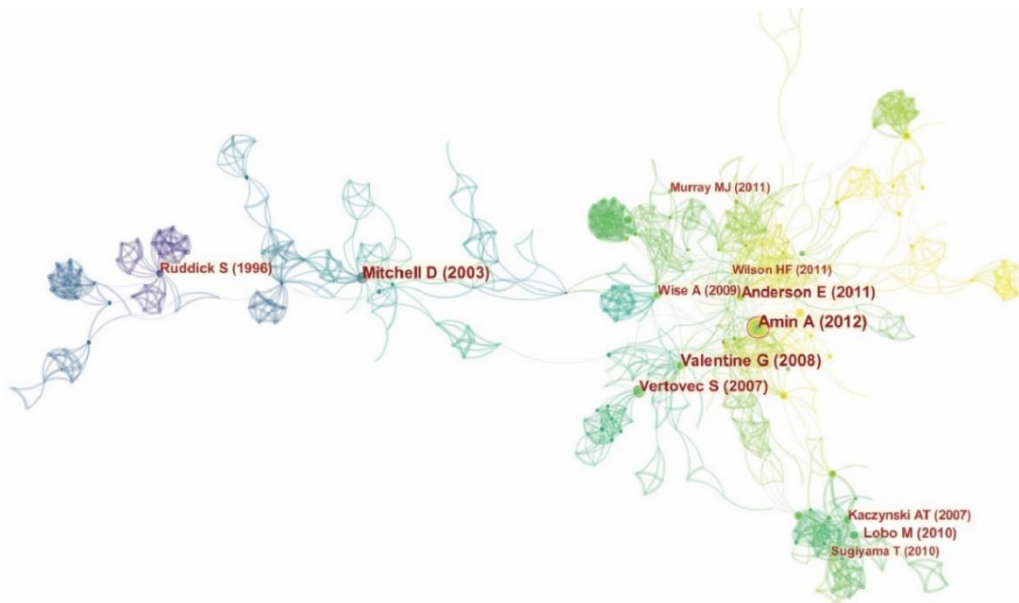


Figure 2.5 : Reference network of the major clusters (derived from CiteSpace: Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2021).

Also important are the citation hotspots, which show which articles attract a lot of attention in a short period of time (Chen, 2016) or are most frequently cited in a selected period (Figure 2.6).



Figure 2.6 : Top references with the strongest citation bursts (Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2021: 81).

The largest cluster (indicated as Nr. 0 in Figure 2.4) is “migration”. The most frequently cited author in it is Amin (2012), “who considers living with diversity and the role of public space in the city of strangers against contemporary urban policies with regard to the disposal of cohabitation of unwanted groups” (Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2021: 80). Urban management policies and the promotion of social cohesion can be formulated on the basis of studying how ethnic differences mediate on a daily basis in multicultural cities, but these formations are quite limited (Amin, 2002; Fincher & Iveson, 2008; Valentine, 2008). As Massey (1994) explains, the reason may be that the concept of place consists of a set of social relations that intertwine in a location. Eventually, places do not need to have borders that separate and limit people. In other words, places are progressive and open to the outside, not self-limiting or self-contained (Massey, 1994).

A sub-cluster, whose main theme is “place-making”, predominantly refers to the work of Mitchell (2003), in which the author brings the reader closer to the critical claim that the right to place must be defended through the most diverse forms of diversity, in order to achieve social justice. His work has also the strongest citation burst (Figure 2.6). He describes public space as a physical environment that enables the expression of an individual or a group, which can significantly contribute to the creation of justice at the level of governance and “when this justice has not been served, less-empowered groups often have difficulty accessing and using everyday public spaces (Mitchell, 1995)” (Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2021: 80). The articles generally refer to how people experience, exchange and deal with cultural diversity on a daily basis and propose new diversity management policies suitable for the current situation (Lees, 2003; Brown,

2006; Wise & Velayutham, 2009; Amin, 2012; Bryne, 2012; Bhavnani et al., 2013; Festić, 2015; Fredman, 2018). Vertovec (2007), having the second strongest citation burst (Figure 2.6), introduces the term ‘super-diversity’, which recognizes “multiple identifications and axes of differentiation, only some of which concern ethnicity” (p. 1048). Inequality between or within ethnic groups is caused by many other factors such as religion, social class, age, gender and legal status.

The second largest cluster (indicated as Nr. 2 in Figure 2.4) is “individual social”. Public spaces are “universally accessible, they offer one of the few opportunities for people to directly encounter other people with different behaviours and cultures” (Shaftoe, 2008:13). Publications in the second conceptual cluster therefore show that social relations in socially isolated areas can help defeat differences (Amin, 2002). They focus either on the relations between the majority population and ethnic minorities or on a single dominant ethnic group. The most cited author in this cluster is Lobo (2010) expaining the importance of place attachment as a socio-political factor that is shaped by everyday intercultural contacts in public places. Many research deal with similar topics and the importance of meeting in the city's public space. Wessel (2009: 7) states that daily exposure to diversity reduces prejudice. Although, the level of exchange is much more important than proximity. Even the exchange of politeness in public may contain prejudices against members of ethnic minorities (Piekut and Valentine, 2017: 177). Moreover, Valentine (2008) -the third strongest citation burst (Figure 6)- notes that that positive encounters with members of ethnic minorities do not necessarily improve opinions about these groups (Valentine, 2008: 332). Similarly, quantitative research has also shown that greater ethnic diversity in public space does not directly improve relations between people and their behaviour (Piekut and Valentine, 2017: 177). This confirms the approach that the intensity of contacts is not directly related to their meaning. Compared to other forms of contact, less intense contacts seem insignificant, but they are valuable as independent forms of contact and also as basic conditions for other, more complex interactions (Gehl, 2011: 15). Researchers therefore study under which circumstances ethnic heterogeneity can cause friction (Schlueter and Scheepers, 2010; Stolle et al., 2013; Laurence, 2014). For instance, there are studies evaluating the positive effect on the wellbeing of individuals or between individuals of a shared community (Cattell et al., 2008; Kaźmierczak, 2013). The authors notes that, in addition to the current social composition of these

areas, it is also necessary to focus on short-term changes in the distribution of social groups in space.

The research reveals that most of the literature in the studied field is related to geography, urbanism and sociology, with the selected publications related to a wide variety of subfields. The research addresses four main themes: multiculturalism, connections, space and the city (Figure 2.7).

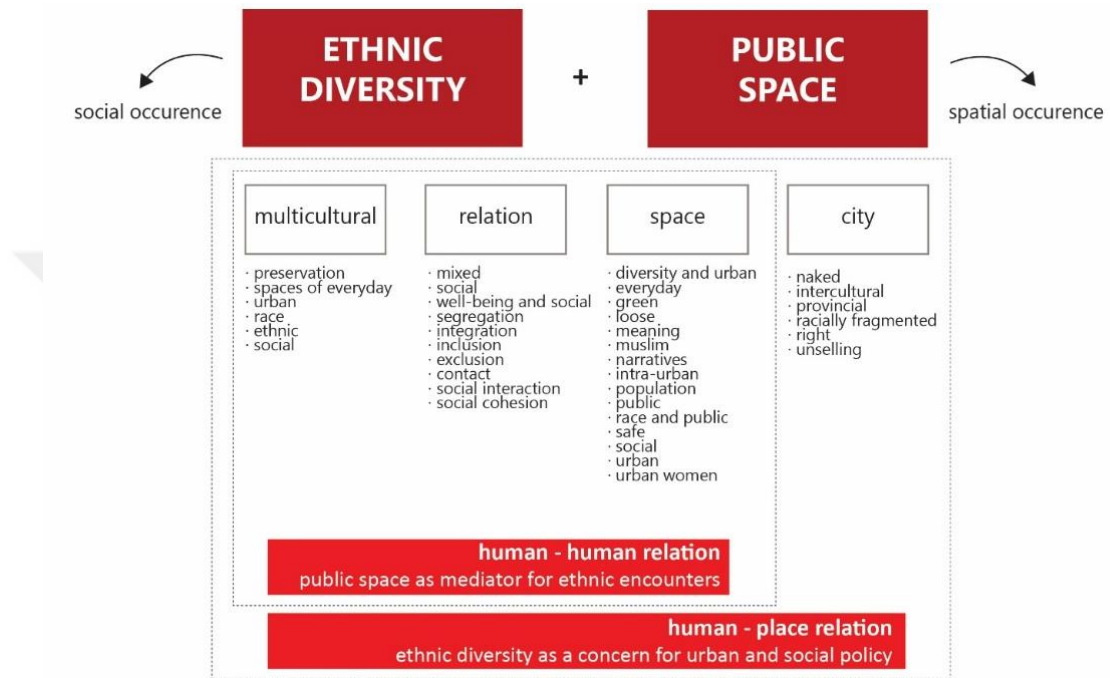


Figure 2.7 : Knowledge diagram of the literature study.

With bibliometric analysis, two main clusters were determined, which were analyzed from the point of view of the listed topics. Clusters reveal connections between people and places (socio-spatial connections) and between people and people (socio-psychological connections). The largest cluster concerns the connections between people and place and focuses on ethnic diversity as an important factor in urban and social policy making. Case studies in this cluster address socio-political impacts and efforts, particularly in relation to migration, asylum policy and refugee issues. The concept of place is considered as a common good that enables the development of a collective and individual public image. In the second cluster, public space is a platform for the realization of social relations and thus a meeting place of different ethnic groups or individuals within the same ethnic group. Although, investigations are insufficient and, in most research when analyzing behaviours in public space, ethnicity is simply treated as a covariate and the main focus is on differences between groups (especially

the relationship between the majority ethnic group and minority groups in the community). In this respect, the literature approaches public space as a place of competition, opposition or negotiation.

2.2 Place Attachment

The bibliometric analysis in the previous part concluded that comprehending the human-human interaction and human-place interaction is essential in the public space and ethnic diversity relation. Both interactions and intertwining rubrics are elaborately covered with the Place Attachment Theory. This section contributes to a more coherent understanding of Place Attachment, both in sense of highlighting place attributes which can be used for the assessment of case studies, as well as accentuating and explaining the significance of social interaction and individual and collective meaning within the contexts.

Place attachment (PA) is a concept that evaluates the dimensions of the meaning attributed to the place by the individual or group. According to the attachment theory, Fried (2000) named place attachment as “emotional attachments to the local or immediate environment” (p. 194). The concept of place attachment includes natural and physical environments, but beyond that, it is conceptualized with different theoretical approaches that include artificial environments and cultural ties that emphasize the connection to the home or living environment. The notions ‘place attachment’ and ‘sense of place’ are the most frequently utilized terms in existing literature. Yet, the term ‘place attachment’ is mainly used in environmental psychology, and ‘sense of place’ in human geography (Sharpe & Ewert, 2000; Kaltenborn & Bjerke 2002).

2.2.1 The theoretical basis of place attachment

2.2.1.1 Sense of belonging

Belonging is an abstract concept and expresses a kind of relatedness. The abstractness of belonging stems from the fact that it is a concept based on sentiments. The sense of belonging is important in terms of a person's attachment to life. An individual may feel like they belong to any other individual or place as seen in the first part of this chapter. Moreover, the sense of belonging has been a catalyst in connecting children to their

family, families to the society, societies to their nations (or homelands) and nations to each other (Karakeçili, 2015: 5).

As attachment creates a level of satisfaction, it is being considered as a need rather than just a feeling (Maslow, 1943). In Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943), human needs are classified into people's basic physiological, safety and social needs from the moment they are born (Figure 2.8). Maslow's idea suggests that the most basic needs must be met for an individual to strongly desire (or focus on motivation) secondary or higher-level needs. Accordingly, at the beginning of the most important human needs, especially immediately after the physical needs and the need for security, the needs for belonging, self-esteem and self-actualization comes. In this period, meanings such as the search for identity and the need for belonging begin to be questioned.

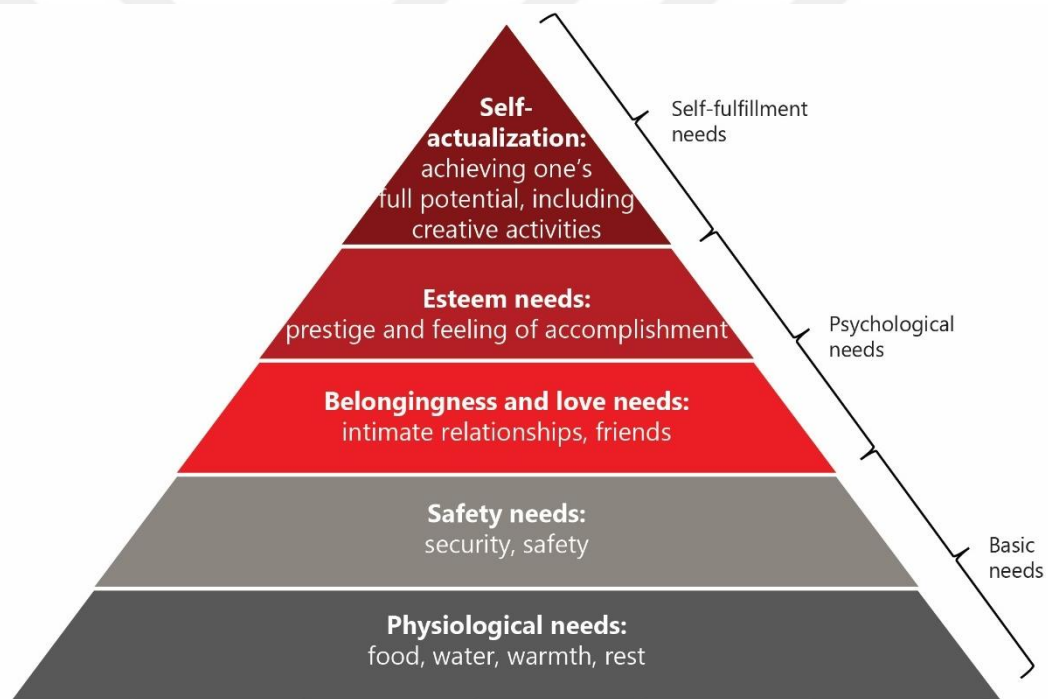


Figure 2.8 : Maslow's hierarchy of needs and the status of belonging (Maslow, 1943).

Once the physiological and safety needs are met, the third level of human needs is interpersonal and includes feelings of belonging. According to Maslow, people have an active need for a sense of belonging and acceptance among social groups, regardless of whether these groups are large or small. The sense of belonging varies depending on the depth of interactions. With social interactions, belonging to social environments can also be formed. Correspondingly, belonging to a social group can develop depending on social interaction. Of course, social interaction takes place on a certain

place, so the importance of place-based belonging should not be overlooked. At the same time, there are other scholars who have build on this ‘motivation’ theory in which they argue the attachment need has been considered as basic need (e.g. Alderfer’s (1969) ERG theory – relatedness, McClelland’s (1961) acquired needs theory – affiliation).

2.2.1.2 Attachment and place

Another dimension of attachment is spatial, rather than social (or sometimes spatial attachment through social attachment as mentioned before). The meanings attributed to the space are related to the belongings and are active in the process of transforming the space into a ‘place’. Places are (public) spaces that contain cultural characteristics. They are not just areas shaped by physical factors, but they are also affected by social, economic and cultural factors. Kaltenborn & Bjerke (2002) explain that the word ‘place’ “implies geographic space imbued with meaning through personal use” and perception (p. 383). Similarly and more comprehensive on macro level, according to Lefebvre (1991), space is both the product of society and a mechanism that is in constant transformation due to the changability of the society. In order words, place becomes the subject of a perception and design that incorporates social acts into itself. Perception and design means that the objective space (as a physical place) transforms into a subjective image, and therefore the objective overlaps with the social, cultural, psychological and economical aspect. In this context, perception emerges as a product of place and culture.

Cultivating and stimulating attachment to places increases, among other benefits, people’s level of self-esteem, wellbeing, positive emotions, freedom, comfort-security, memories and belonging (Scannell & Gifford, 2017). Individuals and communities appear to have a greater trust in people and better social networks (Lewicka, 2005) and more positive attituded towards the environment when they have a higher level of attachment (Lewicka, 2010). Place attachment is a complex phenomenon that incorporated several aspects of people-place bonding (Low & Altman, 1993: 4). Manzo (2003) argues that sense of belonging and the attachment to place develops with dimensions such as place, time, activities and experience, memories, the identity of the place and the identity that has been labeled to a place by the individual. Understanding the political character of the profound emotional attachments to the

settings in which identity is established, is the only way to comprehend personal identity (or 'sense of self').

In environmental psychology 'place' is interpreted as a space endowed with meaning through personal, group and cultural processes (Low & Altman, 1992; Lewicka, 2008) and approached on micro and macro level. According to this, the phenomenon covers different research fields, all with their own perspective. Additionally, place attachment is a dynamic process and seems continuously changing (Brown & Perkins, 1992; Low & Altman, 1992). Changing contexts affects the attachment to a place. Building a sense of belonging for social actors also takes place through enculturation. Cultural transfer between generations constitutes the accumulation that Bourdieu describes as "cultural capital" (Swartz, 1998).

Nevertheless, the most comprehensive approach to place attachment may be provided by Scannell & Gifford (2010):

The person dimension of place attachment refers to its individually or collectively determined meanings. The psychological dimension includes the affective, cognitive, and behavioral components of attachment. The place dimension emphasizes the place characteristics of attachment, including spatial level, specificity, and the prominence of social or physical (both built and natural) elements. (Scannell & Gifford, 2010, p. 1)

Place attachment has been often studied by focusing on the experiences and meanings that individuals or groups of people form to places. Also the differences between individuals having certain types of meaning have been studied quite a lot. What has been less in the focus of the research is the place itself and especially the physical characteristics of places people are attached to. Place attachment has often been identified through different psychometric or self-report scales, but these measurement tools often fail to assess the spatial nature of the place bonds. In empirical research place attachment has been operationalized (which means made more understandable and measurable) for example by using concepts like favourite place, happy place or meaningful place. Despite of the strong research interest towards studying the bonds between humans and places, this has not accompanied by advances in the theoretical and empirical aspects. Most researchers agree that the main reason for this lack of progress is the large number of concepts and measurements. In addition to place attachment there is a wide array of other concepts that come quite close, like sense of

place and place identity. Each of these concepts have their own theoretical underpinnings and empirical traditions.

2.2.1.3 Ethnic heterogeneous societies and place attachment: case studies

More than 400 research publications have been published in the past 40 years regarding the topic, and more than 60% of them have emerged in the past ten years (Lewicka, 2011). However, it appears that the current boom in research in this area has not been matched by an equivalent advancement in theory and/or empirical level. Almost all studies regarding place attachment research mention the challenge of conceptualisation and, in particular, the viability and a certain level of consensus of the concept (Giuliani, 2003; Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001; Jorgensen & Stedman, 2006; Lewicka, 2011; Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

Place attachment defined around ethnic identity is a crucial phenomenon to comprehend. Individuals from various ethnic backgrounds might have different affections with, experiences on, hence different insights about a place (Eckersley, 2017; Riley, 1992; Whittington, 2020). The geographic distribution of existing literature regarding place attachment has been shown in Figure 2.9. The following examples demonstrate how people's sense of rootedness create different levels of rights and ownership about a place in different settings.

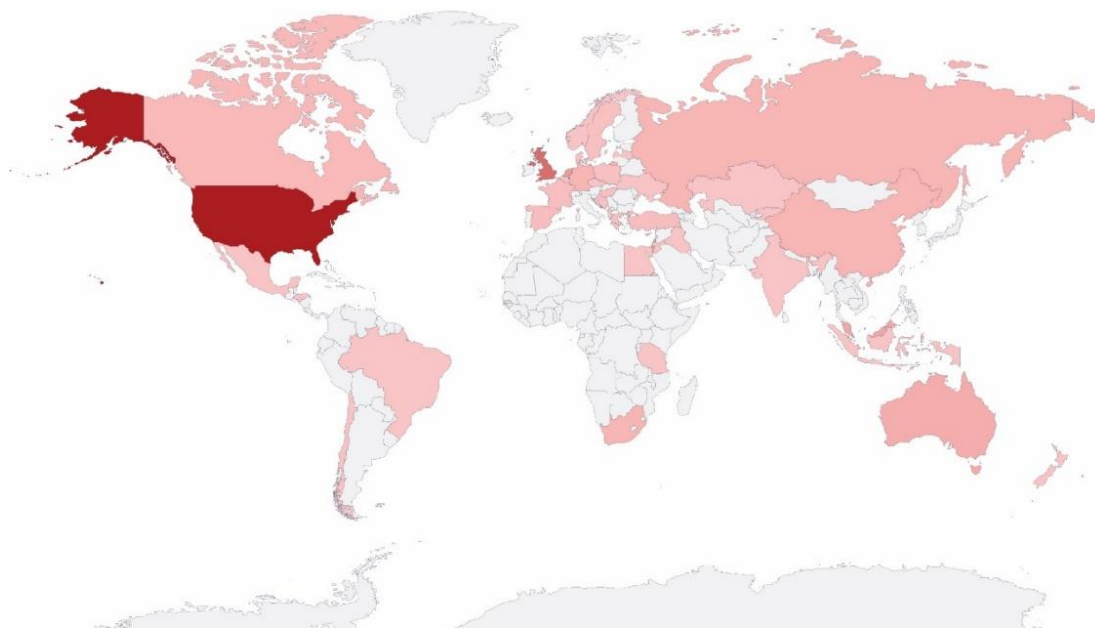


Figure 2.9 : Geographic distribution of literature regarding the place attachment.

Americas

A large share of studies regarding place attachment are conducted in the Americas. The case studies in the corresponding publications mainly examine (sub)urban settlements and multi-ethnic neighbourhoods in the United States. The primary focus of these studies is mixed-race neighbourhoods (Caliendo, 2011; Rollock et al., 2011; Gibson, 2018; Harwood et al., 2018), particularly in New York and Los Angeles. Consequently, the emphasis of these studies is on culturally diverse neighbourhoods with mixed African-American communities. Throughout the studies, mainly the suppression of the Black community results in residential segregation and creates limited access to public space by this specific group. These studies are strongly affiliated with cultural differentiation in the uses of various (semi-)public areas such as schools and parks (Loukaitousideris-Sideris, 1995; Ho et al., 2005; Wolch et al., 2005; Chuang et al., 2013; Kaczynski et al., 2013; Vaughan et al., 2013; Trouille, 2014; Wilson, 2016; Rigolon & Németh, 2018). This appearance is the most noticeable under the children and youth (Figure 2.10).

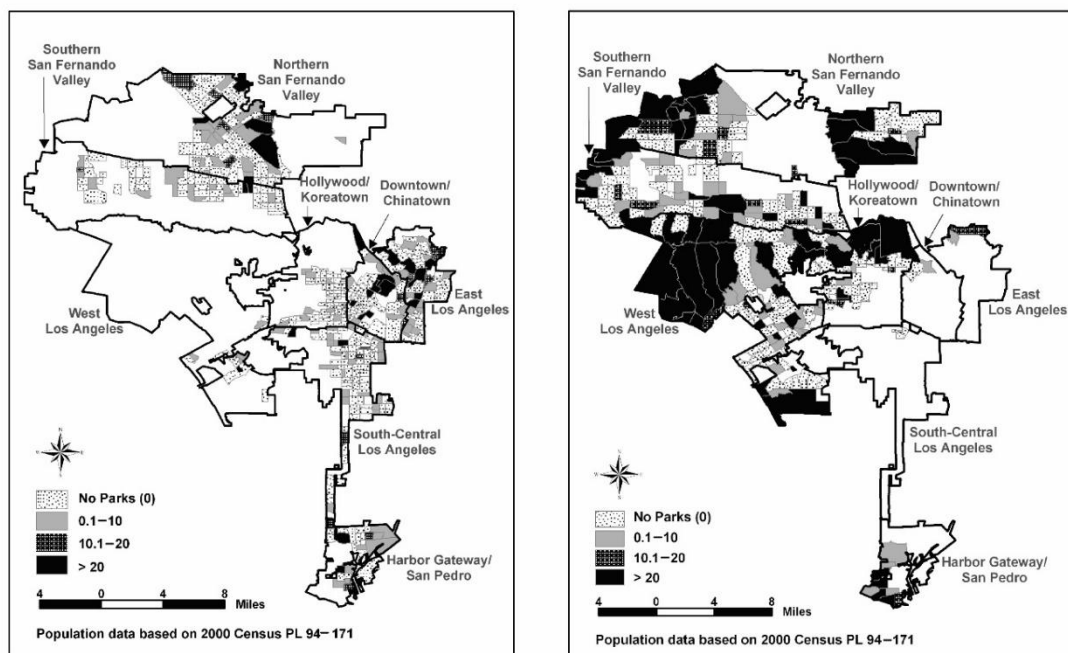


Figure 2.10 : Park acres per 1,000 children in Latino-dominated census tracts (left) versus park acres per 1,000 children in White-dominated census tracts (right) (Wolch et al., 2005).

A remarkable number of studies have been conducted in the past two years in Canada regarding socio-cultural correlations between ethnic identities in times of the pandemic (Hassen, 2021; Miconi et al., 2021; Ng-Chan, 2021). Findings of research

indicate that harmful impacts of hate crimes the respondents have experiences are mainly on their moral state, daily life and activities, religious practices of to their attachment to Canada (Mercier-Dalphonnd & Helly, 2021; Paré & Mounier, 2021).

Western Europe

“Notable terrorist attacks in the last 15 years, both in the United Kingdom and in other countries, have shaped everyday understandings of the public realm as a place that has the potential to be dangerous, and this danger is frequently conflated with racial visibility” (Rishbeth et al., 2018: 42). Accordingly, one breaking point in this review may be related to the global approach to terrorism after the September 11 attacks. The share of case studies in European countries concerning this topic is relatively high. Notably, a majority of the case studies examine the situation in the United Kingdom, focusing on British cross-cultural discourse and the ethnographic understandings of ethnically diverse neighbourhoods. Multicultural phenomena and questions about the integration of Muslim minorities and their everyday activities in public spaces (Figure 2.11) are explicit (Schmidt, 2012; Kloek et al., 2013; Mohammad, 2013; Johnson & Miles, 2014; Hopkins et al., 2017; Joly, 2017).



Figure 2.11 : Youthful Muslim spatialities (Mohammad, 2013).

Safety plays a major role in the creation of attachment. Similar patterns are recognizable in other countries in Europe. The case of Utrecht and Nijmegen in the Netherlands show that integration and the feeling of being ‘at home’ in a multicultural neighbourhood is influenced by positive (both prolonged and intense as well as brief)

encounters in public settings (Peters, 2011). Furthermore, empirical studies in Barcelona show that the preference of certain ethnic minorities (such as immigrants) prefer to be at places (mostly public parks) that are perceived as less safe, while women and the elderly (alone or in a group), mixed groups in terms of gender, groups of children supervised by adults and/or elderly people, and groups of elderly people with adults are significantly more frequent in the spaces perceived as safe (Cortés & Garcia-Ramon, 2012; Pérez-Tejera, 2012; Pérez-Tejera, 2018).

Asia and Australia

Cyprus is one of the countries that has faced socio-political transformations in recent history. Since the island was divided into two in the 70s, Nicosia most strikingly reflects the division with the border passing through its middle. Although the capital Nicosia, which is under the control of its own municipalities on both sides, has created a strong bond from the past to the present. The spatial structure of the city bears the traces of division. The cultures of a Mediterranean city like Nicosia, according to Charalambous & Hadjichristos (2009, 013:4), imply that its residents have a strong "feeling of place" that is entwined with a strong sense of belonging to place.

Another study focuses on the relations between two ethnic communities that have been marked by intense conflict in the division on the island of Cyprus (Charalambous Antoniadou & Peristianis, 2001). The 'Green Line' divides the Turkish Cypriots from the Greek Cypriots (Figure 2.12).



Figure 2.12 : The “Green Line”, the buffer zone in Nicosia cuts through the neighbourhood (URL-5).

The sample used for the study consists of various purely Greek Cypriot, purely Turkish Cypriot and mixed villages with the emphasis on the reflection of ethnic identity in private spaces. It examines how the groups' domestic space (home) is organized and utilizes this type of micro-organization as well as its relationship to the macro level to imply that social stratification in the villages was likewise correlated with occupational class and position of different groups in the village. Consequently, “although the houses in both ethnic groups have the same spatial ‘ingredient’, it is their spatial configuration which discloses ethnic identity” (Charalambous Antoniadou & Peristianis, 2001:7). Parpa’s research (2010) have revealed that individuals of many ethnic origins share public space and contribute to the city’s public realm, yet there is a lack of cross-ethnic communication and ethnic clustering in urban areas (Figure 2.13). Kyrenia Avenue - Ledra Avenue for example is one of the most vibrant axes in Nicosia. Since the axis is mainly used for shopping on both sides, the use of space is similar but it contains some differences. A more mixed user profile of different ethnicities in the South part of the axis differs from the user profile in the North (Mahasti & Özgece, 2018). Overall, these studies generally investigate the occupation of place, however they do not evaluate the factors for attachment except emphasizing on past experiences of people.

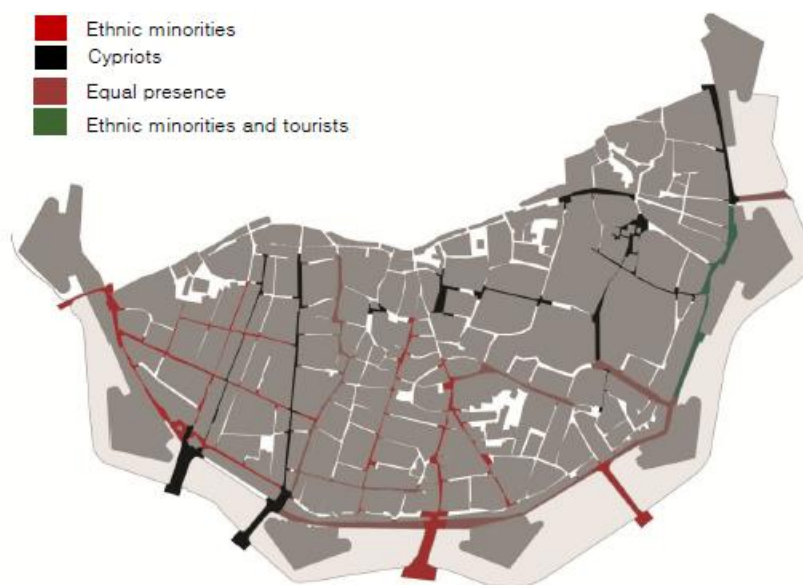


Figure 2.13 : Partitioning of the city according to ethnicity (Parpa, 2010).

There are also examples of case studies of places where multiculturalism has been present for centuries. A set of studies examines settlements in Palestine and Israel, considers conflict areas between Jews and Arabs, analyses non-recognized

autonomous areas, evaluates the status of oppressed communities and explores the concept of ‘place’ within the multicultural context (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003; Shuval et al., 2009; Monterescu, 2011; Aharon-Gutmann, 2014; Jadallah, 2014; Badarin, 2015; Shtern, 2016; Omer et al., 2018; Rokem & Vaughan, 2018).

Other case studies in Asia and Australia mainly focus on ethnically mixed areas caused by migration flows in the distant or recent past (Robertson, 2013; Lobo, 2015; Lobo, 2016; Radford, 2017; Aquino et al., 2020). Similarly, Williamson (2016) examines whether “forms of belonging are becoming increasingly flexible and are characterized by multiple place attachments by exploring how different scales of belonging and mobility come together in migrant incorporation processes in a hyper-diverse, transitional suburban locality in Sydney, Australia” (p. 2328).

Balkan Region

Little amount of research has been conducted on place attachment in the Balkans (Nientied et al., 2019). Yugoslavia as an important part of the region kept its multicultural identity after its dissolution. Yet, in many ex-Yugoslavian cities followed a disappearance of social harmony. Despite Sarajevo as capital city of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the inhabitants of Mostar already lived divided for centuries. Croatian Bosnians live in Western part of the city and Bosnian Muslim in East-Mostar, with the Bulevar as the physical and phsychological divider (Figure 2.14). The former frontline is not an active frontage for both communities, due to the poor quality of the buildings and post-war ruins and related ruined perception that evokes war-related memories (Zivali, 2013; Peng, 2018).



Figure 2.14 : Ethnic distribution in the municipality of Mostar and the Bulevar crossing through the heart of the city centre (Zivali Turhan, 2019: 139).

There are also clear differences in the use patterns of the city. Both ethnic groups seem to have their own public spaces and facilities (e.g. schools, hospitals, sportclubs) (Figure 2.15) on their ‘own side’ (Zivali, 2013). Still today, this occurrence of trauma obstructs the inhabitants to use certain public spaces in the city (Stegeman, 2019).

In a similar case of a post-socialist country Serbia, remarkably, people who are not born in Belgrade perceive a higher degree of attachment. The reason for this might be the particular condition of the backdrop of the former socialist country due to tremendous changes in the last three decades. As a result, participants expressed a low level of emotional bonding to both subjective and objective qualities of SFRY (Tournois & Rollero, 2020). On the other hand, smaller cities with a clear majority of a certain ethnic group such as Novi Pazar, Šabac and Kragujevac expose a higher degree of emotional attachment (Petrović et al., 2017).



Figure 2.15 : A fire station in Mostar, where you have two separate fire brigades - one for Muslim Bosnians and one for Catholic Croats (URL-6).

The study of Ferati (2009) investigates in ethnic group relations in Northern Macedonia. Using Space Syntax methodology and theory on exploring interfaces between different categories of people, it considers one dimension of social relations between Albanians and Macedonians. Herefore, the authors choose two representative cities. Macedonians are the ‘majority’ in the municipality of Kicevo, whereas Albanians are the ‘majority’ in the municipality of Tetovo. Scattergrams, in which the movement of ‘majority’ is set against the movement of ‘minority’, helps to understand

the interface and the relations between the two groups. From results, it derives that the 'majority', which ever ethnic group is, is prioritizing the most integrated line or street and the 'minority', which ever ethnic group is, is one or two step away from the main integrator. Furthermore, the study reveals that both ethnicities are less equally likely to be present in all space. In a more recent study, Mojanchevska (2018) concludes that in Skopje -the capital city of Northern Macedonia, which is multiethnically in character- public spaces are devalued due to, among other reasons, that

public spaces are a reflection of a society that is deeply ethnically and socially divided, infused with fears of 'others' and a sense of collective threat and with lack of imaginaries of commonness such as social justice, equality and rule of law (p. 178).

Spatial appearance of cultural and symbolic allusions in public space portray uncommon and conflictual attitudes causing frustration, confusion and ideologically disorientation by citizens (Figure 2.16).



Figure 2.16 : The Albanian heroes' wall in Skanderbeg Square, in Skopje's Albanian-majority district of Çair, reflects the recent visibility of the Albanian national narrative in North Macedonia (URL-7).

Regardless intends to implement acts in the last decade regarding ethnocentric homogenization of public spaces, ethnic groups do not want ethnicity to be completely erased from public spaces, but governing multiculturalism should be viewed as a public interest issue, and ongoing debates or dialogues on a sense of belonging in a multicultural context should be supported in formal and informal spaces of contact, including through public space planning (Mojanchevska, 2020).

In one of the highly diverse neighbourhoods in Budapest, where the non-Hungarian population -mostly Gypsy/Roma- is almost 12%, place attachment is evaluated through observations in the centre where social fragmentation is noticeable very obviously (Figure 2.17).

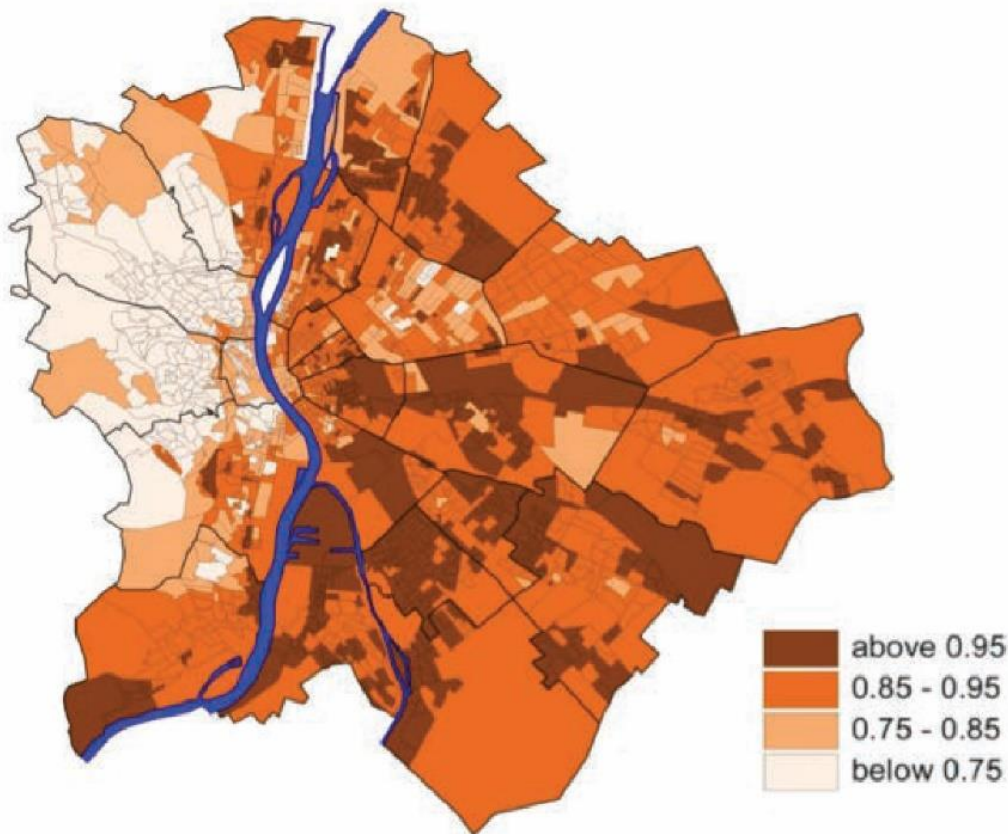


Figure 2.17 : Diversity index for urban units 2011 (Fabulo et al., 2017: 30).

The utilization of the public spaces reflects the fragmented character of the residents (Figure 2.18). Prejudice against Roma has a significant impact on influences the activities and the use of public space, as some respondents clearly state that they try to avoid locations Roma people actively use and go. The utilization of public spaces is also influenced by proximity; individuals like to visit sites that are near to their homes (Boros et al., 2016). A follow-up study similar to the authors' approach reveals the notion of place attachment as a domain of social cohesion and suggest that education programs of minor ethnic groups can increase the local civic activity (and thus the place attachment) and overcome the segregation between different ethnic identities (Fabulo et al., 2017). As a result of the increasing diverse character of the local society, Józsefváros neighbourhood became more tolerant towards differences among social groups in comparison to other neighbourhoods in Budapest. Roma people and other ethnic minorities in the city prioritize family relationships. It is noticeable that deep

bonds and resilience in tradition within minor communities hinder interpersonal interaction with ‘others’.



Figure 2.18 : A Gypsy neighbourhood in Budapest (URL-8).

Additionally, their integration in the labour market is very limited. Spatial segregation between the Roma community and non-Roma people occurs due to the occupation of public space in the center by young Roma people. Consequently, non-Roma residents frequently centre outside of the district (Fabulo et al., 2017).

Table 2.1 : Summary of the case studies.

	Americas	Western Europe	Asia and Australia	Balkan Region
Community	Black – White communities Latinos	Longterm migrants – Gastarbeiters Contemporary migrants	Century-old tensions of ethnic groups Contemporary migrants	Slavic ethnic groups Post-socialist communities
Public spaces	Schools Everyday public spaces	Everyday public spaces	Everyday public spaces Sub-urban areas	City centres
Occurrence of place attachment	Oppression and exclusion of minor groups, less accessibility	Related to safety and terrorism issues	Oppression of minor groups, less accessibility	Use of ‘own’ places, public facilities and spaces

2.2.2 The triparte model: a subordinate concept of place attachment

As seen in the literature and case studies, numerous scholars and researchers present place attachment as a multi-dimensional concept that emphasizes the attachment

between individuals (or groups) and their ‘places of attachment’ (e.g. Guiliani, 2003; Lewicka, 2010; Low & Altman, 1992; Manzo, 2003). The consensus in conceptualizing place attachment is shaped under three frameworks of place attachment; one-dimensional, multi-dimensional and subordinated. However, place attachment is complex and cannot be explained by a simple cause-and-effect relationship. Instead, it is based on a mutual interaction between conduct and experiences. Therefore, the tripartite model is a three-dimensional subordinate framework of place attachment that aims to integrate and structure the variety of definitions in literature this model attempts to integrate the different analytical perspectives, which is insistently demanded by many authors in our field of research. In this model, place attachment is examined in three dimensions as person, place and process (Figure 2.19) and Scannel & Gifford (2010) explain this model and describes person-process-place (PPP) as

a bond between an individual or group and a place that can vary in terms of spatial level, degree of specificity, and social or physical features of the place, and is manifested through affective, cognitive, and behavioural psychological processes. (p. 5)

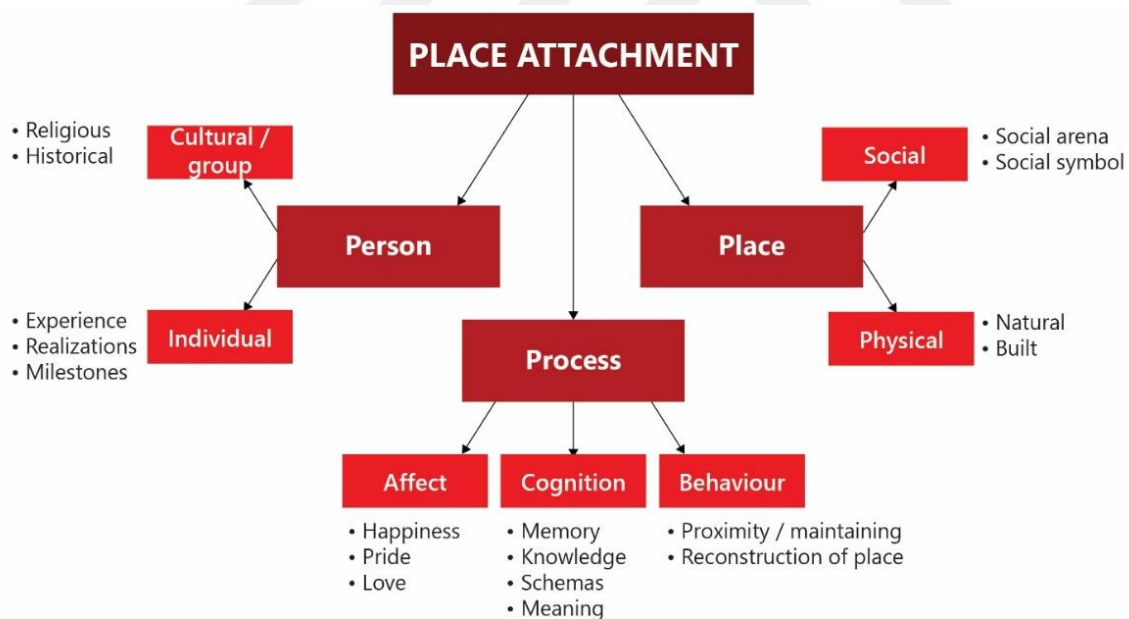


Figure 2.19 : The tripartite model of place attachment (adapted from Scannel & Gifford, 2010).

2.2.2.1 Person

Most researchers working on the concept of place attachment claim that it should be considered as a holistic approach. Although, the human factor might form the basis of the concept (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). The person dimension defines the factors that

affect the attachment to the place at two levels, individually and collectively. While experience, awareness and important events in the life of the individual are effective in assigning meaning to the space individually, historical and religious factors are effective as a group. At the individual level, one's own experiences, connections, and milestones in one's life create a sense of spatial belonging. It is thought that all experiences contribute to one's self-perception (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). Having a common history and being a common person can create a sense of belonging to the country of similar people in these countries, homeland, family or places such as mosques. Common history and belief foster the idea of identity and culture and studies have shown that groups express loyalty to places where they can live freely their culture and beliefs (Low, 1992).

2.2.2.2 Process

The process dimension focuses on how attachment occurs and points to the psychological processes of place attachment. The mental state of the person, in other words, the state of being good or bad are the most important factors that provide this attachment. The dimension includes the emotional, cognitive and behavioural components of the relationship that people form with the place. Although there are negative emotions, the sense of attachment generally occurs as a result of positive emotions (Giuliani, 2003). Accordingly, the impact factor includes emotions such as happiness, pride and love. People experience a cognitive perception process while communicating with their environment. According to memories one accumulates in his mind, the person can feel attached to a certain place. The cognition factor contains parameters such as memories, knowledge, schemas and meaning. The attachment and love that the person feels towards the place brings several behaviours with it. Time spent in places have a positive impact on the formation of place attachment (Hay, 1998). Spending time generates new behaviour patterns. The behaviour factor includes parameters such as proximity / maintenance and reconstruction of the place.

2.2.2.3 Place

The spatial dimension emphasizes the physical and social characteristics of the place attached to (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). Studies have shown that individuals tend to be attached to the people they communicate with in the space rather than the physical characteristics of the space (Fried, 1963; Anton & Lawrence, 2014). In addition to

people's social needs, individuals need places where their physical needs are also met. Spaces are shaped according to these needs, sometimes as a shell where people socialize and communicate with each other. In multiple studies the social bonding is based on the attachment to home, city or neighbourhood which forms the social arena and social symbol. Houses, streets, districts, etc. as well as elements in nature make up the artificial and natural environment of the individuals. It has been observed that the feeling of attachment to any place in nature is not dependent on the physical features of that place, but is related to the meanings that people attribute to these features (Stedman, 2003). The physical attachment dimension to the place of residence predicts the behaviours towards protecting the environment.

2.2.3 Reframing Place Attachment in Relation to Ethnic Diversity

The person, place and process aspects in the model are presented in a disjointed and non-dynamic way. Furthermore, the model is a general evaluation model for each random setting. Yet, the PPP-model is sufficiently flexible to be adaptable to different objectives, interests and approaches, meaning that it could be transformed into the sought-after reference framework for studying place attachment. In this framework, the model has been transformed in a configuration whereby place attachment can be evaluated in cases emphasizing on ethnic diversity. The transformation of the (sub) factors are formed through collecting hypotheses related to ethnic diversity, reframing these hypotheses into new categories and eliminating existing non-related factors of place attachment. This transformation process can be found in Appendix A.

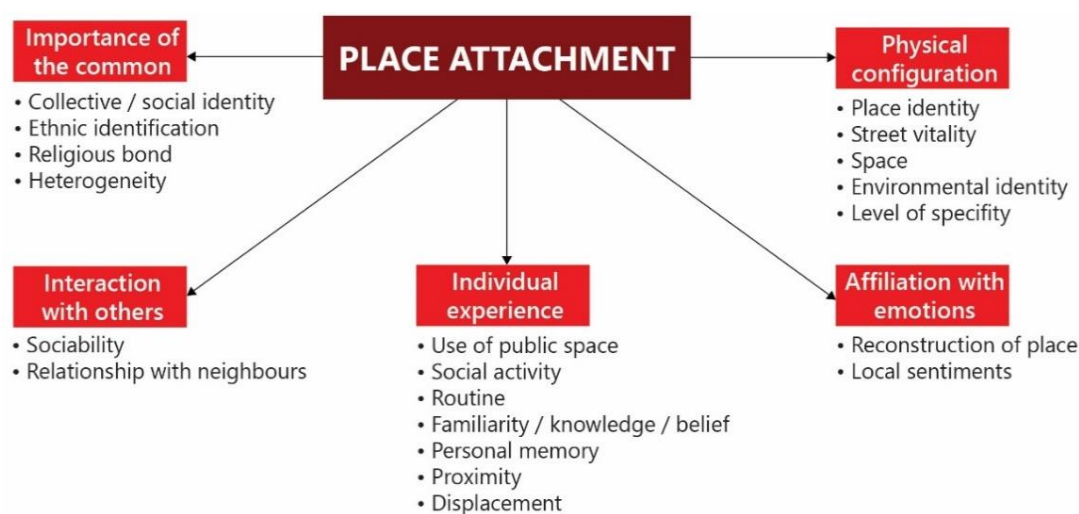


Figure 2.20 : Reframed model of place attachment in relation to ethnic diversity.

2.2.3.1 Importance of the common

This dimension questions what cultural values are and how they reflect on public space in the city by emphasizing on commonalities. Furthermore, the recognition and affiliation with a community sharing these cultural values are relevant to identify. The dimension includes the relation between ideological traditions and place as a spatial occurrence. Religious ties to place can be both individual as collective. Religions sometimes specify which locations are sacred or more important than others. For example, a religious pilgrimage is an example of an endeavor to be near to one's meaningful site. Places where significant events have occurred become significant to a certain group. Thus, a location can develop spiritual meaning via human experiences. But communities of interest are not always placebound such as religious organizations that are linked without reference to a location, and hence this approach is not perse limited to the belonging to place. Accordingly, the individual and cultural degrees of place attachment are not completely distinct. Diverse meanings emerge through historical events and other experiences shared by group members and these meanings transfer to future generations. Combinations of levels are most and least common for certain individuals and/or groups.

2.2.3.2 Interaction with others

Much of the study on place attachment (and similar concepts) has concentrated on the social facet. Individuals are connected to sites that foster social ties and group identification. The dimension emphasizes on public encounter and interpersonal interaction on public space, thus deals with proximity-maintaining behaviour between people or groups. The level of contact with familiar persons or strangers might be relevant to identify. Additionally, the dimension involves the relationship with neighbours based on frequent interaction with relatives. This affects the attachment to the relatives' physical environment (neighbourhood attachment) too. Belonging to one's neighbourhood may satisfy different demands than belonging to one's city. The individual's attachment to his/her neighbourhood is related with less likely discourtesy and lower concern about felony / crime in the neighbourhood. Bad experiences and low communication of residents in the neighbourhood lose familiar structures and social settings.

2.2.3.3 Individual experience

The dimension identifies significant places that evoke personal memory (either positive or negative) and focuses on the memory-part, rather than the physical characteristics of the place itself. Choices for certain (types of) public spaces are relevant to pinpoint. Furthermore, investigation on how the experience on public space is and what the impact is on the meaning of that certain place is relevant for this dimension. The behavioural attachment is shown by the proximity to their central setting that provide the essential resources. The cognitive attachment is conveyed through knowledge and experience with how these resources may be retrieved or used within the place of attachment. Displacement may also play a positive role in place attachment. Individuals are better equipped to grasp and appreciate everyday elements of their own places of attachment when being away. To belong to a certain place means to understand and arrange the minutiae of one's surrounding.

2.2.3.4 Affiliation with emotions

Local sentiments (emotions) that describe the desire to maintain connection to a place (or exactly the opposite) is relevant to evaluate for this dimension. It is possible to easily observe this emotional bond felt towards the place in times of war and migration. In fact, persistent commitment to the place may lead to possible life-threatening situations during natural or artificial disasters. The length of residence and familiarity may be significant while determining the places of attachment. Relocation seems also to be important for this dimension; the reason and length of relocation, the new living environment in comparison to the former one, motives and/or willingness to return are examples of relocation criteria. Another important factor is thoughts about reconstruction and urban planning of a place (or the living environment as a whole).

2.2.3.5 Physical configuration

The dimension emphasizes to seizing the human to either the natural or the built environment and their configuration. Place identity defines the description of the self according to the physical world. In other words, the individual self-definition is drawn from the places from a bottom-up approach. This happens when people recognize parallels between themselves and their surrounding and embody conception about their surroundings. The dimension emphasizes a place's physical attributes as essential since it provides amenities or resources to support one's level of attachment. Thus,

physical and tangible elements and/or features of the favourable public spaces can be specifically identified by the individual.

2.3 Chapter Evaluation

The conceptual engagement of ethnic diversity and public space from the bibliometric research recognizes the human-human relation (whereby public space is considered as mediator is for ethnic encounters) and human-place relation (whereby ethnic diversity is considered as a concern for urban and social policy). Unveiling both interactions are suitable through Place Attachment Theory, as place attachment is a concept that emphasizes on the individual or collective meaning of places in social and physical sense. The desire for belonging is a basic need and increases the level of satisfaction. Besides social attachment, feeling attached to a physical setting transforms the space into a 'place'. In many contexts, the attachment to the type of place may vary depending on cultural, economic, social and political concerns and agendas. Yet, the ethnic identity seems to be a prominent issue (although not a major indicator) settlements are dealing with globally. Different case studies show that diverse communities sharing public spaces can cause oppression or exclusion of certain groups. Communities may prefer to own public spaces or make them less accessible for the 'others'.

There are multiple indicators affecting place attachment, but the most comprehensive approach is the Tripartite Model that emphasizes -among the person and place dimension- the process between human and space. The chapter proposes a reframed version of the existing place attachment model, eliminating general attributes and including indicators and hypotheses related to ethnic diversity collected under new dimensions; importance of the common, interaction with others, individual experience, affiliation with emotions and physical configuration. The person-place-process (PPP) approach does not entirely disappear, but alters to a form where dimensions transit from social (importance of the common) to spatial (physical configuration) attributes. In this way, the model of place attachment serves to evaluate ethnic diverse contexts. The model will be tested in Chapter 4.



3. PUBLIC SPACE IN THE URBAN LAYOUT: THE CASE OF SARAJEVO

Sarajevo, which hosts many ideological, religious and cultural differences has never been able to remove itself from the position of being a buffer zone. But at the same time, this city has always managed to be a bridge between the East and the West, and by gaining good and bad experiences, it has managed to act as an example for civilizations in both Asia and Europe. Reading the socio-spatial layers of Sarajevo requires examining the traces of history up to the present. This part of the thesis presents an introduction to the case of Sarajevo with particular focus on the publicness and inclusiveness of the urban layout of the city. The chapter first introduces the larger context of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its spatial and geopolitical location in the Balkan peninsula and sheds light on the socio-spatial and socio-cultural appearances in the state. The chapter then focuses on the notion of publicness in the city and evaluates the conceptual evolution of public space through Sarajevo's different eras. Based on Varna's (2014) star model, a morphological reading will be conducted to identify the spatial characterisation of the representative public spaces through the key historical periods of the city. This part will illustrate the impacts of political, economic and socio-cultural dynamics in the transition of representational public spaces of each era. The chapter then presents different layers of inclusiveness regarding public space based on a mapping approach.

3.1 Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the countries in former Yugoslavia⁸, and has today borders with Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia. The country has a governmental

⁸ Yugoslavia ('the land of South Slavs') was a state in West Balkans that was established in three different structures and administrative forms in the 20th Century (1918-2003). The first state known as Yugoslavia was the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, founded in 1918, after the official end of the Ottoman period in the region. In 1943, the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia (DFY) was proclaimed. The state was renamed as Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in 1946 after the establishment of a communist government. After the Second World War, it was transformed into a new state as the Socialist Federal Republic Yugoslavia (SFRY) under Tito's leadership. 6 republics (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro) and 2 autonomous regions within Serbia (Kosovo and

structure consisting of many administrative layers. The country consists of two federal entities (*Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine* (FBiH) and *Republika Srpska* (RS)) and an autonomous *Brčko District*, each having self-governing administrations but are not separated by physical borders (Figure 3.1).

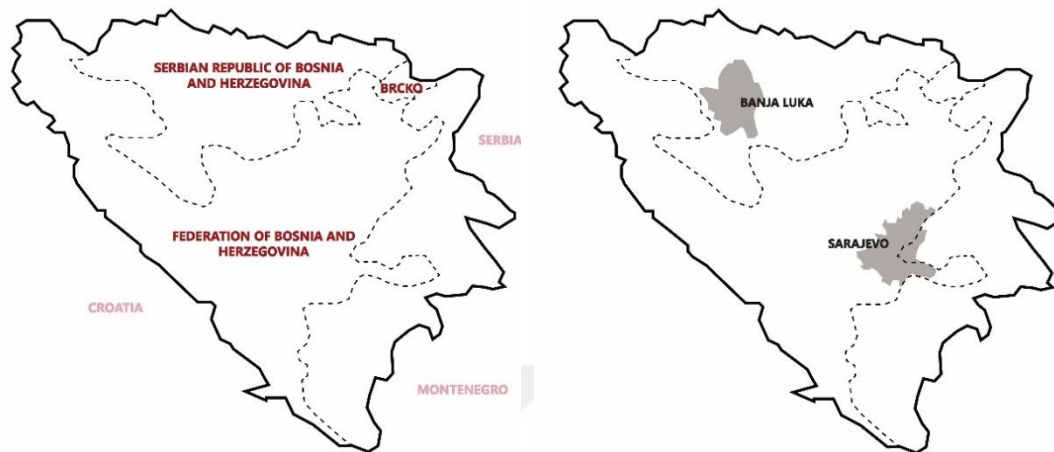


Figure 3.1 : Bosnia and Herzegovina with its entities (and Brčko District) (left) and their capital cities (right) (adapted from Zivali, 2013).

The organisational form of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina reflects both its demographic structure and its political structure. In the existing Constitution, the Bosnian society (as the presumed bearer of sovereignty) is not conceived as a whole, but as a mechanical sum of three constituent peoples who are thus projected as bearers of sovereignty. Considering that the constituent peoples -as organically understood to be ethno-confessional communities- became primary political subjects and primary right holders, today's Bosnia and Herzegovina is perhaps easiest to describe in the work of Hannah Arendt (1973), in which the author refers to the work *La Nation* (1944) of Delos explaining a state conquered by a nation, and that 'conquest' characterizes the transformation of the state from an instrument of law to an instrument of nation, in which national interest takes precedence over law. Nationalism essentially means the conquest of the state by the nation. While the state as a legal institution declares that it must protect human rights, its identification with the nation implies the identification of citizens with members of the nation and therefore results in confusing human rights

Vojvodina). The dissolution process of Yugoslavia and accompanying conflicts began in June 1991. Bosnia and Herzegovina declared its independence in November 1991. In the end -and after an extensive and tense process- 7 countries are established in within the borders of former Yugoslavia: Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo.

with the rights of members of the nation. A state conquered by a nation has become the supreme individual before which all other individuals must bow (p. 230-231).

Hence, the entities, in a way, represent the most concentrated ethnic groups in the country. Thus in point of fact, Bosnia and Herzegovina is divided from an ethnic-religious position. Although the ethnic origins of these groups differ, their cultures, traditions and values have always been the same. In this context, when you walk in a random city, it is very difficult to understand who belongs to which religion. Banja Luka -the capital of Republika Srpska- is the Orthodox Serb⁹-dominated part both in terms of social and physical structure. Sarajevo, the capital of the country, is also the capital of the Bosnian region of the federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and is today one of the most multicultural cities in the country and the former Yugoslavia. Although, the major ethnic group in the city are the Bosniaks¹⁰. The capital city of Herzegovina-Neretva, which is one of the cantons¹¹ in the federation, is Mostar and has a multi-ethnic structure holding predominantly Croats¹² and Bosniaks.

The most recent population census in Bosnia and Herzegovina is held in 2013. The residents of the country have been asked to register their ethnic affiliation and religious affiliation (Figure 3.2). Noteworthy, the category of 'Bosniak' as an ethnicity was introduced in the 1961 Population Census, which represents the Muslims. However, some of today's 'Bosniaks' still declare themselves as undecided Yugoslavs (Federalni Zavod za Statistiku, 2012).

According to the latest census there are, among the three constituent ethnic groups (Bosniaks, Croats, Serbs), 17 national minorities (OSCE, 2003). According to the UNESCO Culture for Development Indicators, 77.03% of the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina expressed not to consider people from other cultures to be

⁹ Orthodox South Slavic ethnic group as one of the major ethnic identities living in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other Balkan countries.

¹⁰ Muslim South Slavic ethnic group as one of the major ethnic identities living predominantly in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Sandžak region.

¹¹ A canton is a type of administrative division of a country. The cantons of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina were created by the Law on Federal Units (Cantons) of 1996, which was based on the Bosniak-Croat Washington Agreement. The cantons consist of municipalities. Each canton and entity have its own government (headed by a prime minister) and institutions, as well as a separate government at the state level, and at the top is the Presidential Council, which consists of Bosniak, Croat and Serbian members.

¹² Catholic South Slavic ethnic group as one of the major ethnic identities living in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other Eastern Europe countries.

[illegible]

PERSONS ARE NOT OBLIGED TO ANSWER QUESTIONS 24 AND 25 ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLE 12 OF THE LAW ON CENSUS IN BiH

24. ETHNIC/NATIONAL AFFILIATION

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Bosniak ☒ ¹⁾ Croat ☒ ²⁾ Serb ☒ ³⁾ Not declared ☒ ⁴⁾

25. RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Islamic ☒ ¹⁾ Catholic ☒ ²⁾ Orthodox ☒ ³⁾ Agnostic ☒ ⁴⁾ Atheist ☒ ⁵⁾ Not declared ☒ ⁶⁾

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Cultural, religious, and ethnic heritage issues frequently play a crucial role in the political, social, and economic growth of the country. In today's Bosnia and Herzegovina, the three ethnic groups reveal a serious mismatch in social and political spheres (Lamphere-Englund, 2015). In social sense, ethnically mixed marriages have undergone a significant decline since the state has been established after war (Figure 3.3).



Figure 3.3 : The Percentage of Inter Ethnic Marriages (exogamy) in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1971-2011) with the exception time period between 1992-1997 (Federalni Zavod za Statistiku, 2012).

Another example of imbalance occurs in the educational system. Education curricula of different schools in the country vary according to ethnic backgrounds. The SDG education guideline articulates on more education opportunities and training (by a common curricula) among all groups, devoting on deteriorate segregation among ethnic identities in schools (UN, 2018). In the political arena, cross-analysis with the management dimension reveals an example of how Bosnia and Herzegovina has demonstrated an appreciation for cultural diversity in policymaking at the state level through the participation of minorities in the development of the Action Plan for the Strategy for Cultural Policy of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but was not able to manage inclusion and equal participation of the minorities.

Overall, these type of socio-cultural differences in the country are defined through the phenomenon of ethnicity depending on religion. When the dynamics of the country are examined, one can see the effect of publicity and the public structure in the city on society at different breaking points in the history of the country as Yılmaz & Şahin

(2008) describe: The Bosnian War in the nineties caused the biggest wave of immigration after World War II. In this process, two basic methods were used for diverse communities. Firstly, individuals were forcibly removed from their region by torture and oppression. Secondly, the urban structure (and herewith the urbanity) was targeted; public spaces, common living spaces (markets, squares, parks, hospitals, etc.), structures with symbolic importance (monuments, museums, libraries), religious structures (mainly mosques, places of worship) as the basic element in the functioning of daily life. Towns and cities have been victims of systematic and widespread violence. The attacks targeting the urban space had no military significance at all. The main purpose here is the urban fabric and the aim is to destroy the "other" by eliminating 'its' built environment (p. 99).

3.2 Sarajevo as a Patchwork of Identities¹³

The history of Bosnian cities points to the recurring dilemma between form and structure on one hand, and perception and memory (and thus the use itself) on the other hand. Diverse socio-political turning points have led to different stages of cohesions between the society through history with its reflection on public space. In some cities, there is a clear fragmentation of public space, with the result that its separately utilized by different communities. As a result, there is less opportunity for encounters (Zivali, 2013). This part of the chapter focuses on publicness and inclusiveness, which are multifaceted notions defining the quality of being public and being in public shaping the possibility for engagement.

3.2.1 The historical development of Sarajevo

Sarajevo is a city in which the reflection of culture to physical space can be analyzed at the most obvious forms. Traces of the past and present are home to many paradoxes of discrepancies and discontinuities that are caused by ideological changes throughout the city. The uniqueness and complexity of the socio-cultural identity of Bosnia and Herzegovina's capital is the result of its geographical location between Eastern and Western civilizations. In a way, Sarajevo is Bosnia and Herzegovina's political,

¹³ This sub-section contains content of a publication prepared in the framework of the thesis: Zivali Turhan, T., Ayataç. H. (2020). A Characterization of Public Space: The Conceptual Transformation in Sarajevo, *Journal of City and Civilization*, 6(11), 233-257.

economic, social and cultural hub and is also a major Balkan cultural center having an impact on the region's media, fashion and fine arts.

Canton Sarajevo¹⁴ is located within *Federacija Bosna i Hercegovina* (FBiH) and consists of nine municipalities from which four of them forms ‘*Sarajevo Grad* (Sarajevo City)’. Sarajevo City is a higher administrative body in which the four sub-municipalities ‘*Stari Grad* (Old Town)’, *Centar*, *Novi Sarajevo* and *Novi Grad* (Figure 3.4) are located.

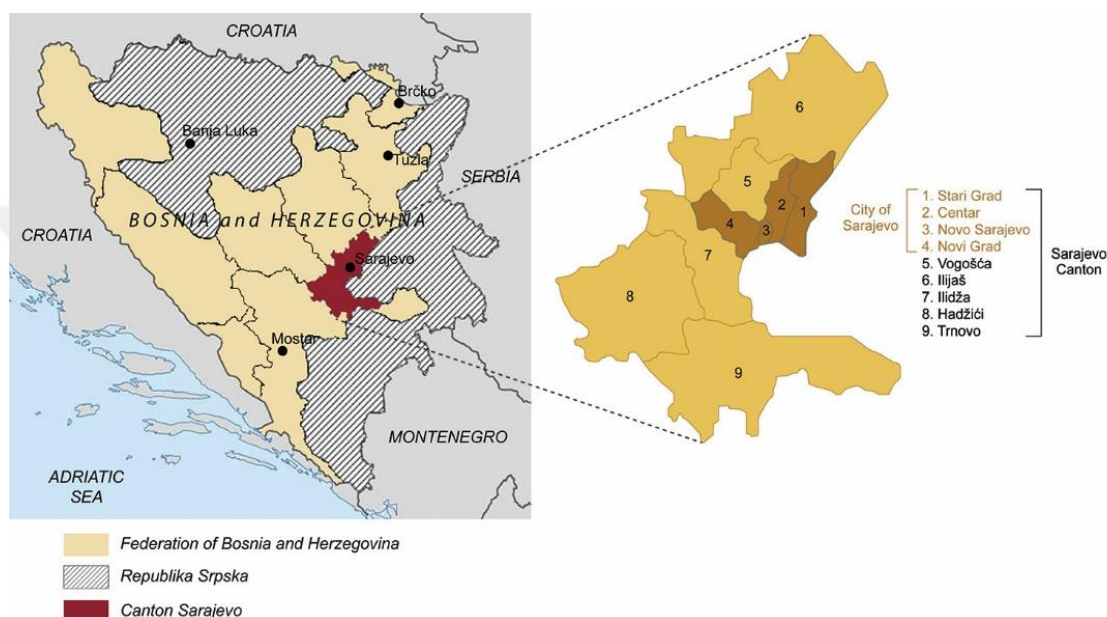


Figure 3.4 : The map of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sarajevo Canton with the districts of Sarajevo (adapted from Gül & Dee, 2015).

Although, tensions and active conflicts have been experienced throughout the history due to this demographic structure, Sarajevo is one of the best cities that represent its demographic balance. Besides Catholics, Orthodox and Muslims, the city inhabits Christians, Jewish and many other religions and cultures and is thus less bipolar than other cities. Yet, as previously mentioned, the city's population belong in general to one of the three autochthonous groups stated in the constitution of which none of them can be considered as minority (or migrant); Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs (Table 3.1).

¹⁴ Canton Sarajevo represents the metropolitan area of the country's capital city, including nine municipalities, of which four of them forms Sarajevo City.

Table 3.1 : Population and ethnic distribution of the city of Sarajevo according to the census of 1991 and 2013 (URL-10).

Canton Sarajevo	Total	Bosniaks		Croats		Serbs		Others	
		(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
1991	361,735	182,503	50.45%	24,241	6.70%	92,271	25.50%	62,720 ¹⁵	17.33%
2013	275,524	222,457	80.74%	13,604	4.94%	10,422	3.78%	29,041	10.54%
2022	344,481	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

The complex political system in Bosnia and Herzegovina is directly reflected onto the way the city is physically partitioned. Sarajevo has a strong linear main infrastructure running along the Miljacka river. The number of the North-South axes are limited as the morphology of the landscape is directly leading the city expansion in East-West direction. The mountains form a natural border. The city has taken its full shape in the past half century. Valerijan Zujo summarizes the city as “a place where you can travel through different centuries of history in less than half an hour” (Beslic, 2019: 64) and this is possible due the city’s linearity which connects different eras (each with its own spatiality) to each other like a patchwork (Korkut & Zıvalı, 2015) (Figure 3.5).

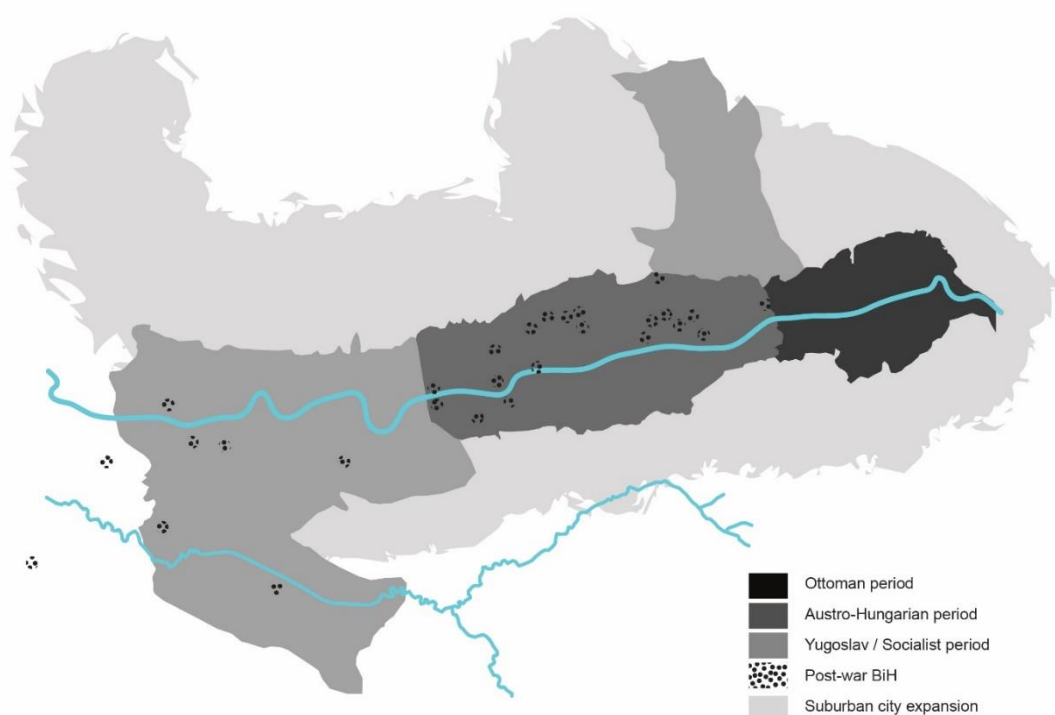


Figure 3.5 : The physical development of Sarajevo (Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2020).

The history of Sarajevo goes back to the Stone Age, when the Butmir culture flourished in the region. Just a few remains of this period have been preserved. Illyrian,

¹⁵ Includes ‘*Yugoslavs*’, a term for citizens living in Yugoslavia that participated in the census without referring to any ethnic identity.

Celtic, and Slavic peoples have lived in Sarajevo's region since antiquity. The city's earliest settlements date to the Neolithic and Roman eras. The region of Vrhbosna (the forerunner of contemporary Sarajevo) developed during the medieval ages as a collection of settlements under the rule of the sovereign Kingdom of Bosnia. Today's Sarajevo, which established in and around Baščaršija (east) and its surroundings, in time extended itself back to the region of Ilidža, located in the west of the city.

The first signs of urbanization of the city occurred in the Ottoman Era and typical historical periods can be recognized regarding the city development since (Figure 3.6).

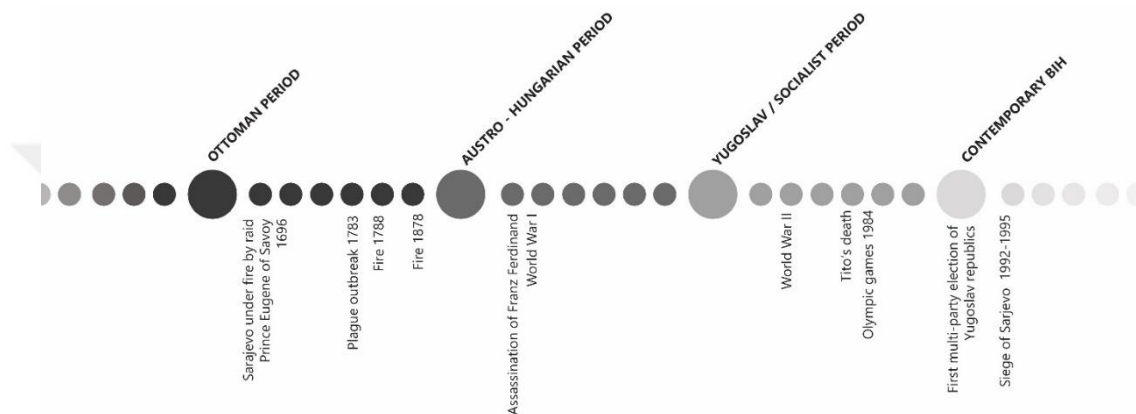


Figure 3.6 : The historical timeline of important events in Sarajevo (adapted from Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2020).

During the first half of the 15th century, Sarajevo existed out of a community of villages, but in 1461 the first Ottoman governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina merged the villages into a city. Sarajevo became a commercial and administrative centre in a brief period of time due to its important access junction. The clear-cut language of the morphological structure in the Ottoman city exposes the public-private balance in old Sarajevo. The organic, almost romantic, ramification of the streets were followed by the topographical structure of the city whereby the *mahalas* (the residential areas) were situated on the slopes, while the *čaršija* (business area) was situated in the valley (Figure 3.7). In line with this distinction between public and private, the mahalas were self-sustaining and contained small centres with basic public facilities such as religious buildings, bakeries, water supply, and open space such as graveyards. Thus, mahalas facilitated within itself which created cities with a polycentric model. This would initiate the development of another mahala, as “mosques and their minarets were the fundamental reference points for each neighbourhood” (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957: 147).

Within this context, the *Baščaršija*¹⁶ was in the heart of the city and was accessible and visible for everyone which was exactly the main aim of the trading area (despite the private mahala (residential neighbourhood area)). Public facilities such as stores, cultural and religious buildings were placed into zones with different craftsmanship as a hierarchy. The artisans and merchants grouped their shops around mosques, hammams, marketplaces and hans.



Figure 3.7 : The čaršija (trading area) is congested, the mahalas are dispersed (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957: 42).

Each trade had its own district (Figure 3.8). Thus, there were various districts within the city centre such as the *Aščiluk* (boarding house) district, the *Abadžiluk* (clothers') district, *Kazandžiluk* (coppers) district and many other districts (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957). Multiple fires during the Ottoman period caused a destruction of many shops in Baščaršija. Yet, the atmosphere of the area has never been lost. In fact, many of the present street names in the Old Town refer to the types of trades. The market square around the *sebilj* (water fountain) was used for public selling of the goods the craftsmen produced (Figure 3.9).

¹⁶ The heart of the Old Town, the ancient trade area of Sarajevo.

As belief was an important part of the daily routine, Sarajevo's social system and its characteristic representational spaces were expressed through spaces of worship. With the intention to ensure the continuation of the practice, each newly appointed ruler considered it his duty to erect a new mosque, allowing the town to grow at an exponential rate. These religious buildings were not only designed to serve spiritual needs, but were also intended to serve cultural, educational and social necessities of communities by creating gathering spaces capable of accommodating collective or public activities.



Figure 3.8 : Graphical representation of various handicrafts in the old čaršija (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957: 97).

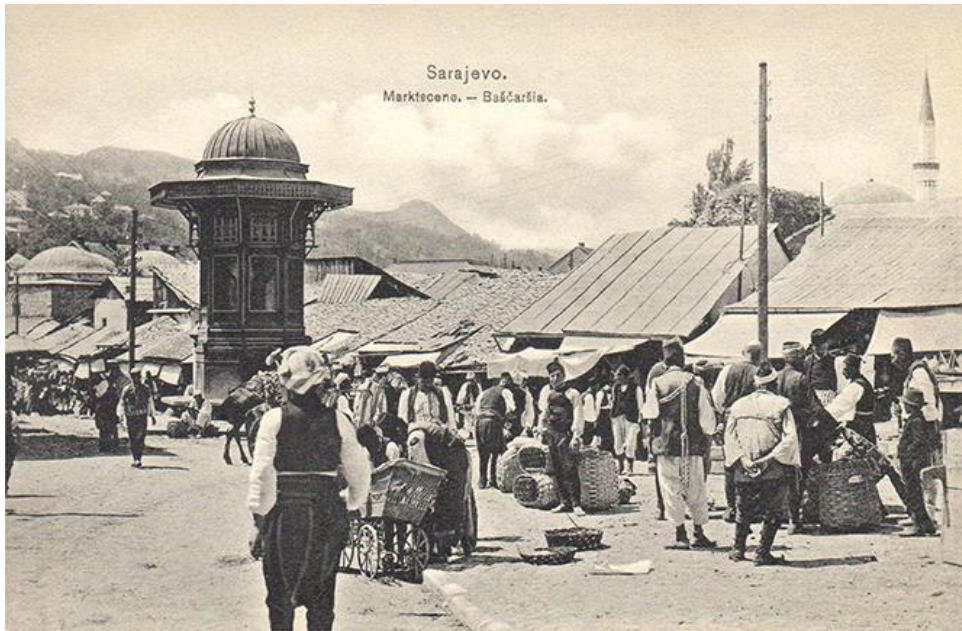


Figure 3.9 : A busy market scene at Baščaršija square with the sebilj in the background in 1911 (URL-11).

Many variables have played a role in the formation of a neighbourhood unit, such as the configuration of the roads, vistas, springs, brooks, orchards, quest for sunlight and wind protection (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957: 145). Although the mahalas were designed to maintain the privacy through avoiding straight streets and rows of houses wherever possible and designing housing introvert units, they were self-sustaining areas providing small-scaled public facilities for the neighbourhood (Figure 3.10).

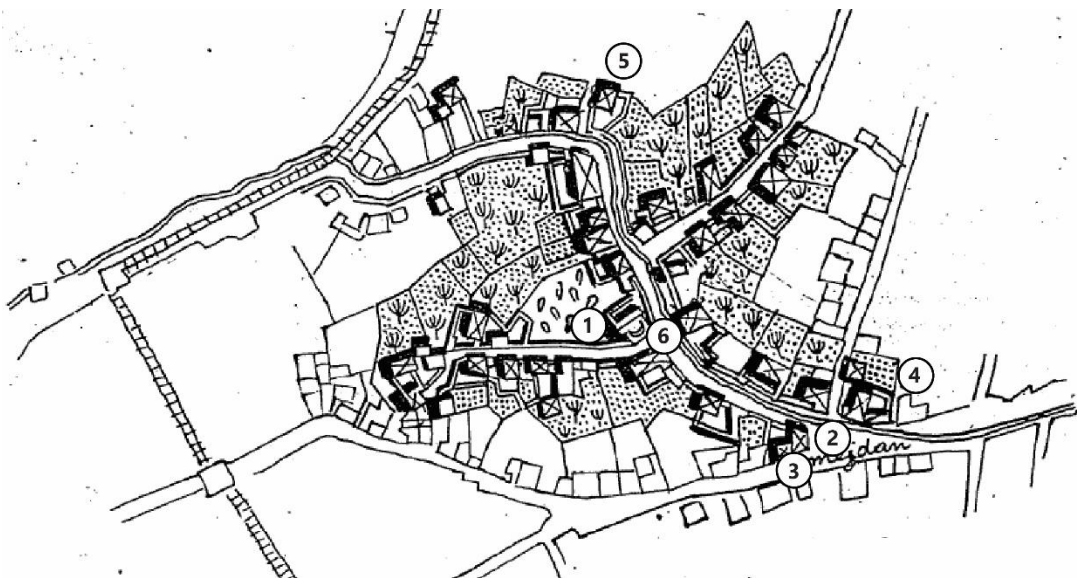


Figure 3.10 : A typical example of an Ottoman mahala in Sarajevo (Topal Inhan Mahala), representing the pattern of a mahala; 1) mosque with cemetery, 2) small marketplace, 3) mekteb (divinity school), 4) bakery and green grocery, 5) 40-50 houses, 6) fountain (adapted from Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957: 145).

In 1878, the Berlin Treaty stipulated that Bosnia and Herzegovina would become part of Austria-Hungary. Soon after the Austro-Hungarian occupation, the guilds began to show signs of disintegration. This resulted in a general competition and exploitation, followed by chaos, state of confusion and disorder which was also reflected in the architecture and city planning. With the exploitation, the business centre gradually expanded towards the west of the city and the *čaršija* lost its original significance within the town (Figure 3.11). The expanded area had (and today still has) a Western layout and was comparable with Western city centres. The street structure changed, and large straight lanes appeared in the urban layout. The structure of the city has been formed in line with the economic purposes of the area. During the 19th century, Sarajevo served as depot, providing storage for locally produced goods exported to West-Europe as well as goods transported to the Eastern parts of the Balkans and to Turkish provinces. Regional and international roads were connected to the local roads and created the main infrastructural form in the larger city.

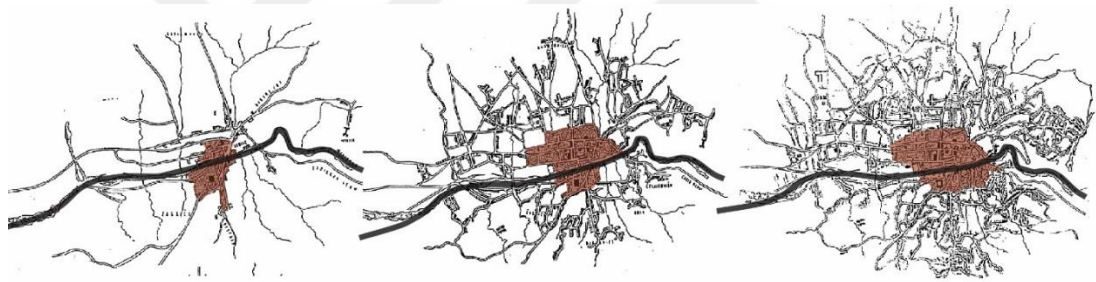


Figure 3.11 : The development of Sarajevo in the fifteenth, sixteenth and nineteenth centuries (adapted from Grabrijan & Neidhardt 1957: 44).

In addition to the expansion of the centre, the infrastructural network (telecommunication, electricity, sewage-system) has been carried out and transport facilities were improved in the extension areas. Shortly after the city became part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Sarajevo was the first city in Europe to have a full-time operational electric tram line (Figure 3.12). Another key feature in the spatial organization (with focus on the Europeanisation of the city) was the appearance of mixed facilitation within the building (block). In total contrast with the Ottoman model, the ground floors were planned as shops and residential houses were placed above these public facilities. Typical residential blocks were built higher than two storeys with inner yards which changed the public-private balance in the residential areas. French balconies were facing mostly to the inner yard. Sparks (2014) describes the public sphere as:

The new urban landscape included shops, theatres, cinemas, public parks, cafes, hotels and cemeteries. These were all aspects of the way in which European-style middle-class models of consumption and displays affected Sarajevo's urban space. Such developments were the result of economic confidence on the part of investors. They showed an intention to create facilities and social space of that would be profitable as well as fashionable. The result was the creation of a modern and cosmopolitan urban environment in which the city's residents could interact in the public sphere. (p. 114)

Today's main shopping area is in the Austro-Hungarian parts of the city.



Figure 3.12 : Establishment of the tram tracks at Aleksandrova Street in Marijin Dvor (URL-12).

Despite important developments in the city during the Austro-Hungarian period, the most important event during the Habsburg time was the assassination of Franz Ferdinand. The Austrian Archduke and his wife were assassinated by Serbian nationalist Gavrilo Princip during his visit to the city. The Austro-Hungarian Empire, which found Serbia guilty of these events, occupied Serbia in July 1914. After Russia supported Serbia, Germany attacked Russia and France in August. Accordingly, World War I officially started. After the First World War, Sarajevo became part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the city expanded rapidly. Additionally, the population increased enormously and there was a high demand for housing. Parallel to the physical improvements during the third quarter of the 20th century in Europe, large investments were made during this period; the main train station was enlarged, a lot of

residential neighbourhoods were built, an airport was built and structures for the Olympic Games were constructed. Companies started to establish themselves near the centre. They did this mainly in the old peripheral area, which has come to lie between the historic centre of the city and the newly built part within the last fifty years. Former President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito nationalised businesses and industries in a manner similar to the Soviet system which was based on state ownership of production, farming, manufacturing and administrative planning. However, Tito managed to maintain autonomy from the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

The changing demographic patterns sharpened the decentralisation of the old town. The industrial period changed the lifestyle of the residents working in factories. They became inhabitants in the outer skirts of the city and lived in the expanded neighbourhoods in the west. The residential areas were mainly distributed in the west bank of the Miljacka, while the working areas were situated in the northern side of the river. These neighbourhoods consist mainly of residential flats of 15-20 storeys high (Figure 3.13).



Figure 3.13 : Highrise apartment blocks in Alipašino Polje (URL-13).

Despite the huge investments (spatial and economic-wise) in the city, the promised new era of Yugoslavian Sarajevo did not come (Massey, 1995; Rosenthal, 1980). Rather than that, several dozen buildings influenced by Modernism and the Bauhaus

movement were erected in Sarajevo and enlarged its architectural heritage. This heritage began to become an international role model, as it represented Yugoslavia as an open and diverse country that promoted the physical expression of socio-cultural morals. The faith of religion which was dominant by this time was replaced by the faith of Slavic brotherhood and unity. Accordingly, religious symbols and structures and places of worship were replaced by cultural and social homes, memorial sites, and monuments. Polyvalent institutions as social, cultural and sports homes or centres were designed for large gatherings with the goal of promoting national unity and controlling the socio-cultural life (Zagora & Šamić, 2014).

3.2.2 A special emphasis on post-war Sarajevo and its reconstruction process

The first bombs fell in Sarajevo when Bosnia and Hercegovina was recognised as independent state in April 1992. This meant for the city a 1425-day siege, the longest one in modern history. During the Bosnian War between 1992-1995, the city of Sarajevo was subjected to a siege and massacres. Besides, the city went through the turbulent event of war united in poverty, unemployment and corruption. When the war came to an end with the implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement¹⁷ in December 1995, prospects for the city were dark. Sarajevo was known as the city with too much history and too little future. The country faced a simultaneous movement (the so called ‘Triple Transition’) from war to peace, from communism to democracy and from socialism to a free-market economy (Lamphere-Englund, 2015: 3). Consequently, despite the reconstruction of the physical destruction, the peace-building mission had the primary goal to promote a prompt political and economic liberalisation. The Dayton Accords consolidated arrangements for power-sharing between the divided ethnic groups (Bosniaks, Croats, Serbs) with the intention to be temporary. Accordingly, Bosnia and Herzegovina have been divided into three territorial entities; the multi-ethnic Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) in the south, the Serb-dominated Republika Srpska (RS) in the north and east, and the independent district of Brčko in the north. Sarajevo became the capital city of the FBiH. The Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL) -which politically divided Sarajevo (FBiH) and East Sarajevo (RS)- was a part of this partition and has been stipulated in

¹⁷ The Dayton Peace Agreement is a treaty signed in December 1995 between the states of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Yugoslavia and Croatia to end the Bosnian War.

annex 2 of the agreement (Lamphere-Englund, 2015). Although there is no physical border, the boundary line separates the facilities and interactions in the urban area (Figure 3.14, Figure 3.15).

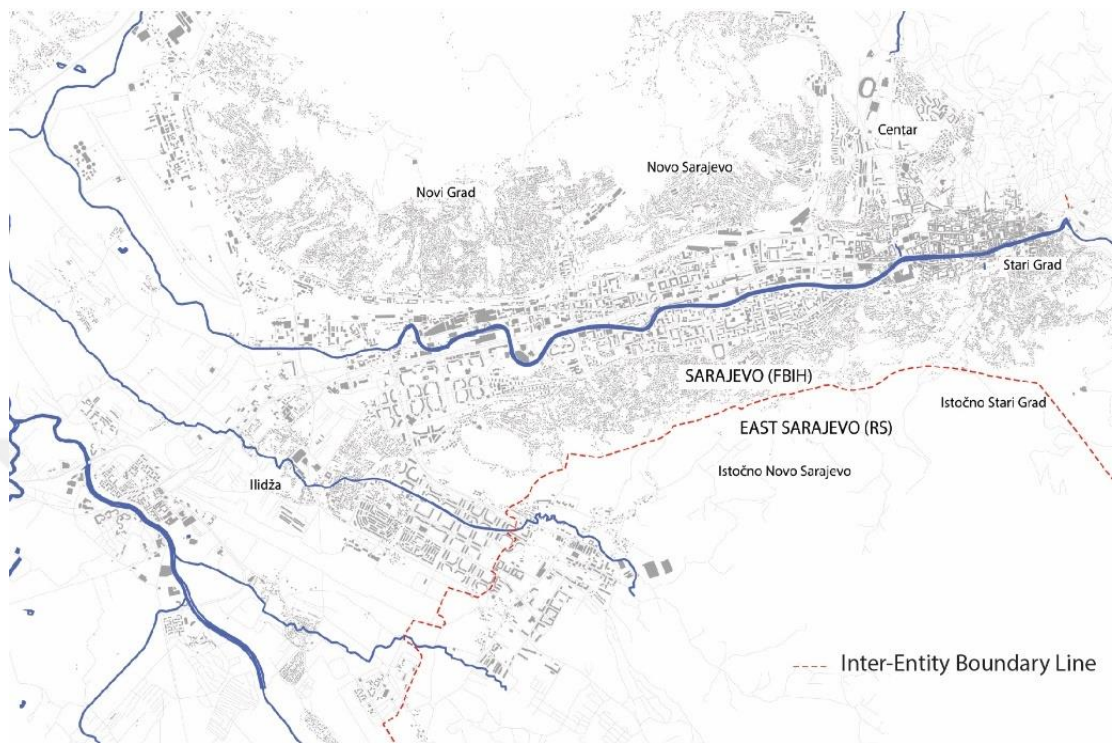


Figure 3.14 : Map of Sarajevo according to the Dayton Agreement's political boundary line.



Figure 3.15 : The Inter-Entity Border Line in Dobrinja, East Sarajevo (RS) (URL-14).

Other than political outcomes, the conflict instigated social, spatial, economical and symbolic consequences. In the post-war period the housing sector showed huge devastation due to the siege. The urban centre of Sarajevo was destroyed which caused migration, densification and urban sprawl. The rate of building damages in three out of the four municipalities of Sarajevo were between 74% and 96% (Housing Sector Task Force, 1999; Lamphere-Englund, 2015). Furthermore, about 80% of the basic utilities in the city were disabled (Kotzen & Garcia, 2014; Lamphere-Englund, 2015). The internal and external portraiture of the state got harmed and Bosnia and Herzegovina had to forge a new national identity fostering the centuries' old diversity. Besides, the adaptation to democracy on the one hand and the market economy on the other hand was harder than thought. The media presented images and videos of a war-torn Sarajevo has remained a difficulty in the creation of this new identity. The city's restructuring policies were inadequate due to lack of cultural awareness (Solioz et al., 2004). One of the most important outcomes of the work carried out by the NDI (National Democratic Institute) was the aim that post-war restructuring should work like an ecosystem. However, groups in the country have not been successful in forming this ecosystem as a whole.

Only the functional restructuring of the physical structure is insufficient to rebuild a living city, and when looking at the larger picture, it is essential to use educational, economic and cultural initiatives to revive urban life in a projection involving politicians. All by all, rehabilitation of the city was needed in technical, institutional, environmental and economic matter taking the socio-cultural sensitivity in consideration.

3.2.2.1 Dayton's reconstruction strategy

The Dayton Peace Accords contain 11 annexes concerning both military and civil stipulations. Annexes 8 and 9 of the agreement basically address general provisions about physical reconstruction and heritage protection. However, the reconstruction process has been carried out in four stages with no single integrated plan. The city constituted four plans on cantonal level; (1) Urban Plan of the City of Sarajevo for Urban Area of Sarajevo for the period from 1986 to 2015; (2) Canton Environmental Action Plan 2006; (3) Sarajevo Canton Development Strategy until 2015, and; (4) Spatial Plan of Sarajevo Canton for the period from 2003 to 2023 (OWHC, 2018). The

constitution of these plans led to an inconsistent development and created conflicts during the reconstruction process. For example, despite the introduction of the cantonal plan in 2006, the plan of 1986 was still in force -even though being revised in 1990 and 1998- and guided the main organization of Sarajevo's central urban area. Although, morphological transformations arose and are designated due to new urban developments in the centre (e.g. shopping malls, office towers) by foreigner investors (Martín-Díaz, 2014; Gül & Dee, 2015). Secondly, the IEBL aroused separate councils and planning offices for the physical reconstruction. The urban plan of 1986 had classified zones that became part of the RS (Figure 3.16) while new plans were prepared in the RS and eliminated in the urban plan of 1986. Along with these authorities, various responsible local and international actors took a role in different phases of the reconstruction. Among leading organisations, UN forces acted on the importance of political reform and the World Bank assisted mainly the economic recovery and normalisation.

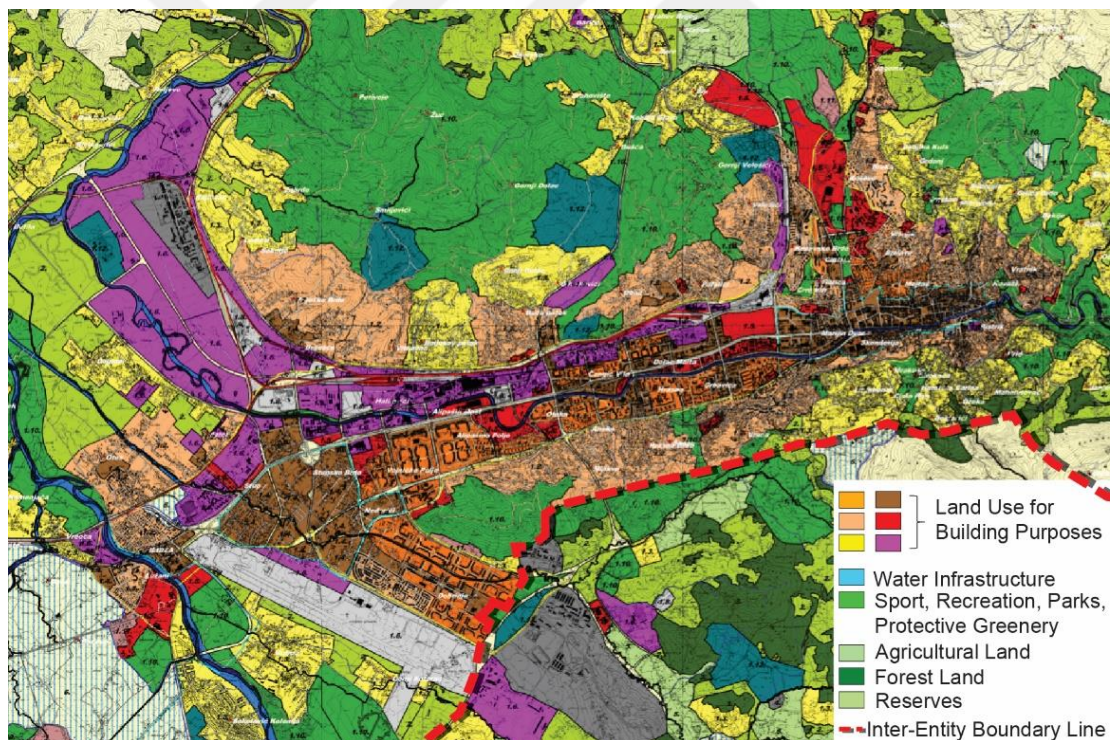


Figure 3.16 : Urban Plan of the City of Sarajevo 1986-2015 showing the disintegration of the IEHL (adapted from ZPR KS, 2021).

Infrastructural reconstruction and the containment of conflict 1995-2000

The first phase of the reconstruction included the deployment of NATO forces to contain the conflict against a potential renewal of the armed conflict. In the city the

priority was to restore the war-torn basic infrastructure (e.g. water, electricity, telecommunication) to function as the basic needs of residents.

International protectorate against nationalist obstructions 1997-2006

Besides primary physical repairs, shelter and property restitution were fraught with confronting the occupation of vacant houses owned by people who have left the city in the one hand, and the transition from collective to individual property rights on the other hand. During this phase, an evolution of the role of the High Representative and increasing involvement of international actors in domestic state affairs slowly inaugurated.

State-building improvements 2000-2006

A new phase of urban renewal had been approached through the engagement of international actors to accomplish the transformation from an aid-dependent system to a self-sustaining economy. Nevertheless, power sharing of and consensus between the ethnically representative organs did not work at all. Consequently, institutionalisation and state level corporation to (re)form laws and legislations regarding reconstruction were unable to develop healthy (Marko, 2005; Causevic & Lynch, 2013: 147-148). The insufficient cooperation reflected in the opinion of the residents; nearly 90% of the residents of Canton Sarajevo did not feel represented (Lamphere-Englund, 2015). Regarding the cultural heritage, significant funds were provided for the reconstruction of existing buildings and new (public) buildings and religious buildings; “the increased presence of Islamic structures, from schools and mosques to Islamic-bank funded shopping centres such as the BBI Centar, contribute to the so-called “greening” or Islamisation of Sarajevo” (Lamphere-Englund, 2015: 6).

Withdrawal of international donors and deterioration in reconstruction and state reforms and 2006-present

Although their collaboration was planned to be temporary, international donorships provided a basis for the development of a market economy which created possibilities for long-term engagement. In this manner, a part of the shareholders turned into private investors and this had a profound impact in forming the major structures and contemporary public spaces in the city (Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2020). Instead of integrated economic program or manufacturing facilities, Sarajevo became

represented by massive shopping malls not corresponding to the needs of the residents, while markets in the suburban areas covered the informal part of the economy.

All by all, the post-war urban planning in Sarajevo did not directly react to the major needs and the reconstruction phases were missing a coherent and sufficient vision and urban programming. Moreover, “no single master plan for the city’s reconstruction was created, representing a split with the modernisation plans of the previous century” (Kotzen & Garcia, 2014). Authorities oversaw an inefficient and insufficient level of urbanization and destruction of public spaces. Corruption had occurred as the major problem, caused by a lack of recruitment and implementation control. Planning permissions have been granted for large buildings and shopping centres without justification. Existing culture and the changing demographics (due to the displacement) were neglected in the reconstruction phase.

3.2.3 The conceptual transformation of public space in Sarajevo

Different periods in city planning can be recognized not only by its different architectural and urban styles, but also by the utilization and organization of public spaces. Many of the major city structures is destroyed by either natural or cultural disasters and are confronted with the problems of economic decline and social destruction. Processes such as reproduction, rehabilitation, privatisation, commercialisation, and preservation play a crucial role in recreating public spaces. The city of Sarajevo not only holds its multi-cultural identity in the social sphere but also in the physical sense. Following the historical development of the city, this section investigates the characterisation and transformation of public space. This will be explored through the publicness variable of public space.

Based on personal observations in 2019, a comparative analysis of four key historical periods have been undertaken; the 15th – 19th century Ottoman rulership focusing on the occurrence of Sarajevo as a city; the 20th century Austro-Hungarian period which introduces a new infrastructural network in the city; the 20th century Yugoslav / Socialist period which concentrates on the community-based expansion in the city and the 21st century Contemporary city which shows the neoliberal reflections of the post-war period. The research examines the conceptual transition and the characteristics of public space and reveals a comparison of the transformation through Sarajevo’s historical civilizations. In this manner, the spatial composition of the significant public

spaces of each era and the correlation between the different periods are important to detect. A morphological reading has been conducted by using the Star Model of Publicness to identify the spatial characterisation of the representative public spaces through the historical layers of the city. The study illustrates the impacts of political, economic, and socio-cultural dynamics in the transition of representational public spaces of each era. In this way, the research does not only stress the physical factors of a broad historical comparison but also highlights the association with the contextual dynamics.

3.2.3.1 Dimensions of publicness and the star model

The society's reaction to components of the natural and the built environment is most clearly decipherable in public space, as the public has free access to these places (Carmona et al., 2010) to perform its collective and/or personal activities (Carr et al., 1992). The public space phenomenon has been addressed by a wide range of scholars (see chapter 2) and this phenomenon manipulates policy making processes with the consideration of urban planning as a physical existence or in the socio-economic and political field as a broader interdisciplinary urgency. Policy debates foster the tasks of successful public spaces and how these spaces should be designed, integrated and implemented within the framework of current (and future) government strategies. Except as functional property, public space determines the degree of social exchange of societies and thus is essential in creating the public sphere. In this sense, many attempts have been made in the last century to classify public space according to a range of indicators. Public space is also understood as the opposite of private space where the differences lay on the degree of its publicness (or its privateness) (Madanipour, 2010). Publicness as a fundamental indicator in defining a public space is not a new approach. Németh & Schmidt (2011) point out that the regulatory environment has a significant impact on the quality of the built environment. Németh (2009) highlights that the government owns and operates publicly owned public space and that privately-owned public space -which are a certain type of publicly accessible space- is operated by private developers and management firms (p. 2464). Thus, privatisation of public space leads to a transition of ownership. Public space is privatised by the government to enable attractive initiatives and to achieve public objectives. The private investors try to preserve the public nature of the space by investing in the use, control and accessibility of the space (Németh & Schmidt, 2011:

5). Similarly, Carmona (2015) argues -based on empirical studies in London- that “ownership and accessibility do not, by themselves, define; ‘publicness’, and processes of privatisation do not necessarily restrict public life; they may even enhance it” (p. 397). A private space can be experienced as public by its users just as they would in a publicly owned public space. The theory shows that property is not that important for the definition of public space. It is important that the public space can be used by the community (van Melik, 2008: 17). In order to see the transformation of the meaning of public space, there is a necessity for a comparative method to evaluate the public space with a focus on the publicness. Many post-modern scholars identified various variables for evaluating public spaces. Several intuitive attempts are made to quantify different aspects related to the publicness of public space and are translated into models to evaluate the management (Németh & Schmidt, 2011), the security (van Melik et al., 2007) and the accessibility (Langstraat & van Melik, 2013) of public spaces. Although, all mentioned models were not focusing specifically on the publicness, but only at a theme and their sub-indicators to this explicit theme. A more present model is The Star Model of Publicness created by Varna (2011) and is built upon the previous attempts to analyse and quantify indicators related to the ‘publicness’.

In defining the publicness as a standard for measuring the representational public spaces, Varna (2011) determines the following meta-themes of publicness (Figure 3.17):

- *Ownership* refers to the legal status of a parcel of land, as the result of a purchase. It ranges from absolute public ownership to absolute private ownership, going through variations of grey shades between these two extremes.
- *Physical configuration* refers to the physical characteristics of a public place as a part of the built environment. It consists of two levels: macrodesign (the choice of locality, connectivity, visibility) and micro-design (sitting opportunities, walking opportunities, active frontages etc.)
- *Animation* refers to the practical expression of human needs in public places – to the actual use of a place. The ‘more public’ public places, in terms of

animation, are those characterised by a vibrant public life expressed in a wide range of activities performed by a large number and a high diversity of users.

- *Control* refers to the different measures taken to limit the individual freedom and the political manifestations of the members of a certain social group, when they are present in a public place. It refers both to measures taken as part of the management of public places and to methods imbedded in the design of public place.
- *Civility* refers to the overall cleanliness and tidiness of a public place, including those elements that are key in making a public place an inviting and attractive area (bins, green areas, public toilets, etc.).

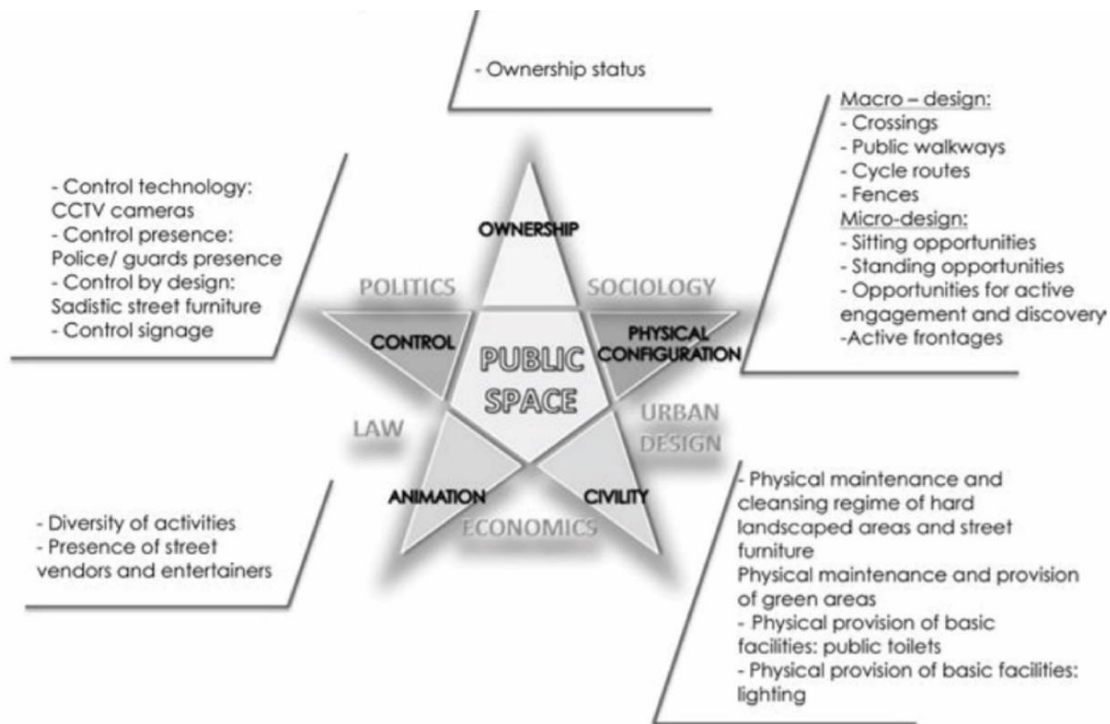


Figure 3.17 : The Star Model of Publicness and the indicators for each dimension (Varna, 2014: 82).

The calibration of the meta-themes is on a scale from 1 to 5. For each score, from 1 to 5, the observant tries to give a description as objective as possible for every indicator and generates a scale where 1 is the lowest publicness and 5 is the highest (Varna, 2011). Varna tested the model at the waterfront of Glasgow (Scotland) and Turku (Finland). Three sites at the regeneration area of Clyde River in Glasgow show average ratings of publicness due to the lack of funding at national level, the divided ownership on the banks of Clyde and the existence of a variety of actors in charge of the public

places. The public spaces of Turku lack in activity, the connectivity with the city centre and the inactivity of the river itself (Varna, 2013). Thus, the star model assists more in-depth and situated exploration of the publicness of public places (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010). It claims that in order to provide an effective result of the star model, the public space needs to be important spaces for the city life. They need to be developed in different time periods and different locations (centre versus more peripheral, West versus East bank) for a better comparison (Varna, 2014). In this manner, this approach holds potential for an explanatory comparative study in the case of Sarajevo.

3.2.3.2 Case studies

For this study, four public spaces (of which each represents a key historical period; the 15th-19th century Ottoman period, the 20th century Austro-Hungarian period, the 20th century Yugoslav / Socialist period and the 21st century Contemporary city) are evaluated (Figure 3.18).

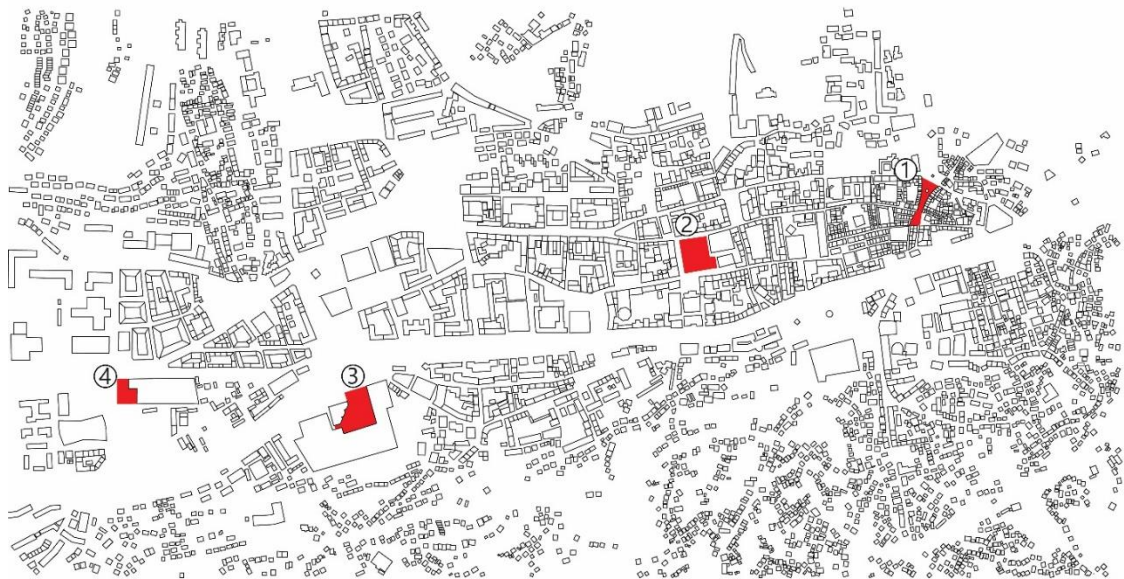


Figure 3.18 : Representational public space of each period; 1) Baščaršija Square, 2) Liberation-Alija Izetbegović square, 3) Skenderija Plateau, 4) Sarajevo City Center (SCC) Square (adapted from Zıvalı Turhan & Ayatac, 2020).

The main square in *Baščaršija* (Figure 3.19) can be considered as an open space with an extension to the west and east direction which functions as a wide street. In the centre of the square, a *sebilj* (fountain) has been placed. Its original purpose of being the main trading area never got lost.



Figure 3.19 : Baščaršija Square in Sarajevo (URL-15).

The Liberation-Alija Izetbegović Square (Figure 3.20) is situated along the Ferhadija Street, the main shopping street. After the Cathedral Church of the Nativity of the Theotokos was built in 1874, the square was called *Crkveni Trg*. The name changed many times after, with its name in reference to the city development such as the establishment of the railway. After the destruction of the tracks during World War II, the site became an expansion of the square.



Figure 3.20 : Liberation Square in Sarajevo (URL-16).

Within the rapidly expanding city in the late 1960s and preparations for the Winter Olympics of the 1980s, there was a lack of an exhibition and sports-centre. The Skenderija Plateau (Figure 3.21) is a city square that was opened in 1969 which connects all public facilities of the Skenderija Center, one of the most representative institutions serving the international sport event (Beslic, 2019). Before the war, this was one of the modernists and most western styled buildings in Yugoslavia. It was an immensely popular place among young people, and big stars of Balkan pop-music, such as Dino Merlin, had started their careers here. In 1992, when the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina started and the city was under siege, the Skenderija was set under shellfire. The main structure of the building survived without major damage, but the youth centre was burned out and made unusable. Between 2000 and 2006, Skenderija was rebuild with the hopes to build up a new economy and trade in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the post-war period.



Figure 3.21 : Skenderija Plateau (URL-17).

Sarajevo City Center (SCC) (Figure 3.22) is a business complex and shopping centre in downtown that consists of a large underground parking space and three main parts: a shopping mall and leisure complex, a five-star hotel tower and a commercial offices tower. Perfect location provides the building to be at the heart of the business zone, surrounded with banks, government buildings and dozens of international and local companies. This is the reason an office tower was created as part of the SCC. The large parking area and applied high-tech elements makes the building a part of the landmarks

of the city. The famous media façade provides broadcasting advertising, the news etc. and is one of the largest video billboards in Europe. It is the largest commercial business attraction in Bosnia and Herzegovina after completing in early 2014.



Figure 3.22 : Sarajevo City Center and square (URL-18).

The data gathered from on-site observations are summarized in a matrix (Table 3.2) and presented in star models (Figure 3.23). The models allow a comparison of each meta-theme regarding the specific case-study, but also between the different sites. The results show that the most public public space is Baščaršija Square with a value of 4.21 and the least public is Skenderija Plateau with a value of 2.83. Liberation Square with a value of 3.47 and Sarajevo City Center Square with a value of 3.52 rates intermediary.

According to the results of the meta-theme “Ownership” which refers to the legal status of a parcel of land, as the result of a purchase, Baščaršija Square is rated as most public, as it was developed under a public *waqf*¹⁸ system. The properties of the site have a religious, pious and charitable purpose and is for the benefit of the society. Given the results, the transition of the ownership is transforming from a public structure towards a private structure.

Regarding the meta-theme “Physical Configuration” which refers to the physical characteristics of a public place as a part of the built environment, all case studies are

¹⁸ The waqf system is “the judicial action carried out by the owner of a property for a while allocation of a property to a religious, social and good purpose” (Bölükbaşı, 2022).

merely like each other and provide an intermediate value of publicness in the overall grading. This might be caused due to the renewal over time of the physical layout and the urban components on all sites. Thus, the layout starts to look similar to each other as this aspect is directly related to current user trends and needs. Though, this theme is divided into the subgroups macro-design and micro-design. On macro-design level Sarajevo City Center Square scores clearly the highest (with a value of 3.75), as the site is very well integrated in the surrounding urban grid. On micro-design level, Liberation Square scores a value of 4.75 and provides a wide range of walking, sitting, engagement and discovery opportunities. It can be stated that the public spaces of the earlier periods of Sarajevo (Baščaršija Square and Liberation Square) perform better as active ones and that they are more occupied, while the more recent squares (Skenderija Plateau and Sarajevo City Center Square) have the purpose to serve as infrastructural nodal points.

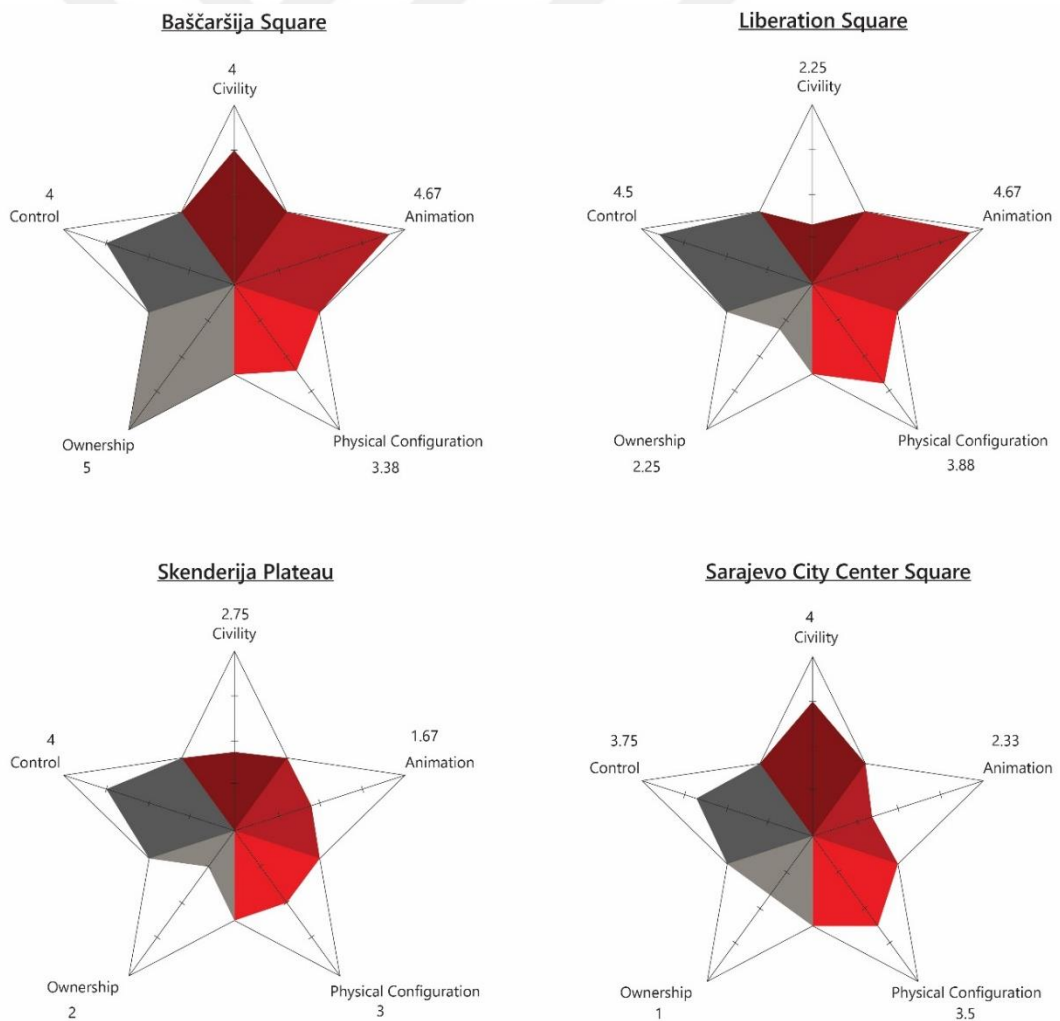


Figure 3.23 : Star model for each case study (adapted from Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2020).

The meta-theme “Animation” which refers to the practical expression of human needs in public places – to the actual use of a place, reveals that the earlier sites are scoring high (both a value of 4.67) and the more recent ones are clearly scoring low on publicness. This can be related to the lack of opportunities for active engagement on the Skenderija Plateau and Sarajevo City Center Square as mentioned above. These squares are relatively empty places and are a part of the larger infrastructural network of the city.

Regarding the meta-theme “Control” which refers to the different measures taken to limit the individual freedom and the political manifestations of the members of a certain social group when they are present in a public place, Liberation Square scores the highest (with a value of 4.5) and Sarajevo City Centre Square score the lowest (with a value of 3.75). Although, the overall scores of all the squares are quite high, which indicates a high evaluation of publicness. In terms of control not all the public places are under the overt surveillance of CCTV technology or patrolled by the local police or guards. This indicates either a low security rate or an ideal situation of free use.

The results related to the meta-theme “Civility” which refers to the overall cleanliness and tidiness of a public place, show that Baščaršija Square and Sarajevo City Center Square are the cleanest and best in providing physical maintenance and basic facilities. There is no pattern one can read over time related to this meta-theme. Although there is a decrease over time in the provision of green areas on the sites. This might be linked to the fact that the idea of the square becomes a place to meet and a part of the larger infrastructural network over time and therefore fewer public facilities and qualities are required as the users do not need to spend much time on the site itself.

Table 3.2 : The evaluation of Public Space in Sarajevo according to Varna's (2010) Star Model (Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2020).

			Ottoman Period	Austro-Hungarian Period	Yugoslav / Socialist Period	Contemporary Period
Period			15th – 19th century	20th century	20th century	21st century
Planning Approach			Ottoman Islamic	European	Modernism and Bauhaus\ softened brutalism	Contemporary
Representational Public Space			Baščaršija Square	Liberation Square	Skenderija Plateau	Sarajevo City Centre Square
OWNERSHIP	Ownership Status		Was historically related to the vakuf (Islamic endowment) Vakuf ownership / Public function / public use	A strong private-property-owning elite together with a middle-class clientele who rented accommodation. Partly public ownership / Public function / public use	Under the ownership of private bodies. Vakuf ownership / Public function / public use	The entire area is owned by one actor, the private company Al-Shiddi Group
	Score		5	2.5	1	1
PHYSICAL CONFIGURATION	Macro-design	- Crossings - Public Walkways - Cycle Routes - Fences	- Crossing points present mainly in only one cardinal direction - Connecting the public place in all four cardinal directions - The public place is connected in only one cardinal direction - Chained bollards	- Crossings from all cardinal directions - Connecting the public place in all four cardinal directions - The public place is not connected by cycle routes in any cardinal direction - Bollards and statues as borders	- Crossing points present mainly in only one cardinal direction - Connecting the public place in mainly one direction - The public place is connected in only one cardinal direction - Car parking as fence, stairs as border	- Crossings from all cardinal directions - Part of the walkways wide enough - The public place is connected in two cardinal directions by cycle routes - No physical restrictions to access
		- Sitting Opp. - Walking Opp. - Opp. for Active Engagement and Discovery - Active Frontages	- Presence of benches in one cluster and informal sitting opportunities - Merely an even and easily walkable surface - More than three different elements for active engagement - More than 15 premises every 100 m	- Presence of benches at regular intervals - Even and easily walkable surface - More than three different elements for active engagement - 10-15 premises every 100m	- Presence of benches and informal sitting opportunities - Level differences on surface - Three different elements for active engagement - Site not active, but buildings are - 6-10 premises every 100m	- Informal sitting opportunities - Even and easily walkable surface - Two different elements for active engagement - 6-10 premises every 100m
	Score		3.38	3.88	3	3.5

Table 3.2 (continued): The evaluation of Public Space in Sarajevo according to Varna's (2010) Star Model (Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2020).

		Ottoman Period	Austro-Hungarian Period	Yugoslav / Socialist Period	Contemporary Period
ANIMATION	Diversity of Activities	Large amount of activities	Large amount of activities	Large scale activities	Diverse amount of activities
	Presence of Street Vendors and Entertainers	Street vendors; bird seed, chestnut. Musicians.	Artists with temporary exhibitions. Street vendors.	No presence	No presence
Score		4.67	4.67	1.67	2.33
CONTROL	Control Technology: CCTV Cameras	The entire site is under surveillance	No cameras recognized	The entire site is under surveillance, even by live public cameras	Less than 1/2 of the site is under surveillance
	Control Presence: Police/Guard Presence	No police patrols or private guards observed. Social control due to the location.	No police patrols or private guards observed. Social control due to the location.	No police patrols or private guards observed	Social control by guards of the parliament and the shopping centre
	Control by Design: Sadistic Street Furniture	No elements of sadistic street furniture.	No elements of sadistic street furniture.	No elements of sadistic street furniture.	No elements of sadistic street furniture.
	Control Signage	Sign(s) deterring three behaviours	No signs deterring behaviours	No signs deterring behaviours	Sign(s) deterring one behaviour
Score		4	4.5	4	3.75
CIVILITY	Physical Maintenance and Cleansing Regime of Hard Landscaped Areas and Street Furniture	Existence of bird droppings and feathers. Existence of bins.	Pavement is old and neglected. Existence of bird droppings. Existence of a large variety of bins.	Pavement is renewed and clean. Existence of bins on each main corner.	Maintenance is of average amount. Bins are not cleaned.
	Physical Maintenance and Provision of Green Areas	Several signs of deterioration	Serious signs of deterioration	No green space	No green space
	Physical Provision of Basic Facilities: Public Toilets	No such facility is present on site	No such facility is present on site	No such facility is present on site	No such facility is present on site
	Physical Provision of Basic Facilities: Lightning	Only approximately 25% of the site is well lit	The entire site is well lit.	The entire site is well lit by large stadium lightning objects	The entire site is well lit.
Score		4	2.25	2.75	4

The main aim of this research was to compare the publicness of different public spaces representing different historical periods in the city of Sarajevo. The four case studies can be considered as representatives for the historical periods in Sarajevo. Each public space has been graded by using the Star Model of Publicness. This approach allowed the required comparison in terms of each meta-theme, but also in the overall value of

publicness. The attempt was to give a synopsis to discover which significant features of public space simultaneously focus on the historical transformation of the space and its context. The public space in Sarajevo can be characterized as highly diverse; from the informal but functionally determined Ottoman city, to the formally demarcated and functionally neutral public space in the Austro-Hungarian period, till the large-scale, undetermined and natural public space in the Yugoslav city of Sarajevo. The development of the city has gone through various stages of expansion, stagnation, destruction, and contraction. There is a clear transition of publicness in the residential form in the city, from the included public spaces in the Ottoman era, to the semi-public shared inner yards of Austro-Hungarian period and the public open spaces that promotes the idea of unity in the Yugoslavian era. According to the results, the following can be concluded:

- Through the historical time span of Sarajevo, the ownership of sites transited from public to private investors. Although, as the wakf system during the Ottoman period strengthened the public interest, the Soviet system based on state ownership of production and farming made the Yugoslav / Socialist period similar qua ownership to the very first city of Sarajevo.
- The data indicates typical public space patterns bounded to each era and concludes that public spaces of each era differ dramatically in their functional, socio-spatial and symbolic roles.
- In contrast with this, the representative sites do not include their specific physical characteristics. The users need seems to fluctuate through time and is highly produced by the practice of everyday life of the society.
- The study recognizes significant events that have directly shaped public space in Sarajevo. These events are not directly related to planned urban developments, but appear due to natural (either artificial) events. The fires during the 17th, 18th and 19th century in the city drastically affected the physical layout of the Ottoman centre but did not change the uniqueness of the area.
- While the private sector dominates the development of new public spaces, the public in the city redefines existing public spaces by utilizing them for private socio-economic and cultural activities.

- The first three eras have their own characters, while the contemporary city is merely a mix of all the cultures and is affected by neo-liberal policies and profit oriented private interests.

Yet, to get a more accurate reading in the transformation of public space in Sarajevo, more case studies should be investigated. Secondly, the Star Model of Publicness is an approach that still needs to be developed (Varna, 2011). Consequently, the findings help to contextualize current debates concerning socio-spatial, socio-economic, and political agendas in the city of Sarajevo and the region. Today's Sarajevo is positioned geographically as well as symbolically between East and West and is composed of Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, and Yugoslavian stigmas in its present-day urban heritage. This cultural richness should be considered as a potential rather than a problem in the future socio-spatial developments of the city.

3.2.4 Inclusiveness of public space in Sarajevo

Diversity and inclusion increase individuals' sense of belonging. The mutually beneficial aspects of "access" that "inclusive public space" (Akkar, 2004; Sugiana & Kustiwan, 2020) possess are four-fold, but are rearranged according to the context of Sarajevo and evaluated through the parameters given in Table 3.3:

1. **Physical Access:** Everyone has the right to be physically present in public space. Physical access is evaluated by the categorisation of open, semi-open and enclosed. The presence of limitations in access by design features such as entrances (i.e. gates, fences, doors) and opening hours of public places determines the possibility of the user's perception of whether a place is accessible or not. The physical situation of the public space and connection to the main infrastructure of the city also play a significant role in perceiving the place as more accessible.
2. **Social Access:** According to Carr et al. (1992), symbolic access refers to the existence of indications, such as users, design, and management features, that indicate who is and is not permitted in the area. Entry into a public area may be impacted by environments, people, and/or organizations that are viewed as frightening, reassuring, or welcoming (Tiesdell & Oc, 1998: 648). Public spaces with the potential to create intimidations/tensions between individuals of groups and presence of security tools influences the

perception about the safety of a place. Therefore, it's critical to enhance a public space's environment and atmosphere to make it more hospitable and/or less scary to a variety of social groups. Openness in sense of the physical visibility also increases the the perception of safety. Atmospheric characterisations of public spaces can be distinguished in introversion and extroversion. Extraversion and introversion are characteristics that are present in everyday human behavior. Compared to extroverts, introverts occupy more personal space and put more emphasis on their internal values and/or ideals. Likewise, anxious people are more inclined to keep their distance from others and oneself (Altman, 1975).

3. Access to Intercommunications: The scope and variety of activity is a result of the presence of communal spaces which provides flexibility for the user to encounter with the place or with other users. The public spaces welcome the users to participate in temporary or permanent activities and interpersonal interaction.
4. Access to Activities and Information: This is the situation whereby the public space activates through the acces of knowledge and related activity that can be performed. Activities and information permit us to define the public space as the area where all members of the society have access to knowledge about its creation and usage processes (Akkar, 2004). In relation to interpersonal interaction, low levels of social contact identify passive public places, and wandering and people-watching are among the passive engagement activities that define their public life (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010).

Table 3.3 : Qualities and parameters for inclusiveness.

Quality	Parameters		
Physical Access	open	semi-open	enclosed
Social Access	extrovert	introvert	
Access to Intercommunications	communal	civic	
Access to Activities and Information	active	passive	

Zagora & Šamić's recent study (2021) is one of the few works that particularly focuses on public space in Sarajevo with regards to social, historical and urban concerns and the generation of urban voids as contentious types of public places in the city. Moreover (and relevant for this thesis), the study provides a visualization of the current attributes of urban public spaces of Sarajevo. With the emphasis on the issue of

inclusiveness, utilizing, reframing and regenerating the presented maps will form a basis for perception of place attachment in the next chapter.

The physical access presents enclosed, semi-open and open public spaces. The most frequent type of physical accessibility occurs as outdoor open public spaces (Figure 3.24). Diverse types of outdoor open spaces are scattered throughout the city and are characterised by the neighbourhood they are situated in. The level of openness is related (besides the neighbourhood the spaces are situated in) with urban activity. Open spaces as we know in traditional sense are affiliated with gathering places from the past, such as squares and bazaars in the Old Town, or squares in front of public buildings such as churches, theatres and administrative buildings such as city halls. Here, long time (leisure) activities occur. On the other hand, open public spaces situated in front of shopping malls establish short-time meeting points rather than activity areas.

In contrast, the shopping malls themselves are considered as enclosed public spaces, as these spaces are secured by different types of security and are closed at certain times during the day. Although, the discussion of the privacy of public interiors occurs in many research and is underlined by Denise Scott Brown as a debate of how it functions (civic) and how it feels (communal / public) when talking about the history of interior public spaces (Harteveld & Scott Brown, 2007). Other enclosed public spaces in the city are mainly situated along the main transit artery of the city that connects East and West. These spaces represent chiefly parcels of large-scale public or private institutions or highly secured delegational offices (e.g. government and diplomatic buildings, such as ministries, consulates and embassies). These types of places are places with (besides a low physical accessibility) low psychological accessibility, which is contrasting to the very accessible main (public) transit network of the city.

The presence of semi-open public spaces is mainly seen in residential areas with expansive urban blocks that are separated by a low amount of vertical confinement. Hence, private contact between the residents is hindered by a composition of wide spaces (including parking lots) between the blocks. In this sense, there is an ignorance of human scale and aspects such as comfort and safety. More human-scale friendly are the courtyards that occur within the building blocks been built during the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

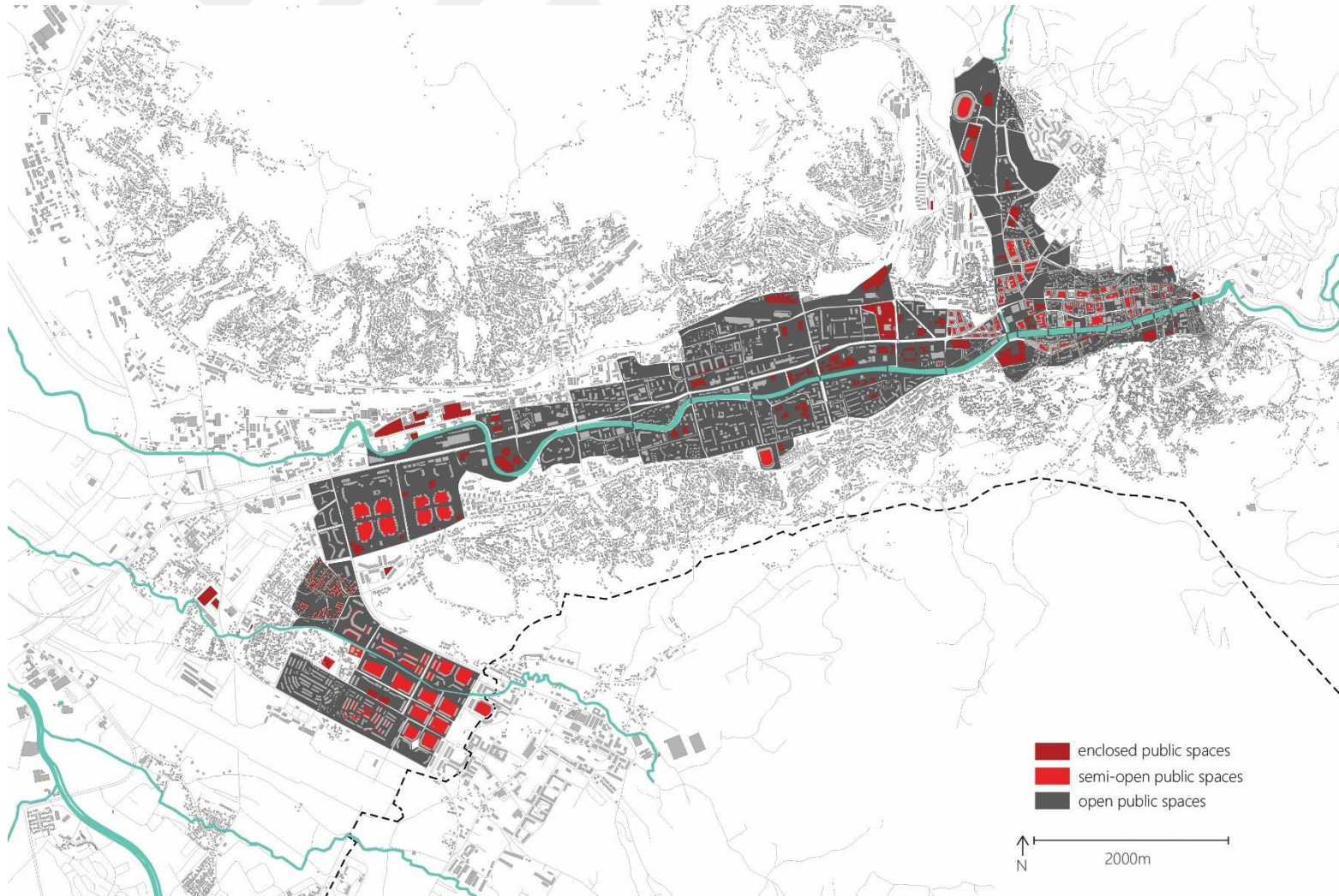


Figure 3.24 : Distribution of open, semi-open and enclosed public spaces in Sarajevo (adapted from Zagora & Šamić, 2021).

These types of ‘courtyards’ in building blocks are mainly in the Austro-Hungarian and Yugoslavian expansion areas of Sarajevo (i.e. Novo Sarajevo, Novi Grad). Some of these blocks are semi-enclosed by a gate or fence and thus are considered as semi-open public spaces serving for the residents itself (Figure 3.25a). Enclosed public spaces in Sarajevo are majorily indoor spaces providing public facilities, such as shopping malls or have administrative or commercial purposes (Figure 3.25b).

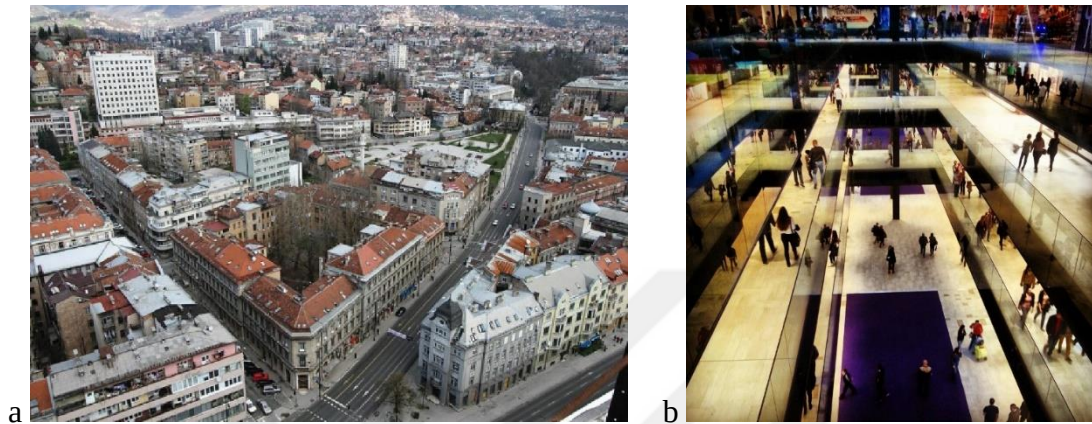


Figure 3.25 : a) Example of a Austro-Hungarian building block with semi-open public space (Ugljen- Ademović & Ibrišimbegović, 2016 and b) Sarajevo City Center as an example of an indoor public space (URL-19).

The social access presents introvert and extrovert public spaces. In relation to the enclosure level, the most enclosed spaces seem to have a higher degree of introversion (Figure 3.26). Public spaces that comprise interiority or domestic environments are clearly having an intimate atmosphere in contrast to outdoor spaces. An exception is the area of the Old Town. Many semi-open spaces in Baščaršija (e.g. Morića Han, Kolobara Han) are perceived as introvert public spaces (Figure 3.27a). An explanation may be that these spaces conserve their physical and non-physical character. Also, the courtyards of the Austro-Hungarian building blocks are of introvert character. In contrast, most public spaces built in the Socialist period fall under the category of extroverted public spaces. Clearly defined (but unenclosed) spaces such as the Parliament Square represents this category, but also a lot of undefined (green) spaces between residential building in Grbavica neighbourhood can be considered as extrovert (Figure 3.27b).



Figure 3.26 : Distribution of introvert and extrovert public spaces in the city of Sarajevo (adapted from Zagora & Šamić, 2021).



Figure 3.27 : a) The courtyard of Morića Han (URL-20) and b) undefined open public spaces in Grbavica (URL-21).

Access to intercommunications presents civic and communal public spaces. There are equal amounts of civic spaces as well as communal spaces distributed through Sarajevo, each with its own character and each providing different opportunities for its users (Figure 3.28). Instead of large open public spaces such as squares and plazas, civic public spaces are often perceived as places of movement and pedestrian zones (thus the streets itself). The alleys in the Old Town and Ferhadija street (main shopping street) connecting the old part with the new city are examples of these pedestrian zones. Although, there are also very few examples of multi-functional squares scattered through the city as civic spaces used for ceremonial and official purposes, but are free to access in daily life. An exclusive example is the Parliament Building Square (Figure 3.29a), which is situated between the river and the main road and extra highlighted due to the building's shape. Although there are no limitations to enter the square, people walk along the square instead of walking through it. The creation of large urban voids between private houses caused that communal spaces are represented in Grbavica and Alipašino Polje (Figure 3.29b) in shape of semi-open public spaces between modernist residential blocks. These places include a variety of public facilities (i.e. playgrounds, school/campus yards, public parks) dedicated to a small community.

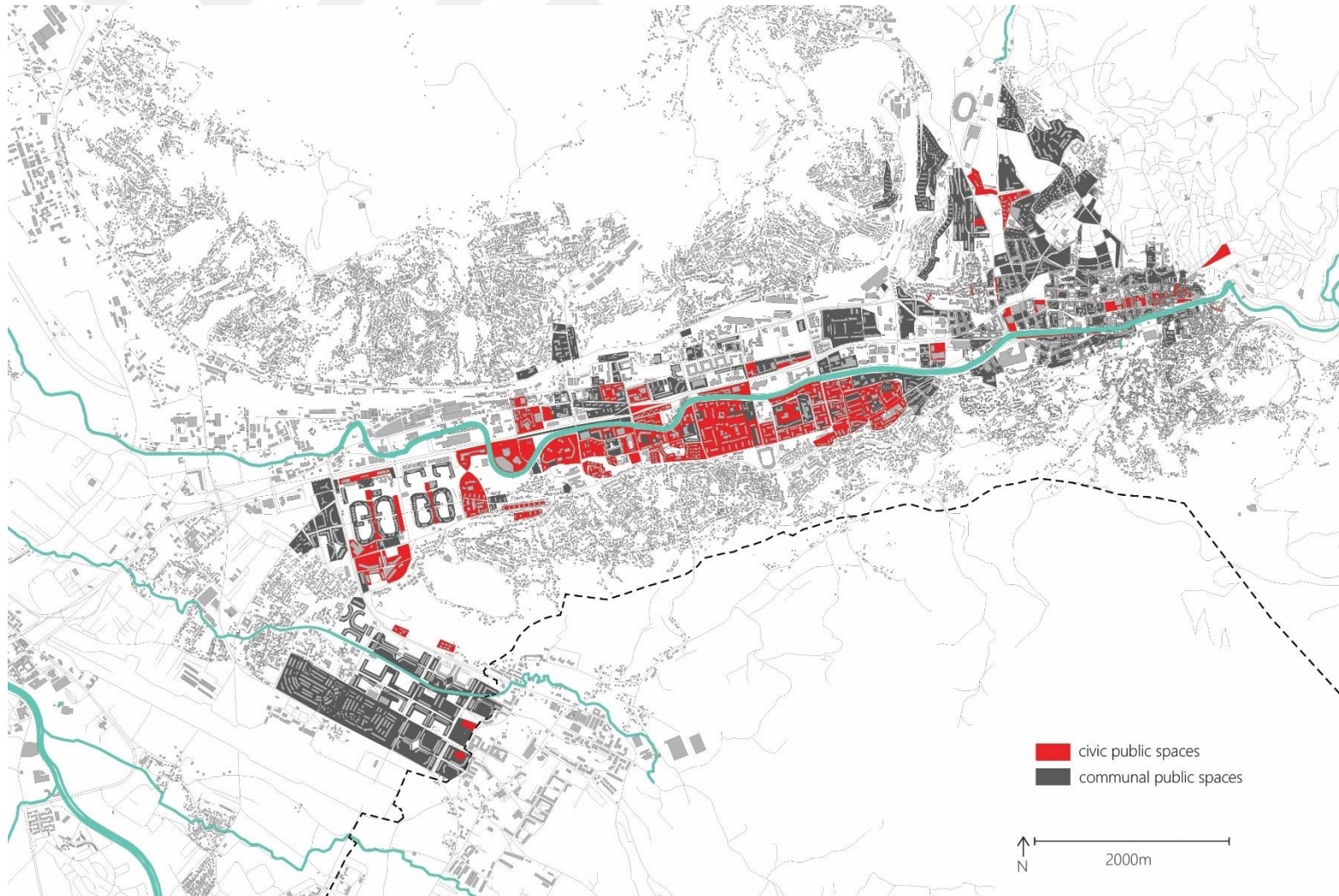


Figure 3.28 : Distribution of civic and communal public spaces in the city of Sarajevo (adapted from Zagora & Šamić, 2021).



Figure 3.29 : a) Parliament Building and Square as civic space (URL-22) and b) Alipašino Polje with communal public spaces within the building blocks (URL-23).

Access to activities and information is been represented by active and passive public spaces. Throughout the city active and passive public spaces can be found everywhere. Although, it seems that the activeness of public space is directly connected to the infrastructure and the street network (Figure 3.30). One of the most significant (and permanent) active public spaces in Sarajevo is the *Vilsonovo Šetalište* (Wilson's Lane), running along the Miljacka River through the heart of the city (Novo Sarajevo) (Figure 3.31). Post-war revitalisation of the promenade was employed by restoration and addition of public facilities along the of the lane. Furthermore, temporary activities such as maratons and exhibitions contributed to the re-activation process. Passive public spaces are merely identified as small spaces inbetween or at the entries of private buildings.

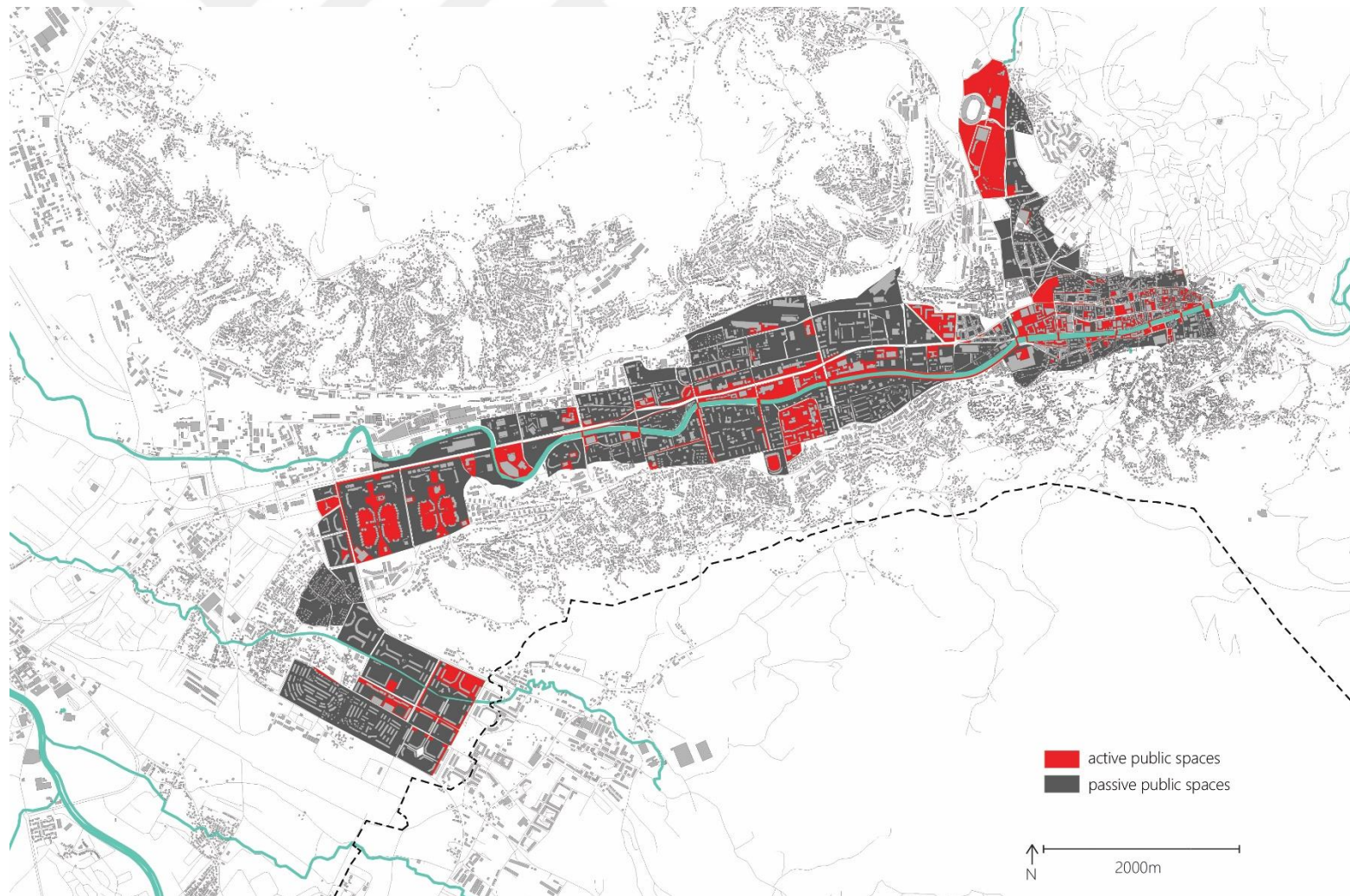


Figure 3.30 : Distribution of active and passive spaces in the city of Sarajevo (adapted from Zagora & Šamić, 2021).



Figure 3.31 : Vilsonovo Šetalište seen from birdseye view running along the Miljacka river (URL-24) and seen from eye level (URL-25).

3.3 Chapter Evaluation

This chapter introduced the geopolitical and spatial significance of Sarajevo within the larger region and evaluated the conceptual evolution of public space through different historical periods. It is seen that the spatial development and deterioration of the urban tissue directly has been triggered by external and internal socio-political and economic initiatives. Although, the cultural dynamics of the society has preserved public life. It is very exceptional for a city to embrace such a large range of public ‘spheres’; the tradition of a clear distinction between the public and private from Ottoman period, large public interventions on the streets during the Austro-Hungarian period, the communal public spaces been created during the socialist period and contemporary interventions with mixed approaches. Representational public spaces of each era differ dramatically in their functional, socio-spatial and symbolic roles. Although, these sites do not include their specific physical characteristics.

All has its reflection on the inclusiveness degree of places in the city. Regarding physical access, the enclosure level seems to be very significant in evaluating the inclusiveness of public spaces. Between the three gradations, semi-open public spaces are notable to mention as it reflects the Ottoman, as well as the Austro-Hungarian courtyards and the communal places within the Yugoslavian building blocks. The

human-scale and humble character of the Old Town reflects in the introvert character of its public spaces. The transformation to extroversion of public spaces occurs parallel with large public interventions during the 19th century and this tradition expands gradually towards the Western part of the city. Extroversy of the public spaces enhance the social access which is observed in large communal urban spaces. In sense of accessibility of intercommunication, the civic spaces are more accessible for intercommunication than communal spaces. The civic spaces include both introvert and extrovert spaces but are merely distributed in the southern extension areas of the city. The infrastructural layer seems to be essential in defining recently created public spaces. The newer the public space is, the more they have the purpose to serve as infrastructural nodal point. It has been seen that accessibility to activity and information is directly related to the infrastructure of the city. The East-West axis containing the main traffic connection and the riverbanks are one of the most active spaces. The more one moves away from this central axis towards north or south, passive spaces gradually increase. Although, due to the variety of activities, the Old Town is considered as an exception and nearby leisure areas are assigned as activated spaces.



4. URBAN NARRATIVES REGARDING PLACE ATTACHMENT: PERSPECTIVES FROM EXPERTS AND CITIZENS OF SARAJEVO

In the objective of this research the association between ethnic heterogeneous societies and the notion of place attachment in the multicultural setting will be examined. The first part of the research aimed to discuss the multicultural city through the phenomenon of place attachment in scholastic sense. To illustrate a setting-based comprehension, both a theoretical and practitioner contribution is required. Subsequently, the investigation in Chapter 4 intends to find out whether the reduced theory's propositions conform to empirical evidence or data. Therefore, an explanatory sequential mixed method has been applied (Figure 4.1) in two phases, both existing of data collection and data evaluation stages. By empirically and qualitatively evaluating the hypotheses, it is questioned whether the theoretical propositions are reflected in practise. Therefore, in the case of Sarajevo experts in the field (survey study) as well as citizens (interview study) have been asked to evaluate place attachment throughout the process¹⁹.

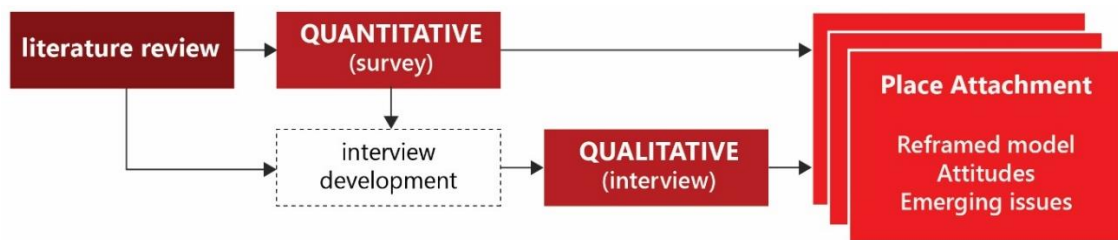


Figure 4.1 : Explanatory sequential mixed method scheme for the case study.

4.1 Quantitative Data Collection and Analysis: Surveying

For the survey, experts (academicians and/or practitioners) who have an affiliation (either professional or personal) with Sarajevo and working in any field related to urban space studies or ethnic diversity, have been detected. The survey has been prepared with Google Forms and sent electronically to 126 experts. A total amount of

¹⁹ The research was subject to an ethical review by the ethics committee of Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University with number 16.04.2021-49 (see Appendix A).

52 survey results have been collected in order to evaluate the hypotheses through the perspective of the experts. The survey consists of two parts. In the first part, sociodemographic data about the respondents has been collected to evaluate their affiliation with the subject. Background information such as gender, age, place of birth, education, occupation, (research or working) field and years of experience have been asked. In the second part of the survey, subject-related queries have been conducted. The part exists of questionnaires regarding place attachment and public space with no references to an existing site or location. Theoretical propositions in reference to place attachment have been asked to be evaluated by the respondents through a 5-point Likert scale (ranging from ‘1 strongly disagree’ to ‘5 strongly agree’). In addition, 19 theory-based attributes of place attachment have been asked to be evaluated by the respondents through a 5-point Likert scale (ranging from ‘not important’ to ‘very important’). Furthermore, 36 key attributes playing a role in creating successful places based on the Place Diagram (Figure 4.2) have been asked to be evaluated through a 5-point Likert scale (ranging from ‘not important’ to ‘very important’) with no reference to a certain existing public space. After each section the possibility for comments and/or suggestions regarding the evaluation have been provided.



Figure 4.2 : Place Diagram (adapted from URL-26).

4.2 Results: Experts' View on Place Attachment

A total of 52 respondents evaluated the concept of place attachment in reference to ethnic diversity. Table 4.1 provides an overview of the background information of the respondents. All participants gave full answers to all questions, however some of the respondents informed their 'place of birth' and 'current location' as country instead of a city.

Table 4.1 : Sociodemographic profile of the respondents.

No. (n) %			No. (n) %		
Gender			Age (years)		
Male	24	46.2	<25	0	0
Female	28	53.8	25-34	14	26.3
Level of education			35-44	18	34.6
Bachelors	10	19.2	45-54	14	26.9
Masters	10	19.2	55-65	6	11.5
Doctoral	32	61.6	65+	0	0
Place of birth			Current location		
Sarajevo	10	19.7	Sarajevo	9	17.3
Istanbul	10	19.7	Missouri	1	2.0
Zenica	4	7.7	Varaždin	2	3.8
Aleppo	2	3.8	Balikesir	2	3.8
Priština	2	3.8	Istanbul	5	9.6
Varaždin	2	3.8	Ankara	3	5.8
Vlasenica	2	3.8	Tokyo	1	2.0
South Carolina	2	3.8	Melbourne	3	5.8
Tuzla	2	3.8	Mostar	2	3.8
Mostar	2	3.8	California	2	3.8
Balikesir	2	3.8	Europe	5	9.6
The Netherlands	2	3.8	The Netherlands	3	5.8
Bosnia and Herzegovina	2	3.8	Bosnia and Herzegovina	5	9.6
United States of America	4	7.7	United States of America	5	9.6
Turkey	4	7.7	Turkey	4	7.7

Male participants are almost equal to female participants. The age of the participants is mainly between 25 and 54 years old. More than half of the respondents possess a doctoral degree. A remarkable amount of the respondents was born in Bosnia and Herzegovina and are living in the country. According to the respondents' working experiences, there can be concluded that more than half of them have more than 11 years of working experience. While almost half of the participants are working in academia, professionals from many other fields took part in the survey (Figure 4.3). Almost half of the respondents work in the field of architecture and urban planning, while a significant percentage is involved in political, social and cultural sciences. A complete overview of the participants' demographic status of the respondents is presented in Appendix C.

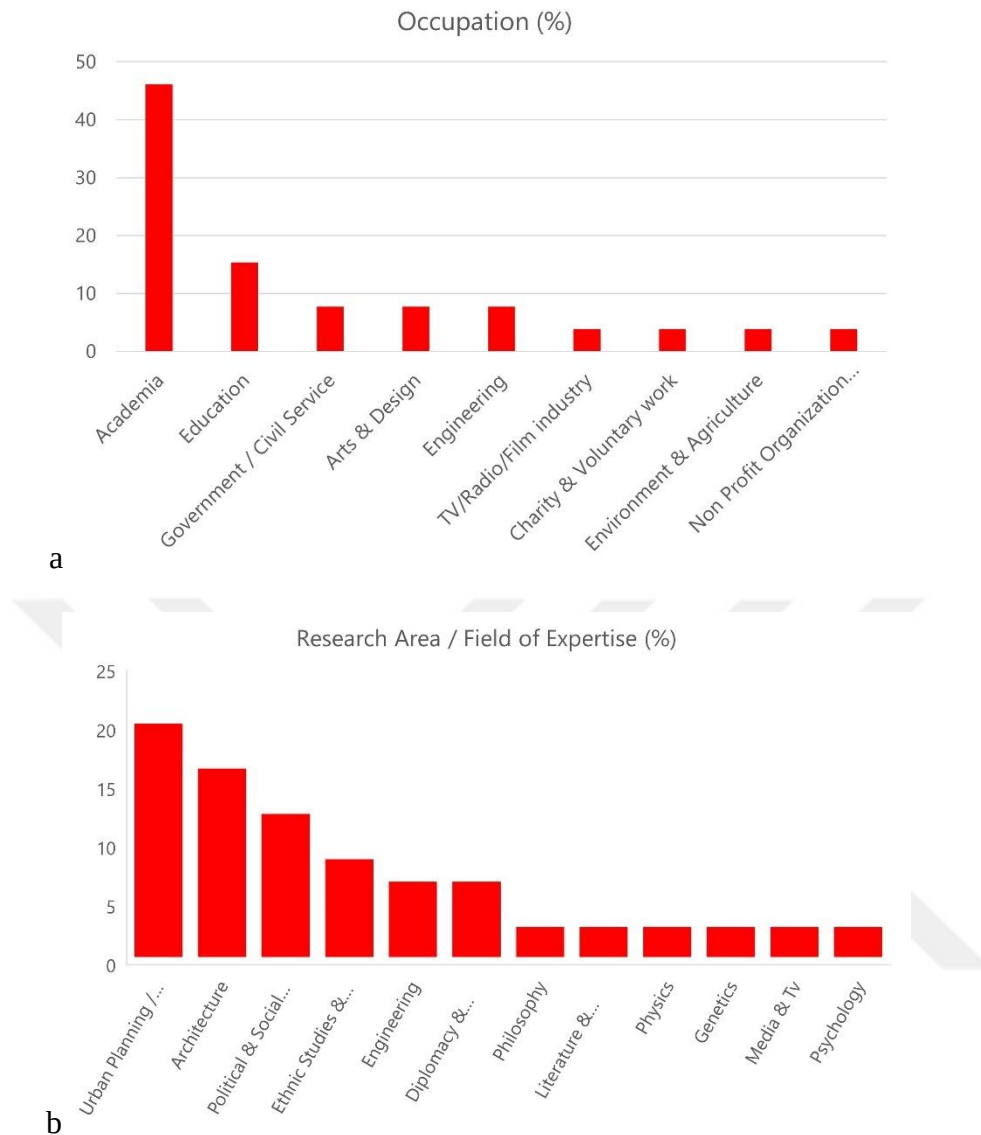


Figure 4.3 : Information about professional experience of the experts; a) occupation of the respondents, b) respondents' field of expertise.

4.2.1 Experts' evaluation of public space

A total of 36 parameters are evaluated according to the participants' preference. The identification of the priorities and generally accepted factors of the experts for successful public spaces -regardless referring to a certain existing public space- are presented in Figure 4.4. The resulting graphic reveals at a glance which spatial quality parameters are weak and which are strong according to the experts' evaluation and can give an idea about quality measures that can be taken in consideration to increase the quality of public spaces regarding studies of ethnic diversity and place attachment.

Overall results show that factors *safe*, *clean*, *walkable*, *welcoming*, *neighbourly* and *friendly* are evaluated as very important. This suggests that a good comfort and image

of the space is essential for its user. The safety of the space can be provided through mobile security instead of visible security. Furthermore, it seems that the higher a place provides space for *sociability*, the more successful a place is considered. In relation, the provision of design elements and equipment (either natural or artificial) seem to be necessary for group activity. On the other hand, *celebratory*, *historic* and *readable* scores low. It is interesting to note that there is a variety in opinion about *resilience*. A similar pattern was obtained for *indigenous*, *special*, *pride* and *diverse*.

Cross-comparison between academicians and non-academicians shows a difference in opinion regarding the parameters *clean*, *convenient* and *pride*. Academicians claim that cleanness of a certain public space does not perse define the place as good. On the other hand, non-academic participants argue that *clean* public space without litter is assumed to be preferred among people. Maintenance of public space and waste-free areas appear to be very important for this group. Academicians evaluate conveniency as moderate important, while non-academicians consider that *comfortable* and *convenient* sites might inspire people to engage in social activities and accordingly assess conveniency as significant.

Cross-comparative analysis reveals that architects and urbanists differ in opinion from participants with other expertise regarding the parameters *special*, *unique*, *spiritual*, *attractive* and *accessible*. Architects and urban planners evaluate that a public space is considered as more successful if the place is *special* and *unique* and claim that public spaces built for special social activity and/or has a unique value increase the charm of the place. The other participants evaluate this parameter as moderately important. Likewise, participants from other fields respond that *spirituality* is moderately important to create a successful public space. Architects and urbanistst strongly disagree and argue that spirituality encourages the users to recognize the immateriality of places.

They also strongly believe that attraction increases the flourish of a place, while participants with other expertise think that *attractiveness* have no influence in creating successful public spaces. Finally -yet importantly- participants with a Bosnian background evaluate *special*, *unique*, *walkable*, *spiritual*, *pride*, *neighbourly*, *stewardship* and *resilient* as much more unimportant than non-Bosnian participants.

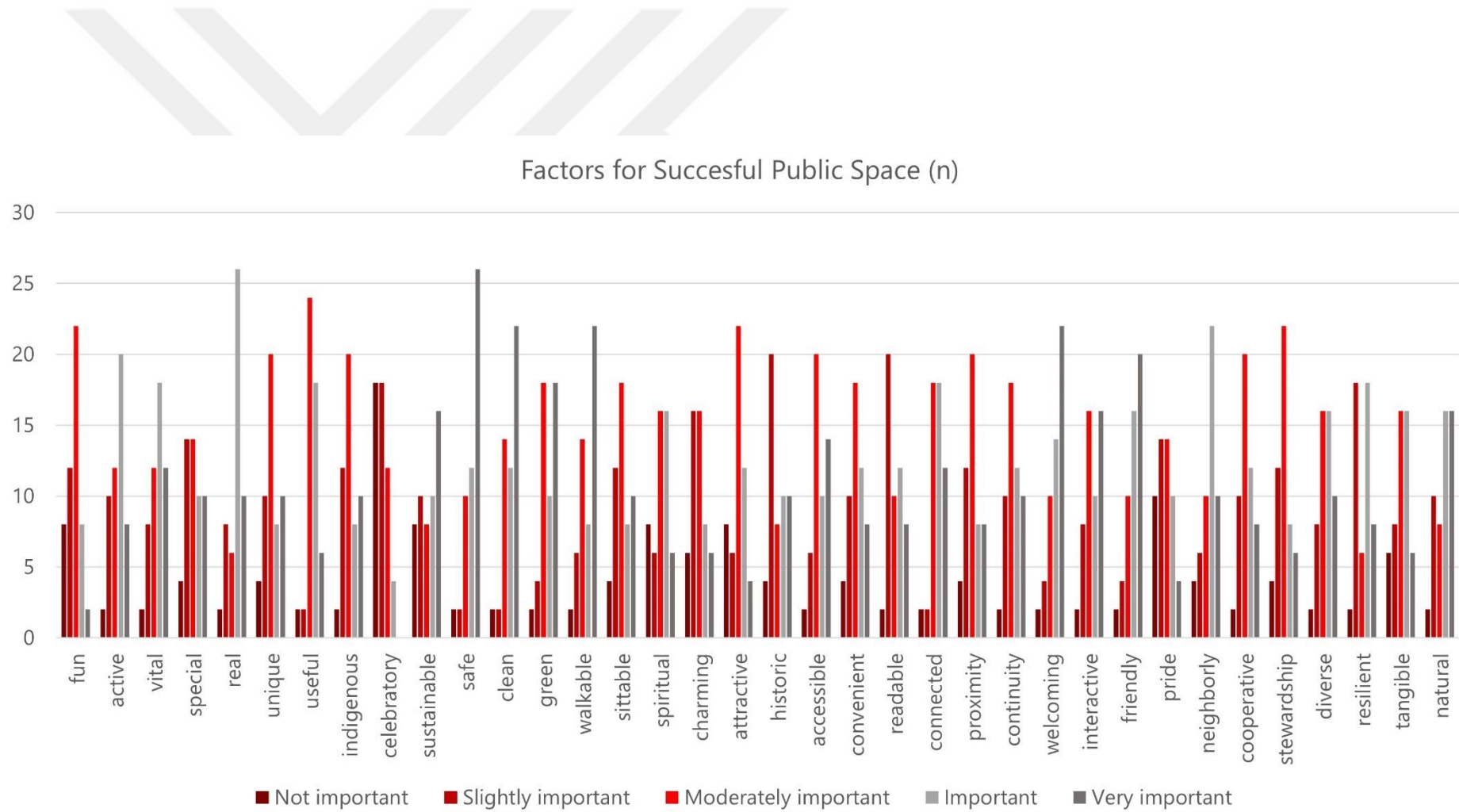


Figure 4.4 : The level of importance of the parameters for a successful public space according to the respondents.

4.2.2 Experts' evaluation of place attachment

The aim of this section is to identify and reveal the priorities and generally accepted factors for place attachment according to the experts regardless referring to a certain existing context. A total of 19 parameters are evaluated according to the participants' preference (Figure 4.5).

The overall results demonstrate that *social activity*, *routine* and *place identity* are very important in the formation of attachment to a place. Secondary, intangible values as *collective / social identity*, *interpersonal interaction / sociability*, *relationship with neighbours*, *personal memory* and *local sentiments* deliver high scores. This supports the previous results regarding the public spaces, where sociability has been evaluated as high. It is noteworthy to mention that *environmental identity* seems to be perceived important.

On the other hand, indicators *ethnic identification* and *displacement and return* are evaluated as unimportant by the experts. These indicators are sensitive factors when relating to the case of Sarajevo. But as the study with experts was not context-based, the *level of specificity* was eventually also evaluated as unimportant. If the study examined to the specific case of Sarajevo, the evaluation was more likely evaluated as important, because the participant could have placed the indicators more in relation to the context.

The existing body of knowledge provides multiple statements about place attachment. Regarding ethnic diversity, 8 hypotheses were assessed by the respondents through a 5-point Likert scale (ranging from 'not important' to 'very important') (Figure 4.6).

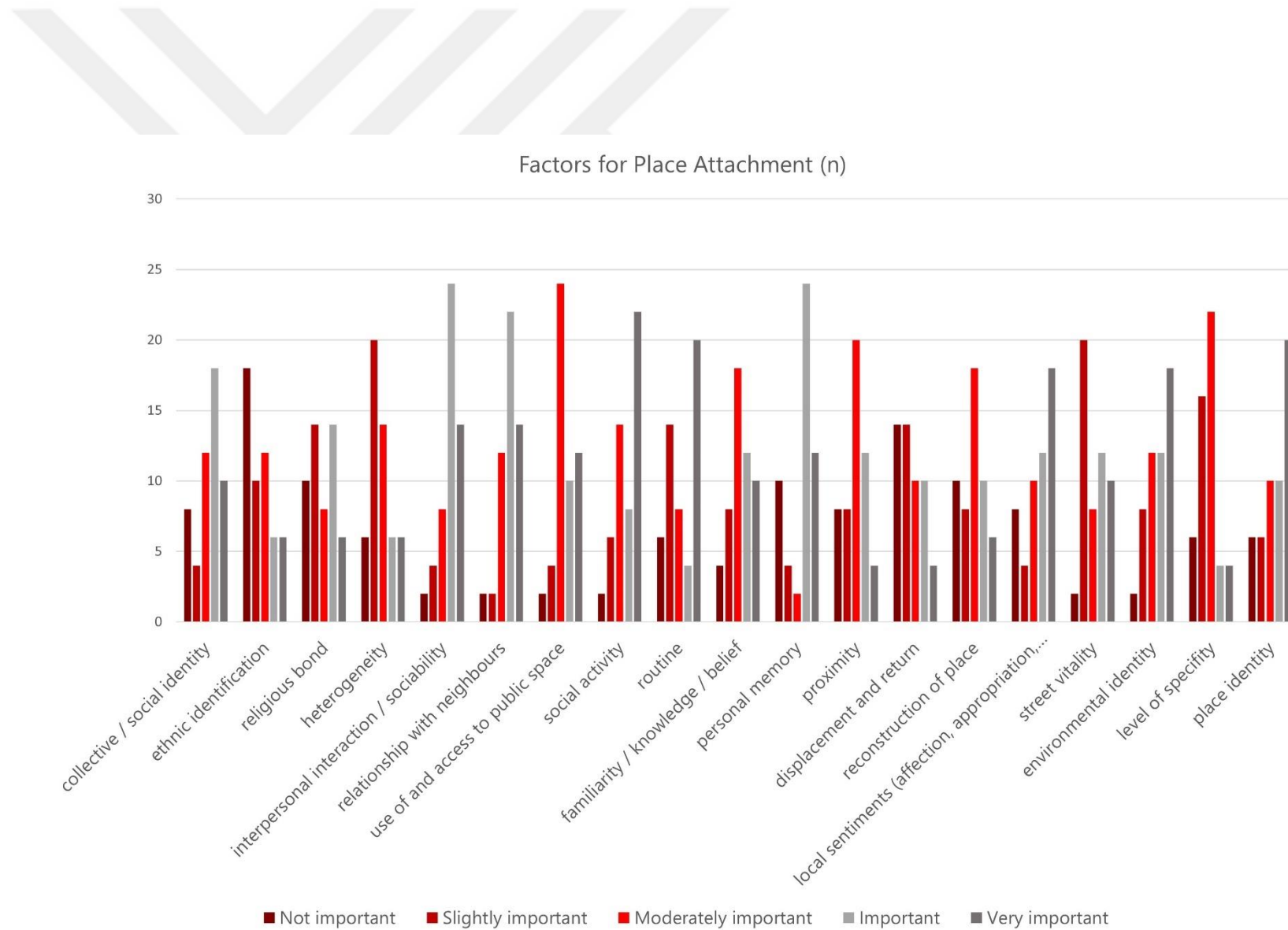


Figure 4.5 : The level of importance of the parameters to create an attachment to place according to the respondents.

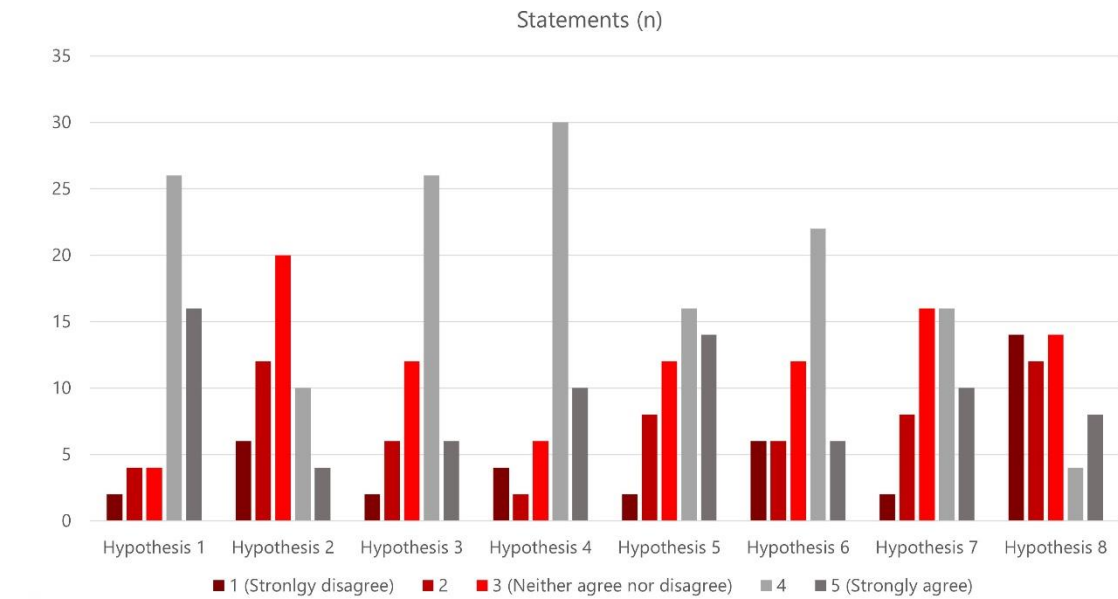


Figure 4.6 : Evaluated hypotheses by the respondents regarding the creation of place attachment.

Hypothesis 1: Different meanings arise from historical events, religion, and other experiences common to group members, and these meanings are transmitted to subsequent generations. The visual inspections suggest that the majority (81%) of the respondents agree with the statement, while only 12% disagree in various levels. Although, in the previous section, ethnic identification, religious bond and familiarity / knowledge / belief have been evaluated as average importance in the formation of place attachment.

Hypothesis 2: In heterogeneous communities (e.g. in terms of ethnicity), ties with the territory are weaker. The disagreement (35%) about this statement is slightly higher than the agreement (27%), but it seems that most of the respondents neither have strong thoughts to agree nor to disagree. The uncertainty can also be detected in the evaluation of the factors creating place attachment (Figure 4.6). Heterogeneity has been evaluated as slightly important to moderately important, while ethnic identification has been perceived as not important to moderately important. These overall results implies that heterogeneity in a society does not directly affect the formation of place attachment.

Hypothesis 3: Place attachment is based on the ability of frequent interpersonal interactions. Results for this statement reveals that the respondents agree (62%) about the importance of interpersonal interactions to form attachment to a certain place. The results of the factors confirm the cruciality of interpersonal interactions, which has been underlined multiple times. The factors interpersonal interaction / sociability and

relationship with neighbours (resp. 73% and 69%) seem to be perceived as eminently important.

Hypothesis 4: Place attachment is the result of the interaction between experience in a place and the meaning making associated with that experience. To a higher degree (77%) of agreement, the respondents think that experience (either positive or negative) and the meaning ascribed to that experience play a role in the creation of place attachment. The findings of personal memory and local sentiments, which scores high (resp. 69% and 58%) confirm these results.

Hypothesis 5: Place attachment is a positive, affective bond between an individual and a specific place, the main characteristic of which is to maintain closeness (proximity) to such a place. The results show that although the respondents agree in a higher degree (58%) that there is a vast group that is not sure whether to agree or disagree (23%). This directly reflects in the previous section where proximity has been rated as neutral with a moderate important rate of 38% (Figure 4.6).

Hypothesis 6: Length of residence and efforts to return have a positive impact on place attachment. It seems that there is a significant degree of agreement (54%) with the statement. On the other hand, results in the previous section implies that displacement and return are much lower evaluated as significant (27%) for the formation of place attachment. That being mentioned, the statement does not consider how long the length of residence is and/or should be and its relation to what extend to efforts of return.

Hypothesis 7: People tend to regenerate their homes, which they left behind, in their new, current surroundings to recreate a meaningful place yet again. The results show that although the respondents agree in a higher degree (50%) that there is a vast group that is not sure whether to agree or disagree (31%). Many of the participants who are (temporary or permanently) dislocated does not reflect their previous cultural values in their new homes, regardless of where they are dislocated to. Although, they think that the statement is relevant to consider in the research for place attachment.

Hypothesis 8: One is being attached to a place mainly for its physical characteristics, resources and conveniences. Although, there are uncertainties about this statement, as 50% of the respondents does not agree and 27% does not have an opinion about it. Similarly, parameters referring to the physical attributes of a place are in general moderately rated. The use of and access to public space is moderately (46%) rated.

Key findings appear regarding the uncertainty of a part of the assumptions. The box plots (Figure 4.7) of hypotheses 1 and 4 are comparatively short, which means that the overall participants have a high level of agreement with each other regarding these assumptions. It can be considered that there is a common consensus that experience of a place (or an event on that place) and the personal perception and meaning the individual labels to that experience is being important in the formation of attachment. The perception and meaning to the certain experience may have common patterns within group members of a community which is preserved between generations. Thus, the 'person' dimension has been considered as both the individual as the group. On the other hand, the box plots of hypotheses 2, 5 and 8 are comparatively tall, which indicates that there is a certain disagreement between the participants or an uncertainty about these assumptions. An explanation may be, despite hypothesis 5 is claiming, that place attachment not perse a positive bond is between the individual and a specific place. In this case, negative bonds may also create place attachment. In heterogeneous communities, this bond may vary per community, in means of that a positive affiliation with a place for a certain community might be create a negative affiliation for another community. It is remarkable that there are uncertainties about the effect of the physical qualities, properties and facilities of a place.

Cross-comparative analysis reveals that participants working in the academic field differ in opinion regarding hypotheses 7 and 8 from participants of a non-academic background. Academicians having a neutral opinion about regenerating the notion of 'home'. They express that people are not sure to have the tendency and/or ability to regenerate their homes, which they left behind, in their new, current surroundings and to create a new meaningful place.

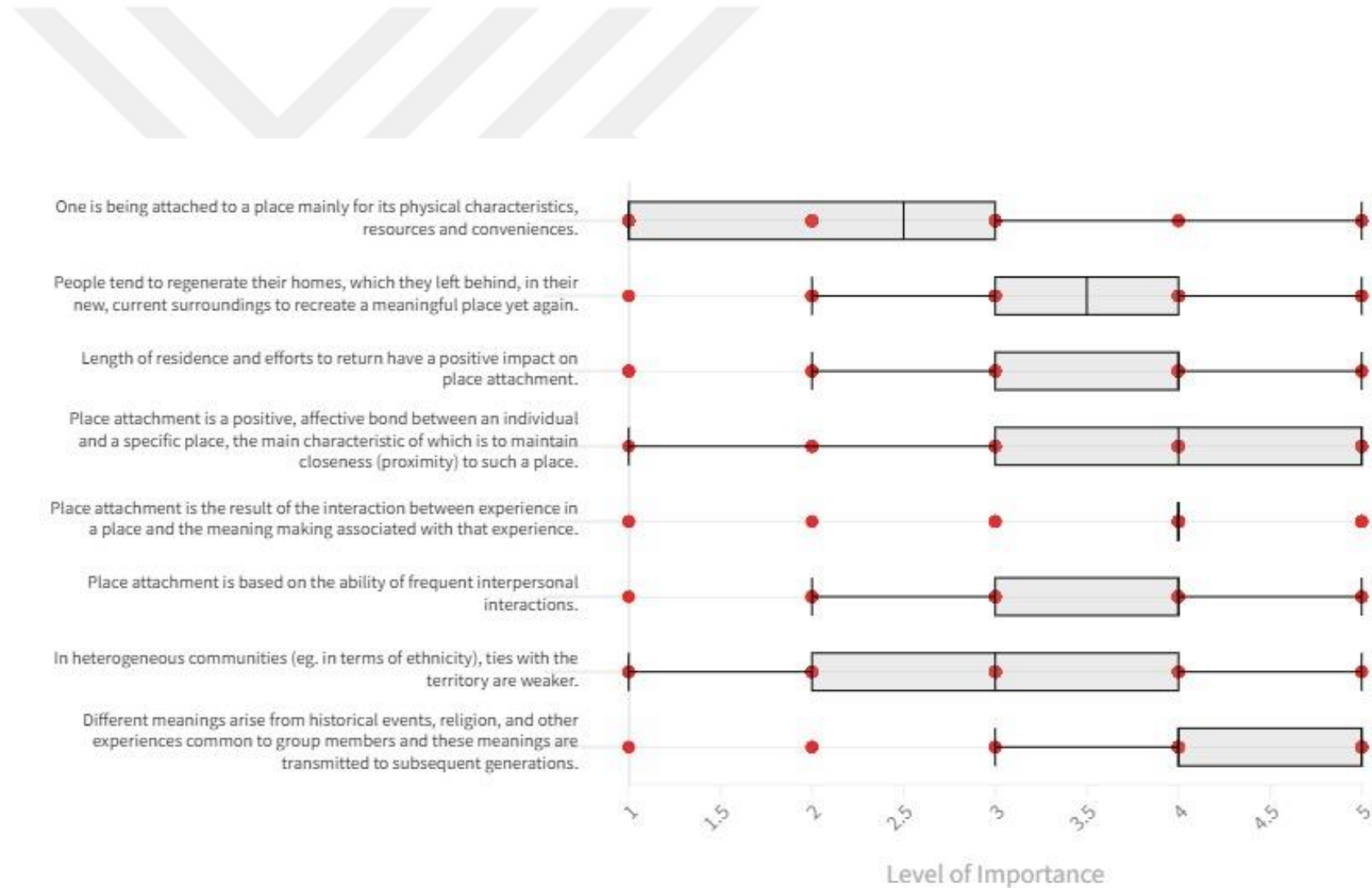


Figure 4.7 : Boxplot of the evaluated hypotheses by the respondents regarding the creation of place attachment.

Non-academic participants disagree and express that people refer to their previous home in their new, current environment and form the meaning around that reference. Furthermore, participants with an academic background disagree that one is being attached to a place mainly for its physical characteristics, resources and conveniences. Non-academic respondents articulate that physical features and elements (and the accessibility to them) might be the primary reason for attachment. In general, there is a consistence by both parties in the evaluation of the parameters forming place attachment. Only *displacement and return* seems to be much more significant in shaping attachment for non-academic respondents. Academicians assess the factor as slightly important.

A cross-comparison between participants working in the field of architecture and urban planning and other fields reveal that there is a difference in evaluation of hypotheses 2 and 5. Architects and urban planners indicate that in heterogeneous communities (eg. in terms of ethnicity), ties with the territory are weaker. Participants from other fields express their disagreement with the statement and articulate that it is not the heterogeneity of a society that weakens place attachment, but a different factor. *Familiarity, personal memory, local sentiments* and *place identity* are factors that are assessed as (very) important by participants working in the field of architecture and urbanism, while respondents having another expertise evaluate them as moderately important.

There is no significant difference between participants with a Bosnian background in comparison to non-Bosnian respondents regarding the evaluation of the statements. Although, there is a clear distinction in the conception of affective parameters forming place attachment. Participants with a Bosnian background evaluate shared measures such as *collective / social identity* and *ethnic identification* significantly lower than other participants. Individual aspects such as *personal memory, displacement and return* and *local sentiments* have also been rated lower. Facets related to the physical environment such as *street vitality* and *place identity* are evaluated significantly lower by respondents with a Bosnian background in comparison to the other respondents.

4.3 Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis: Interview and Coding

The development of social environment in a city is, among written documents, mostly generated through narratives within communities which are told from generation to

generation. According to the literature, as presented in Chapter 2, interviews are one of the most commonly used data collection tools in qualitative research (Mason, 2002). In order to understand the relation between ethnic diversity in the city of Sarajevo and the perception of place attachment, individual in-depth interviews are employed among residents of Sarajevo with various ethnic and age backgrounds. In this way, interviewees shared their perceptions and experiences regarding place attachment through a 'narrative' story which is essentially personal and gives the freedom to properly share feelings from a quite sensitive side. Utilizing survey information on resident satisfaction is a common technique for gathering data on place attachment. However, community satisfaction is not the same as place attachment. While surveys on community satisfaction evaluate the places where people live, place attachment focuses on the emotional investments of people in places. Where surveys on community satisfaction ask residents to assess the physical and social quality of their environment, research on place attachment queries residents about their feelings about moving from the community and whether they feel 'at home' in an area.

The interview consists of two parts. The first part exists of structured questions (e.g. age, education, occupation) to establish an idea about the person. The second part of the questionnaire involves hypotheses relevant for the study transformed into questions. Multiple questions are adjusted, merged or emphasized according to the direction of the interview. The semi-structured questions are as following:

1. Do you affiliate yourself with a community/cultural group and how do you describe this community in sense of commons / values / traditions / ideologies?
2. How do these commons reflect as personal experience and behaviour on public space?
3. How do you evaluate cultural diversity in Sarajevo?
4. How do you evaluate interpersonal interaction in public space?
5. How do you describe your relationship with your neighbours?
6. Where and for how long do you live in Sarajevo?
7. Which factors are prominent for good public spaces (chart public space) and how do you evaluate them?

8. Which (kind of) public spaces in the city do you feel most attached to and how do they evoke your personal memories?
9. With what kind of emotions can you describe the certain public spaces in the city?
10. Have you been (forced/voluntarily) relocated from Sarajevo?
 - a. What were your motives to return? (optional)
 - b. Can you compare your new living environment with your former one? (optional)
11. What is the desire to maintain the connection with a place?
12. What do you think about renewal/reconstruction and urban planning in the city?
13. Which factors are prominent when bonding to your most favorable places in the city (list place attachment factors) and how do you evaluate them?

A convenience sample has been selected according to a non-probability sampling method. As there was no sampling frame available and the population of interest was sensitive to access, a snowball sampling has been selected. Although, clear stratification among the relevant population have been applied to form the sample. Strata has been formed based on (1) ethnic identity (i. e. Bosniak, Croatian, Serbian) and (2) age range (born and raised before war, born and raised during war, born and raised after war). Information about the interviewees is presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 : Interviewee persona.

n	Initials	Gender	Age (range)	Ethnic Identity
1	L. S.	female	41 (pre-war)	Bosniak
2	M. E.	male	63 (pre-war)	Croatian
3	B. L.	female	66 (pre-war)	Serbian
4	A. D.	female	33 (war)	Bosniak
5	I. V.	male	38 (war)	Croatian
6	A. C.	female	33 (war)	Bosniak
7	A. S.	male	36 (war)	Serbian
8	T. A.	female	19 (post-war)	Croatian
9	L. D.	female	24 (post-war)	Bosniak
10	M. C.	male	28 (post-war)	Bosniak
11	A. L.	female	23 (post-war)	Serbian

A total number of 11 in-depth interviews have been conducted between April and June 2021 as semi-structured meetings in which the participants are been leaded by the hypotheses in form of the above-mentioned questions. In addition to these, complementary subjects were mentioned (in form of sub-questions or comments) in need of further specification, covering sense of place, place attachment, belonging, identity and culture specific to the case of Sarajevo.

4.4 Results: Residents' View on Place Attachment in Sarajevo

4.4.1 Residents' evaluation of public space

A total of 36 parameters are evaluated according to the participants' preference. The identification of the priorities and generally accepted factors of the experts for successful public spaces -regardless referring to a certain existing public space- are presented in Figure 4.8. The resulting graphic reveals at a glance which spatial quality parameters are weak, and which are strong according to the citizens' evaluation and can give an idea about quality measures that can be taken in consideration to increase the quality of public spaces regarding studies of ethnic diversity and place attachment in the case of Sarajevo.

Overall results show that factors *vital, safe, clean, walkable, attractive, historic, accessible, connected, welcoming, interactive, friendly* and *neighbourly* are evaluated as important. This suggests that a good comfort and image and opportunities for sociability of the space are essential for the citizen of Sarajevo. According to the interviews, a *walkable* place which is situated central, has good connection to the rest of the city and is physically and psychologically accessible is preferred by the citizens. Hereby, protection from excess of traffic and good opportunities for parking is required. Places that are visible or invisible secured and maintained create a sense of *safety* and *cleanliness*, which is been considered as a part of the *attractiveness* of the place. Preservation of *historic* values on public spaces have been mentioned several times during the interviews. The interviewees point out that revitalisation and reconstruction processes should be in accordance with the conservation of the historical significance of the places. It seems that *social interaction* on places is a necessity in defining good public spaces. Public spaces should provide engagement opportunities and break the social barrier between individuals and/or groups.

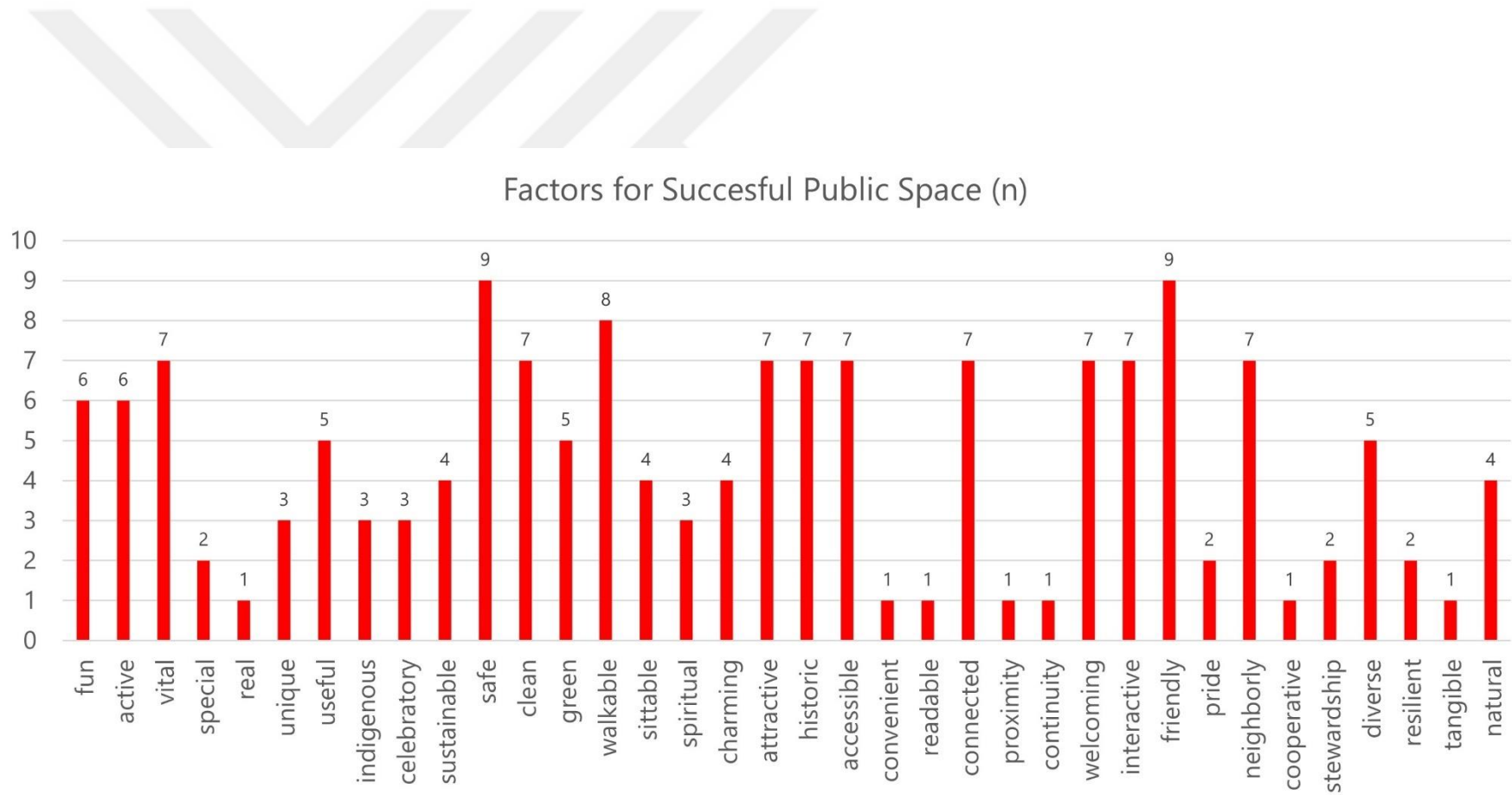


Figure 4.8 : The level of importance of the parameters for a successful public space according to the interviewees.

Beside that places should be *user-friendly*, it should be *people-friendly*, which means that a variety of people (e.g. youth, elderly, social communities) should be able to appear on the place. Interaction between different social groups is mentioned as enrichment of culture rather than a threat and heterogeneity is claimed as a primary driver of good public space.

Cross-comparative analysis reveal that factors such as *active, useful, safe, clean, green, walkable, attractive, connected* and *friendly* have been evaluated as essential (although in different importance levels) by all age groups (Figure 4.9a). Thus, all age groups agree that in particular the feeling of comfort and image of the place is significant in order to prefer it. The war- en post-war generation has similar thoughts about the significance of the parameters.

Yet, the war-generation clearly state that the *safe* and *walkable* public spaces are primarily of importance. It is noteworthy to mention that the youth in the city (post-war generation) has divergent thoughts about the significance of certain factors. They assess that fun and active places are preferred among the group. In addition, the group give priority to places that are perceived as *charming, attractive* and *accessible*. They also expect a place to be very *welcoming, interactive* and *friendly* in order to be perceived as a successful place.

A cross-comparison between ethnic identities (Figure 4.9b) show that groups identify similar factors (*fun, active, vital, useful, safe, clean, green, walkable, attractive, historic, accessible, connected, welcoming, interactive, friendly, diverse* and *natural*), although they differ in the level of importance. Among the groups, Serbian people are much keener about expressing the significance of certain factors. They express that along with the *vitality* of the space, *safe, walkable* and *interactive* places are preferred among the group. Furthermore, *attractiveness* and *accessibility* are also indicators for good public spaces. Bosniaks identify that a place should be *neighbourly* in order to be perceived as a successful public space. For both groups the possibility to meet with friends, greet their neighbours and feel comfortable interacting with ‘others’ are perceived as important.

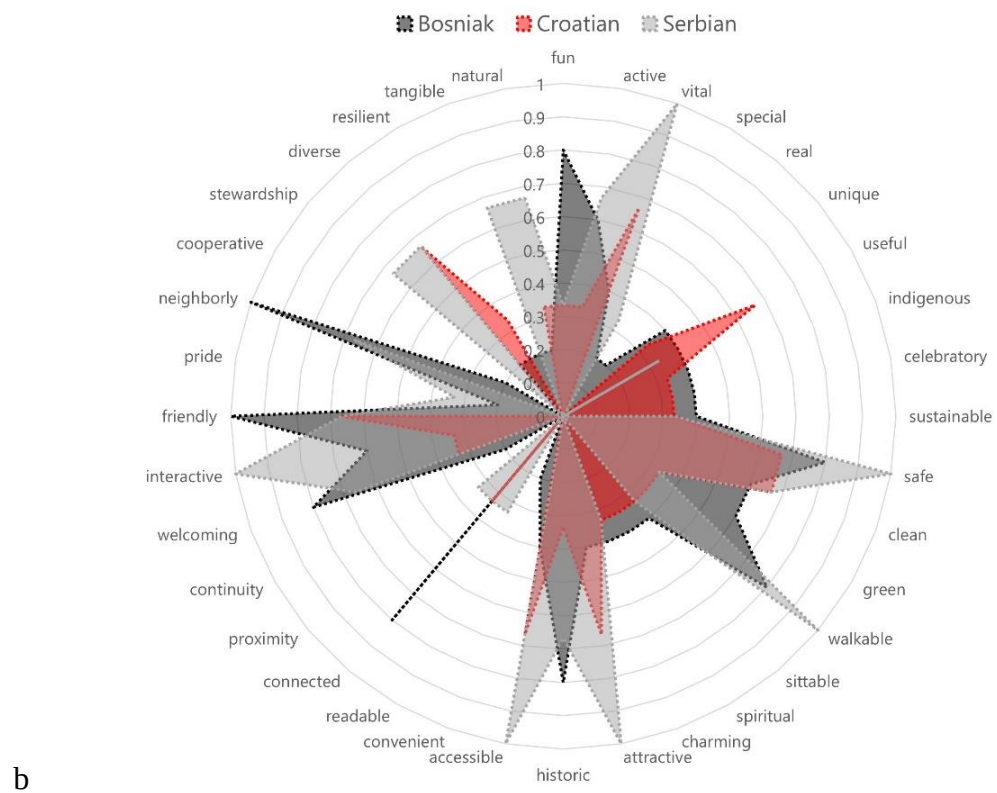
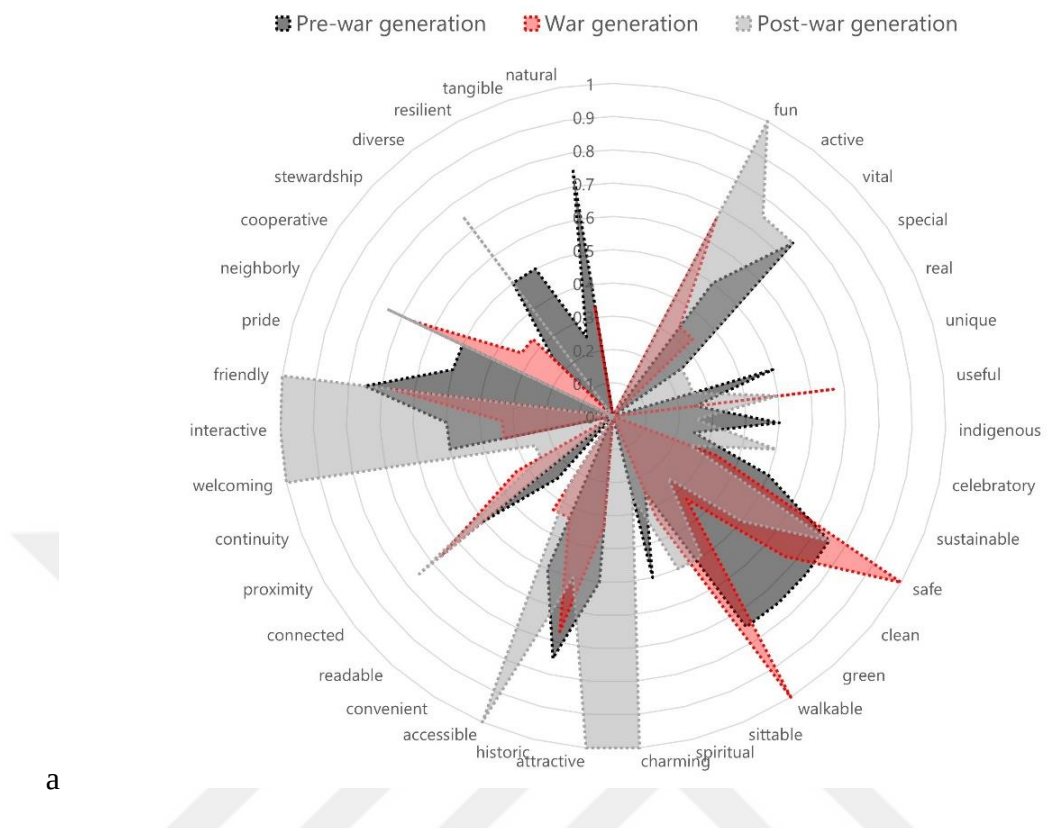


Figure 4.9 : Evaluation of public space qualities according to a) age, b) ethnic identity of the interviewees.

4.4.2 Residents' evaluation of place attachment

One of the aims of the interviews is not to test a hypothesis about a broad population, but to develop an initial understanding of a small or under-researched population in Sarajevo. Retrieved from the literature review in Chapter 2, five factors of place attachment have been determined in order to evaluate in the case of Sarajevo (Table 4.3). The sections include several sub-indicators. The semi-open interview questions have been formed according to this scheme.

Table 4.3 : Factors and sub-parameters of place attachment.

Importance of the Common	Interaction with Others	Individual Experience	Affiliation with Emotions	Physical Configuration
Collective / social identity	Interpersonal interaction / sociability	Use of public space	Reconstruction of place	Street vitality
Ethnic identification	Relationship with neighbours	Social activity	Local sentiments	Environmental identity
Religious bond heterogeneity		Routine		Level of specificity
		Familiarity / knowledge / belief		Place identity
		Personal memory		
		Proximity		
		Displacement		

The overall results (Figure 4.10) demonstrate that physical attributes such as *use and access to public space*, *social activity* and *street vitality* scores high in the formation of attachment to a place. Furthermore, social values as *heterogeneity*, *interpersonal interaction / sociability* and *relationship with neighbours* deliver high scores. This supports the previous results regarding the public spaces, whereby on the one hand the accessibility and connectiveness has been evaluated as high and on the other hand sociability was perceived as significant.

Cross-comparative analysis between age groups (Figure 4.11a) show that there is a clear similarity among all groups in perceiving *heterogeneity*, *interpersonal interaction / sociability*, *relationship with neighbours*, *use of and access to public space*, *social activity* and *street vitality* as very important in the creation of attachment to a place.

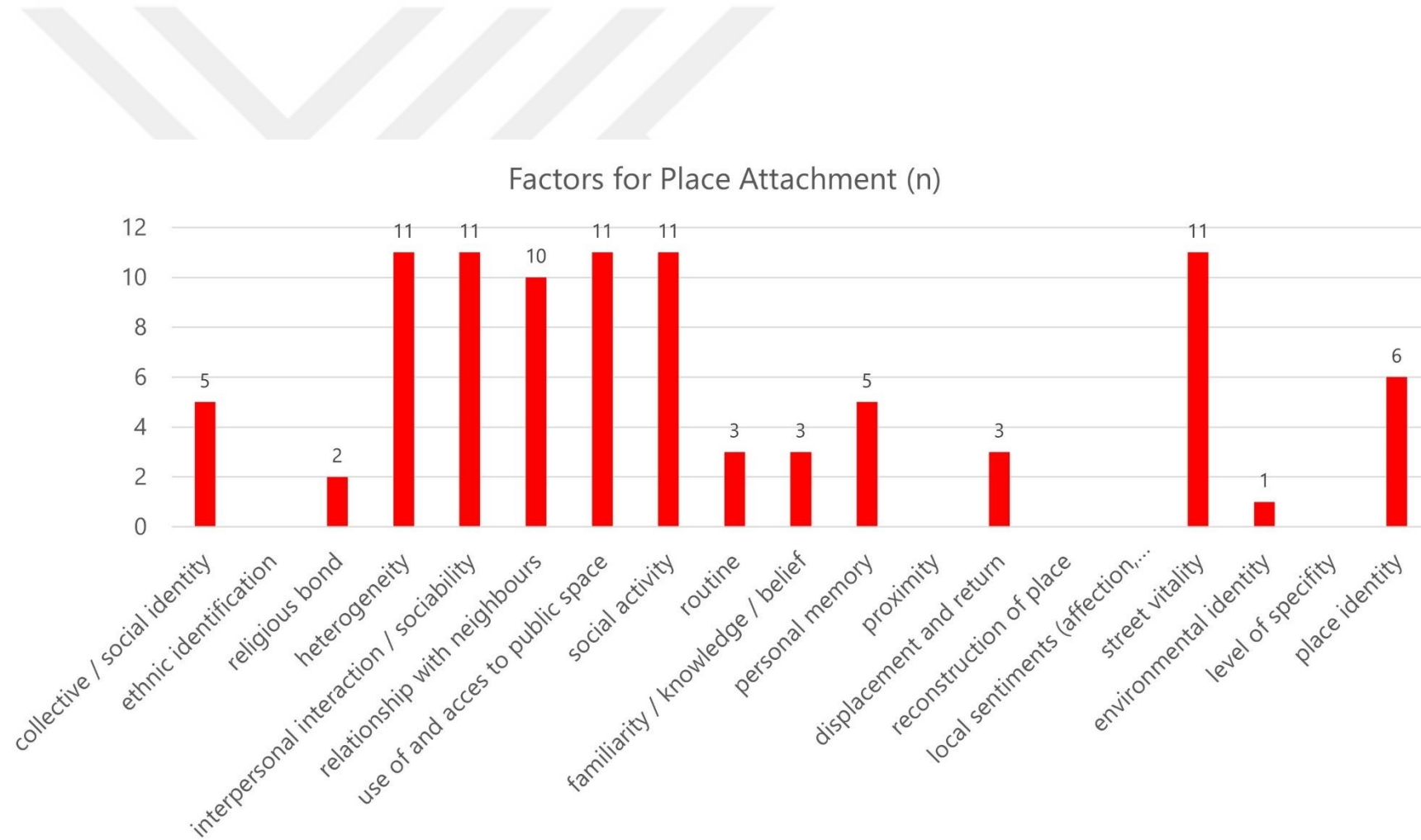


Figure 4.10 : The level of importance of the parameters to create an attachment to place according to the interviewees.

Social identity seems to be very significant for the war generation, while for the pre-war generation *personal memory*, *familiarity* and *place identity* are much more important. Noteworthy, the pre-war generation identifies *displacement and return* as important in the creation of place attachment.



Figure 4.11 : Evaluation of place attachment parameters according to a) age, b) ethnic identity of the interviewees.

A similar pattern has been recognized in the analysis between ethnic identities. All groups identify *heterogeneity*, *interpersonal interaction / sociability*, *relationship with*

neighbours, use of and access to public space, social activity and street vitality as very important in the creation of place attachment. All groups perceive *collective / social identity* has an impact on place attachment at a certain level. Notably, Bosniaks think that *religious bond* encourages place attachment. *Place identity* and *environmental identity* seems to be important for Croats. Also, *personal memory* and *familiarity / belief* has been evaluated as significant for Croats. Serbs evaluated *displacement and return* as more significant for place attachment than the other groups.

Remaining qualitative transcriptions of the interview requires a different evaluation method. One of the techniques to analyse and evaluate qualitative data is coding (Çelik et al., 2020). A code can be defined as a short way of indicating what a certain qualitative data unit actually means. The authors analyse the stages of the interviews as deciphering, coding, research writing and creating a category. The codes, which are the first abstraction step of the deciphered interviews, have been created and the interviews have been divided into meaningful parts by evaluating it on table containing the coding and the necessary scoring system for each interview. The last abstraction step is ‘creating a category’. Categories containing one or more codes are the end point of induction and are ultimately important for creating semantic integrity. Through coding, it is possible to pass the first compilation of the text whereby the meaning of words and phrases are being separated from the whole, although evaluated within the general context of the certain manuscript. The method provides the ability to analyse interview transcripts according to a predetermined coding scheme and can be applied in a deductive and inductive way. This systematic approach contributes to the validity of the study (Saldaña, 2009).

The interview scripts have been transferred to NVivo software. The data has been analyzed and transmitted to memos and quotations which have been clustered into codes. In the framework of this study, eight codes have been generated with an inductive approach: (1) Ethnic diversity / ethnic diverse cities, (2) Past, present and future citizens, (3) Social cohesion, (4) Common values in daily life experiences, (5) Environmental identity and quality, (6) City identity and its effect on daily life, (7) Memory, (8) Places of belonging and local sentiments. The coding scheme has been clustered from the social dimension (Code 1) towards the spatial dimension (Code 8). The codes have been structured through axial coding (Figure 4.12).

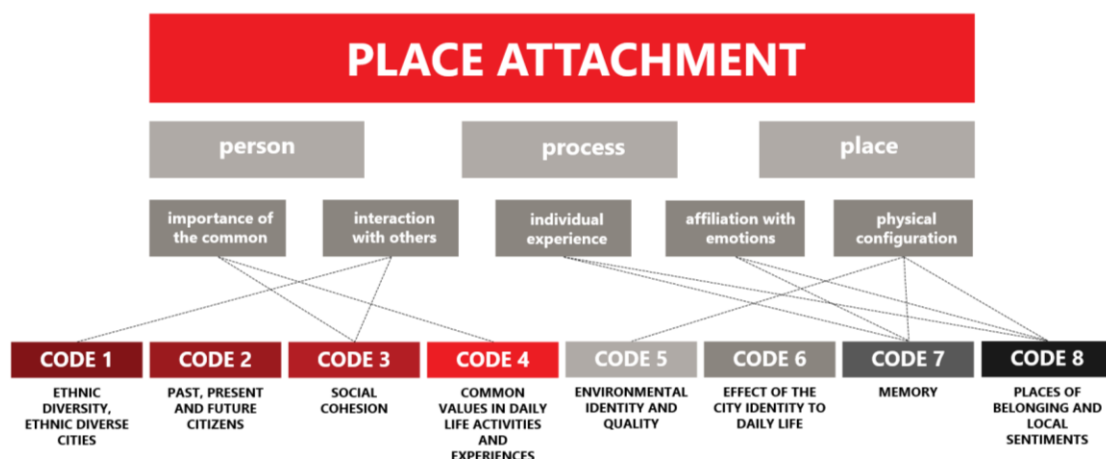


Figure 4.12 : Axial coding process of the interviews in relation to the Place Attachment Model.

Code 1 emphasizes on ideas about the presence of residents from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds in general or specifically in the case of Sarajevo and other contexts. Code 2 focuses on differences and similarities between different generations in Sarajevo. Code 3 covers the strength of social relations and the solidarity between individuals and/or among group members. Code 4 refers to common habits and expressions in daily life activities performed in the city. Code 5 focuses on the environmental issues such as problems, qualities, treats and how one views oneself in relation to the natural world. Code 6 reveals inherited cultural values and how they are reflected in the spatial setting of Sarajevo. Code 7 refers to personal and/or collective memory in relation with the individuals and/or collective experiences within the city itself through its historical and social environment. Code 8 reveals the spatiality of the sense of belonging and the feelings about the specific places of attachment.

A coding card has been generated for each participant (Figure 4.13) which includes the background of the participant (section A), the codes (section B), the relevant quotations from the interview referring to a code category (section C). The numbers of the quotations that refer to a code has been counted and shown as the overall result of the certain participant (section D). In such manner, the higher the number of a certain code, the more the participant emphasizes on the certain code, assuming that the more quotations the code has, the more important a code is. Accordingly, a total 11 participant cards have been generated (Appendix D).

PARTICIPANT 1
L. S., 1979, Sarajevo, Bosnian

L. S. (41) is female and is born in Sarajevo, but left the city for a couple of years after the war. She identifies herself as Bosnian Muslim. She has witnessed Sarajevo under different rulerships.

CODE 1	CODE 2	CODE 3	CODE 4	CODE 5	CODE 6	CODE 7	CODE 8	
ETHNIC DIVERSITY, ETHNIC DIVERSE CITIES	PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE CITIZENS	SOCIAL COHESION	COMMON VALUES IN DAILY LIFE ACTIVITIES AND EXPERIENCES	ENVIRONMENTAL IDENTITY AND QUALITY	EFFECT OF THE CITY IDENTITY TO DAILY LIFE	PLACES OF MEMORY	PLACES OF BELONGING, IDENTITY	
"There was the ethnic diversity in the city, even a couple of days to the city, but after war it became suddenly a threat and moved to its political position (ruled by external forces)." "My non-Muslim friends are celebrating every religious day, and I do the same each time." "In war, ethnic, cultural groups are seen as minor groups, in Sarajevo it is not like that." "Our young people are leaving for other countries because of different reasons such as unemployment and no sense of future here." "Most of them is much different. When we think, how to make 'last' for them for young people. So we reduce the post industrial society character as a social issue."	"People live in ethnic buildings, but not so professional as in other generations as we know. The past with a generation have to read books or by narratives that it trade away by them, or by our said their priorities are different and their responsibilities are more. The war is a breaking point in this change. The Bosnian generation is the last generation who practices these values." "Our young people are leaving for other countries because of different reasons such as unemployment and no sense of future here." "Most of them is much different. When we think, how to make 'last' for them for young people. So we reduce the post industrial society character as a social issue."	"We are in the country between the communist and political forces and the media want to break this cohesion."	"Our food (like corn) contains our known families from original Bosnian roots. They never lost their traditions and experiences." "For us, coffee is both a means of conversation, a means of sharing joy, a means of communicating, a means of recording things, a means of meeting young people, and a means of solving problems. Drinking coffee is a pleasure for 'managers', not only for young people, but also for our old people and tourists. When talking, the way it ends as the coffee."		"I think the kilometers you can find and reach different parts of the city which embrace the city." "The city as a whole (PLAN) IS A REFLECTION OF THIS MULTICULTURALISM." "We can see the history of the city and the way they are built, these are very important." "I think the kilometers you can find and reach different parts of the city which embrace the city." "The city as a whole (PLAN) IS A REFLECTION OF THIS MULTICULTURALISM." "We can see the history of the city and the way they are built, these are very important."	"I think the kilometers you can find and reach different parts of the city which embrace the city." "The city as a whole (PLAN) IS A REFLECTION OF THIS MULTICULTURALISM." "We can see the history of the city and the way they are built, these are very important."	"I think the kilometers you can find and reach different parts of the city which embrace the city." "The city as a whole (PLAN) IS A REFLECTION OF THIS MULTICULTURALISM." "We can see the history of the city and the way they are built, these are very important."	"I think the kilometers you can find and reach different parts of the city which embrace the city." "The city as a whole (PLAN) IS A REFLECTION OF THIS MULTICULTURALISM." "We can see the history of the city and the way they are built, these are very important."

SECTION A

SECTION B

SECTION C

SECTION D

RESULTS

3 3 1 2 0 3 2 6

Figure 4.13 : Example of a participant card.

4.4.2.1 Code 1: ethnic diversity, ethnic diverse cities

Many cities with culturally diverse population do not manage to have equity between groups. Their diverse / marginal groups are mostly minor or oppressed. Overall results regarding the code show all participants share their opinions about the topic, although there is no significant difference when focusing on the age-groups or ethnic identities (Figure 4.14).

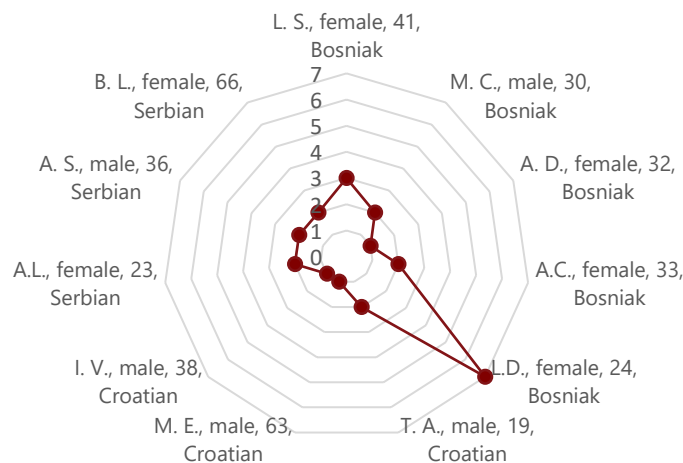


Figure 4.14 : Overall evaluation by the interviewees for Code 1.

The participants are mainly referring to different cities in Europe, such as Berlin, London and Paris and comparing the perception of ethnic diversity in these cities with Sarajevo:

“I have seen many cities in Western Europe with diverse cultural groups. None of them felt like they were really integrated.” (A. L., Serbian, 23 years, personal communication, May 15, 2021).

The Balkan region instead seems to be perceived differently:

“In the Balkan region many people from different backgrounds are living together. This is unique in the Western World.” (M. E., Croatian, 63 years, personal communication, June 23, 2021).

Sarajevo has managed to be a city where diversity does not result in power imbalance on the social level. Instead, it is interpreted that external powers intend to create imitative political problems which affects the internal parties:

“Before war the ethnic diversity in the city was unique and an advantage for the city, but after war it became suddenly a threat and barrier, or an artificial problem caused by external forces.” (L. S., Bosniak, 41 years, personal communication, May 12, 2021).

“In the end, we are al Slavic people. Faith does not and should not create the problems. It is rather the political priorities since the dissolution of Yugoslavia.” (B. L., Serbian, 66 years, personal communication, April 17, 2021).

“We feel the equality between the communities, but political forces and the media want to break this cohesion.” (L. S., Bosniak, 41 years, personal communication, May 12, 2021).

The reflection of diversity on political level (which has been assessed as negative) has been evaluated as inoperative which reflects on the city. On local level, citizens desire just, social and economic wealth, safety and tolerance for all communities. Nevertheless, the necessity to keep the division on state level seems to be required in order to keep the social balance:

“I believe that diversity is beyond ethnic identity. Ethnicity is just a notion which is been misused by politician to classify the society for its own priorities.” (T. A., Croatian, 19 years, personal communication, June 19, 2021).

“It is required to structure the state by preserving the entities. It is true that it takes time to establish balance power-sharing, but no reconciliation can be formed otherwise in such situations.” (A. S., Serbian, 36 years, personal communication, June 22, 2021).

Culturally diverse communities in Sarajevo seem to share and perform their culture without any (or with minimum) assimilational acts towards the others. There is the acceptance and awareness of the common root as a common good:

“This region is known with its cultural diversity for centuries. Although, our roots are Slavic and this is reflected in every aspect of our land, culture and lifestyle.” (A. L., Serbian, 23 years, personal communication, May 15, 2021).

Even though there is the acceptance of a common past, decrease of inter-ethnic marriages appear and this supports the communitization of certain groups. One prefers to marry within own ethnic group. These thoughts are explicitly expressed by non-Muslim participants:

“No, I would not marry an Orthodox or a Muslim.” (T. A., Croatian, 19 years, personal communication, June 19, 2021).

“But I am not sure if I would or could marry a man with another religion today. Thoughts have changed.” (B. L., Serbian, 66 years, personal communication, April 17, 2021).

“During my university years I had a Muslim girlfriend. Eventually it did not work out, because you know that at a certain point you will talk about how to raise your children.” (A. S., Serbian, 36 years, personal communication, June 22, 2021).

4.4.2.2 Code 2: past, present and future citizens

Overall results regarding code 2 show that predominantly Bosniaks and the war-generation share their opinions about the subject (Figure 4.15).

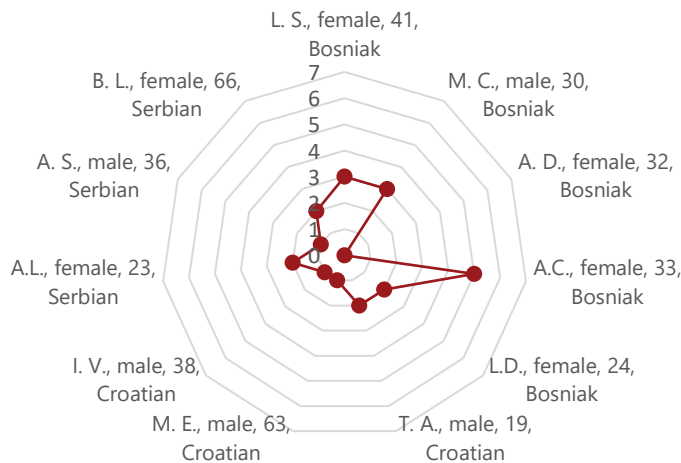


Figure 4.15 : Overall evaluation by the interviewees for Code 2.

It is not only the marital status which have changed through generations. The younger (post-war) generation have a tendency to identify themselves much easier by their ethnic identity, while older (pre-war) generations do identify themselves as ‘Yugoslavian’ or ‘Bosnian’ instead:

“My husband too does identify himself as Yugoslavian, we are raised with the idea to respect each other’s religion (...).” (B. L., Serbian, 66 years, personal communication, April 17, 2021).

“I barely go to the church or community centres for Croats. I do not really appreciate their attitude towards other communities. But I implicitly identify myself as Croatian.” (T. A., Croatian, 19 years, personal communication, June 19, 2021).

Respect to diversity stems from the days of secular communism which is been represented with a society under unity and brotherhood, which is been more appreciated by the older generation. Remarkable is that the participants refer many times to the difference of the mindsets of generations:

“During the times of Tito our identity was Yugoslavian. We were all one big community when we were in public. Our private lives were not insulting each others.” (M. C., Bosniak, 30 years, personal communication, April 29, 2021).

“The Balkan temperament is just different than others, that is why there is still brotherhood on social level. This mindset should pass to future generations.” (M. C., Bosniak, 30 years, personal communication, April 29, 2021).

“There is a mistrust between certain groups of people, I am just not sure if it is the ethnicity, or another factor what makes this possible. I would think it is the age.” (M. C., Bosniak, 30 years, personal communication, April 29, 2021).

“I think there is a larger gap between generations than ethnic communities. Or at least there is an equal gap concerning communication.” (M. E., Croatian, 63 years, personal communication, June 23, 2021).

“I think that our generation think differently than previous generations, which is normal. Our habits changed, our priorities changed, even our communication with our parents and grandparents has changed.” (A. L., Serbian, 23 years, personal communication, May 15, 2021).

As a result, the post-war generation has been considered as much more integrated in the globalized lifestyle and less connected to historical values. Seemingly, this difference between the generations is a repetition of the gap between generations during the post-industrial conversion:

“Solidarity and unity during the 50s-60s helped to enhance common traditions and values. Partly, we have lost these values.” (B. L., Serbian, 66 years, personal communication, April 17, 2021).

“Back in my younger years, our relationship with our parents, our neighbours, our people were much closer. Nowadays, the youth live very fast and individually. It is a result of the globalizing world I think.” (M. C., Bosniak, 30 years, personal communication, April 29, 2021).

“Respect for historical buildings and values, instinct to protection, was seen in older generations. The post-millennium generation must read these values from books or by stories from older generations. Thus naturally, it fades away by them, or better said their priorities are different and thus the responsibilities are weaker. The war may be the turning point. The 70s/80s generation is the last generation who preserves these values.” (B. L., Serbian, 66 years, personal communication, April 17, 2021).

It has been believed that this attitude of the current generation will affect the city identity:

“Future generations will create a different use pattern in the city.” (L. S., Bosniak, 41 years, personal communication, May 12, 2021).

There is also evidence of brain drain in Bosnia and Herzegovina due to unemployment, even in the capital city Sarajevo which has the most job opportunities. Consequently, the youth is willing to leave the city:

“Our young people are leaving here due to different reasons such as unemployment and do not see any opportunity for the future here.” (L. S., Bosniak, 41 years, personal communication, May 12, 2021).

“But (in particular) the youth is very important for us, for our future investments. They tend to leave the city, but by increasing the awareness, we can increase their attachment to Sarajevo.” (A. C., Bosniak, 33 years, personal communication, May 8, 2021).

“The youth who have finished their university cannot find any job in the city, so they tend to leave.” (A. C., Bosniak, 33 years, personal communication, May 8, 2021).

“A lot of my friends don’t have any ambition to study, we do not want to leave this city, but we are concerned about our future.” (T. A., Croatian, 19 years, personal communication, June 19, 2021).

On the other hand, the city became a point of a civilized attraction for expats. This might create new opportunities for the city and (partly) solve the brain drain:

“I have returned in the late 2000s from Germany. A couple of my colleagues also came as expat to live in Sarajevo.” (A. S., Serbian, 36 years, personal communication, June 22, 2021).

“The city became a point of a civilized attraction with cheap living conditions for expats, due to the war. Since then, the increase of foreign tourists is clearly noticeable. The city has directly reacted to this socio-cultural potential and the tourism sector got more institutionalized. In my younger years it was not like this.” (A. S., Serbian, 36 years, personal communication, June 22, 2021).

“It is strange that the city is still mentioned referring to the tensions between the three ethnic groups. From the 2000s many expats from different backgrounds came

to the city. This has changed the city identity.” (M. E., Croatian, 63 years, personal communication, June 23, 2021).

“Maybe we should focus on the newcomers instead of the existing society.” (M. E., Croatian, 63 years, personal communication, June 23, 2021).

4.4.2.3 Code 3: social cohesion

Overall results regarding code 3 show that predominantly the war-generation express their opinions about the subject (Figure 4.16).

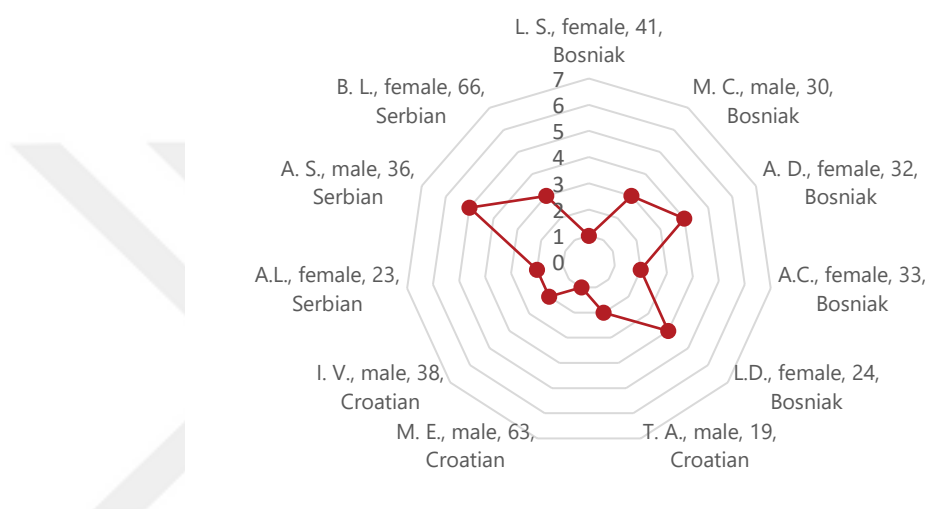


Figure 4.16 : Overall evaluation by the interviewees for Code 3.

Regarding the social cohesion, people in Sarajevo tend to identify themselves either as Bosnian and affiliate themselves with the people from Bosnia and Herzegovina (regardless the ethnic/religious background), or identify themselves with their ethnic background in the larger region (e.g. Serbs from Serbia, Bosniaks from Turkey). This choice indicates the sense of solidarity among people from ‘the same identity’:

“There are two groups of social cohesion: one is the Bosniak, when you are only Bosniak you affiliate yourself with Bosniaks from Turkey, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo etc. And if you are just Bosnian, you affiliate yourself with all people from Bosnia and Herzegovina including Serbs and Croats who live there. In some cases these are crossing each other.” (M. C., Bosniak, 30 years, personal communication, April 29, 2021).

“I identify myself as European Muslim, in which I can find affiliation with other Muslim groups, but also with non-Muslim Europeans.” (M. C., Bosniak, 30 years, personal communication, April 29, 2021).

“Even back in Croatia my lifestyle was totally the same. It is the Balkan temperament.” (I. V., Croatian, 28 years, personal communication, May 23, 2021).

In case of preference, one prefers to share experiences or prefers to invest in own ethnic group, but otherwise they do not have any difficulties to devote to other groups. Despite the decrease of interethnic marriages, social relations with neighbours as a part of everyday life have clearly altered after war. Many of the ‘problem-creators’ or ‘traitors’ left, while those who stayed became more attached to each other, regardless their ethnic identity:

“Here where I live, mainly Serbs used to live before war. Now, many of them left, but we have good relations with whom who stayed.” (A. D., Bosniak, 32 years, personal communication, May 20, 2021).

“Our relationship with our neighbours has changed. Just a few Serbs were living in our neighbourhood. They kind of foresee the war and knew what would happen, but they did not warn their neighbours. They left before war and never came back.” (A. C., Bosniak, 33 years, personal communication, May 8, 2021).

“I trust people in my neighbourhood, people who I know regardless their identity.” (I. V., Croatian, 28 years, personal communication, May 23, 2021).

“I have a lot of Croatian and Serbian friends, but we do not talk about the war and related subjects.” (L. D., Bosniak, 24 years, personal communication, June 14, 2021).

4.4.2.4 Code 4: common values in daily life activities and experiences

Overall results regarding the code show all participants share their opinions about the topic, although there is no significant difference when focusing on the age-groups or ethnic identities (Figure 4.17).

Bosanska kafa (Bosnian coffee) is one of the significant cultural values that represents much more than it stands for in means of a cultural beverage. Most of the participants explicitly define that it is one of the main ways to communicate between individuals and communities.

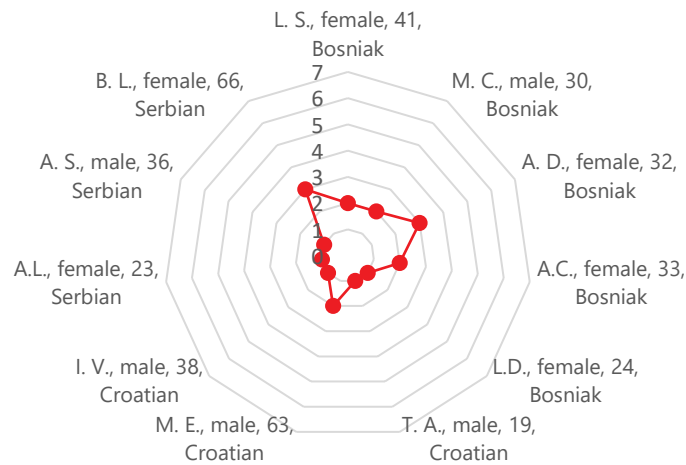


Figure 4.17 : Overall evaluation by the interviewees for Code 4.

Daily activities are planned around coffee time and not the other way around:

“For us, drinking coffee is both a reason for conversation, an expression for sharing joy, a way of communication, a way of reconciling anger, a way of meeting young people, and a way of solving problems. It is an ‘excuse’ for interaction, between existing communities, but also between locals and tourists. When asking the way, it ends in the coffee.” (L. S., Bosniak, 41 years, personal communication, May 12, 2021).

“Merak or Cejf (enjoyment) coming from the word Keyif in Turkish, it has transformed into a verb “ćejfiti” based activities and experiences.” (M. C., Bosniak, 30 years, personal communication, April 29, 2021).

“Wherever I have to go in the city, the moment I find some free time, I drink coffee.” (A. D., Bosniak, 32 years, personal communication, May 20, 2021).

“The Bosnian religious tradition I have learned in Germany, not in Sarajevo.” (A. C., Bosniak, 33 years, personal communication, May 8, 2021).

“I have never seen a city where coffee is that important. People plan their activities according to their coffee time. And there is always time for coffee.” (A. L., Serbian, 23 years, personal communication, May 15, 2021).

It is mentioned that religious traditions in Bosnia are different than in other settings because it is highly blended with the cultural values of the area. This portrays in daily behaviour. It seems that these traditions are preserved better in the suburbs of Sarajevo.

These specific traditions have also been transmitted within the Bosnian community abroad:

“I remember that my parents took us to a two-hours drive just to meet other Bosnian people in Norway. This created a kind of attachment, we could speak our own language, celebrate our own holidays.” (A. D., Bosniak, 32 years, personal communication, May 20, 2021).

“Islam in Bosnia is different than Islam in other countries, that makes it possible to have common values with other religions in Sarajevo.” (A. D., Bosniak, 32 years, personal communication, May 20, 2021).

“The suburbs of Sarajevo managed to keep their tradition. These are key areas which made Sarajevo today's Sarajevo in cultural and economic sense.” (L. D., Bosniak, 24 years, personal communication, June 14, 2021).

“In the end, citizens of Sarajevo do not behave or act different than each other. Even not practising them all, everyone knows all traditions and values.” (B. L., Serbian, 66 years, personal communication, April 17, 2021).

4.4.2.5 Code 5: environmental identity and quality

Overall results regarding code 5 show all participants share their opinions about the topic, although there is no significant difference when focusing on the age-groups or ethnic identities (Figure 4.18).

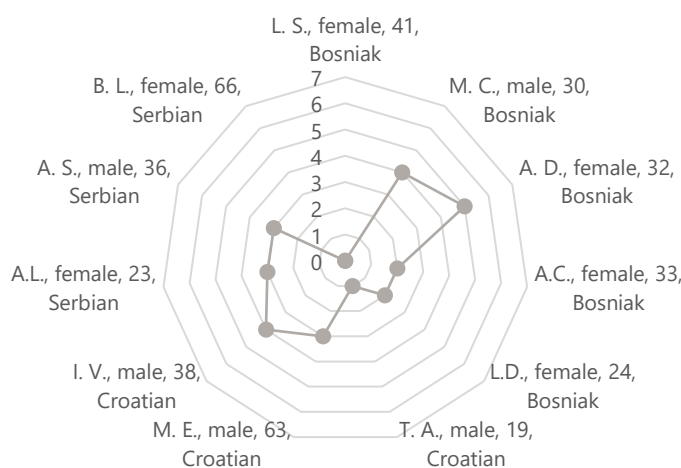


Figure 4.18 : Overall evaluation by the interviewees for Code 5.

Although, there are significant remarks regarding the environmental identity and related problems according to the personal attachment of the participants. The country is one of the few which still allows smoking in almost all public indoor spaces. Despite the cultural value of it, smoking is perceived to be a serious environmental problem, especially by the youth:

“Smoking almost became a part of the culture. When someone sits for coffee, a cigarette is almost unmissable. Easy access, cheap prices and social acceptability makes it easy to start smoking. After all, people in this city went and are still going through a lot of hard political, social and economic challenges. It is a way of dealing with these problems.” (T. A., Croatian, 19 years, personal communication, June 19, 2021).

Traffic issues such as congestions and outdated traffic systems seem to create severe problems in means of safety. Parking problems occur in the city centre, but the centre has been perceived as very walkable:

“It is a very walkable city.” (M. C., Bosniak, 30 years, personal communication, April 29, 2021).

“The traffic is a very big problem in Sarajevo.” (L. D., Bosniak, 24 years, personal communication, June 14, 2021).

“Sarajevo is quite human-friendly in sense of walkability and size. That is why the car traffic bothers me. It does not fit in the city. Cycling and walking could and should be promoted much better.” (A. S., Serbian, 36 years, personal communication, June 22, 2021).

“One of the problems in Sarajevo is a lack of parking places during certain times. That encourages to use public transportation in the city.” (M. C., Bosniak, 30 years, personal communication, April 29, 2021).

Partly caused by the traffic, air pollution and the geographical location of the city creates smog, which is perceived as another major environmental problem and it negatively affects daily activities:

“The climate in Sarajevo is highly affected by the insufficient use of resources. Our public transportation system is outdated. Both the vehicles as the tracks are not sustainable. That is why people choose to buy their own cars, which increases the

traffic and emissions. It is like a loop.” (A. S., Serbian, 36 years, personal communication, June 22, 2021).

“The use of heating oil in some district is a serious problem for the air pollution.” (A. L., Serbian, 23 years, personal communication, May 15, 2021).

“When the air is too polluted, I do not take the kids out. Instead, we go to the mountains.” (A. D., Bosniak, 32 years, personal communication, May 20, 2021).

“It is difficult for people such as me who have health issues to engage with the society. It is allowed to smoke almost everywhere, even in the hospitals. I have asthma since I was a little boy. I use face masks on regular basis because of the smoke.” (T. A., Croatian, 19 years, personal communication, June 19, 2021).

“I experienced a few times that schools have been closed because of heavy smog. Children were advised to stay at home due to health and safety prevention of the smog. This affects our whole daily planning.” (A. S., Serbian, 36 years, personal communication, June 22, 2021).

“Sometimes during the year it becomes very hard to do our daily activities in the city. It is strongly visible that during the last decade the traffic enormously increased. This has a perceivable effect on the smog in the city. My office is at walking distance. I remember that a few times I had serious trouble in finding my way when going to work. It was like walking in emptiness.” (A. S., Serbian, 36 years, personal communication, June 22, 2021).

The natural sources and landscape nearby are one of the greatest potentials for the city in natural, ecological and economic sense. Nevertheless, there is no optimized concern/interest, use and protection yet:

“You have a great view to the mountains, wherever you travel within Sarajevo.” (A. D., Bosniak, 32 years, personal communication, May 20, 2021).

“Bijelasnica, Trebevic is very nearby.” (M. C., Bosniak, 30 years, personal communication, April 29, 2021).

“The mountains are very close to the city.” (A. C., Bosniak, 33 years, personal communication, May 8, 2021).

“I used to be in a trekking club. Being a citizen of Sarajevo means being intensely in contact with the nature rather than the city itself.” (M. E., Croatian, 63 years, personal communication, June 23, 2021).

“We go on daily natural tours. Up to one hour you are in the mountains.” (A. D., Bosniak, 32 years, personal communication, May 20, 2021).

“Our natural sources are not used as it should be. It is very poorly maintained.” (A. D., Bosniak, 32 years, personal communication, May 20, 2021).

“Bjelašnica (mountain) is today not privatized, nothing much is happening there. On the other hand Jahorina (mountain) is privately owned and it is greatly maintained and developed.” (L. D., Bosniak, 24 years, personal communication, June 14, 2021).

“I am a plant collector. There is a tremendous flora in the higher areas of Sarajevo. Almost each weekend I go out for hiking in the mountains in the surrounding. I collect plants/herbs; some are edible some are not. Sometimes I make herbal tea of it for natural healing. It is like an adventure, a discovery of what exists in the ‘unknown world’.” (M. E., Croatian, 63 years, personal communication, June 23, 2021).

“Long after war, in certain areas within and outside the city, the number of blue butterflies extremely increased. I know from my field of expertise; each butterfly specie feeds on a specific plant. Blue butterflies feed on the Artemisia Vulgaris (Mugwort). The sudden increase has been studied by experts in the field. It seemed that this plant preferred to grow on soil above graves. In this way, the nature helped to uncover several mass graves.” (M. E., Croatian, 63 years, personal communication, June 23, 2021).

“Until 2014, I used to live on the slopes, in the countryside of Sarajevo. So now and then when there were heavy rain falls or during winter, we had serious problems.” (I. V., Croatian, 28 years, personal communication, May 23, 2021).

“Although the Miljacka is not very clean, we have a lot of natural sources and we have the opportunity to drink the tap water.” (M. C., Bosniak, 30 years, personal communication, April 29, 2021).

“In Ilidža -where I live- we can drink from tap water. It is hard water, but it tastes proper. As I live close to the natural forest, I feel the natural taste of spring water much better than in other areas of the city. I know places in Sarajevo, especially in the centre, where tap water is poor and almost not possible to drink. It is clearly that the outer suburbs of Sarajevo are much better to live in regarding drink water.” (A. D., Bosniak, 32 years, personal communication, May 20, 2021).

4.4.2.6 Code 6: city identity and its effect on daily life

Overall results regarding code 6 show all participants share their opinions about the topic, although there is no significant difference when focusing on the age-groups or ethnic identities (Figure 4.19).

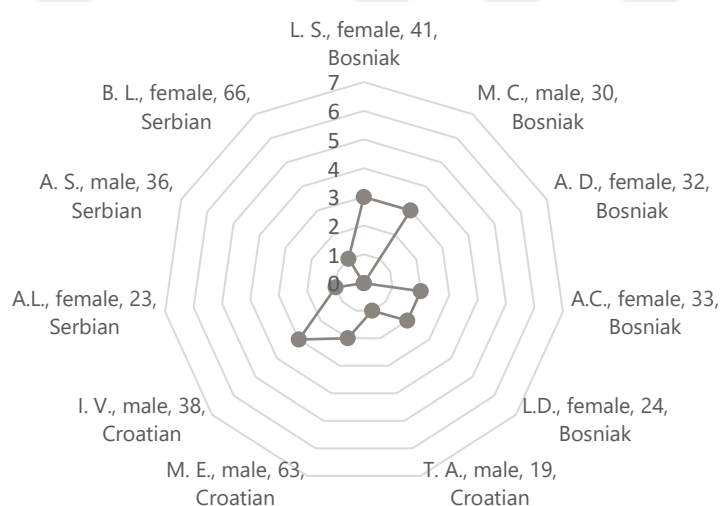


Figure 4.19 : Overall evaluation by the interviewees for Code 6.

The city should be perceived as neither West or East, so should the cultural identity and its spatial representation not be. Instead, as a comprehensive way of life that deals with both cultural aspects:

“Within a few kilometers you can feel and touch different souls of the city. The city is perceived by many as a touchable plateau reflecting the multiculturalism.” (L. S., Bosniak, 41 years, personal communication, May 12, 2021).

“Dino Merlin says in a song: sjedi mali, tu je tvoj dom, daleko su istambul i Beč, which means sit down boy, this is your home, far from istambul and Vienna. We live between these cultures.” (M. C., Bosniak, 30 years, personal communication, April 29, 2021).

“Tourists can feel instinctively the soul of the city, they can find their own way. In this way the city is very readable.” (L. S., Bosniak, 41 years, personal communication, May 12, 2021).

As the city has a high level of legibility, tourism and tourism related activities and investments seem to have the largest impact on the city’s identity:

“I have been running this tour agency for over 20 years. I can see a clear change in behaviour and demand of ‘the tourist’.” (I. V., Croatian, 28 years, personal communication, May 23, 2021).

“It is a pleasant city, especially in summer. it is crowded, there are a lot of tourists and there is always something going on in the streets. There is a lot of interaction between people who do not know each other or just have met each other.” (A. C., Bosniak, 33 years, personal communication, May 8, 2021).

“Economic recovery is needed. I am one of the few that is retired and receive an income. Therefore, I understand that international support is very important. But slowly it looks like it is transforming the city identity rather than it is enhancing.” (B. L., Serbian, 66 years, personal communication, April 17, 2021).

There are too many traces of the war in the city and these traces are clearly a part of the investments to support war-tourism. However, according to the participants less should be emphasized on war events in order to protect the city identity:

“Maybe we should less focus on accentuate the war as an event. Everywhere in the city you have remarks of the war. This is bad for the city image.” (T. A., Croatian, 19 years, personal communication, June 19, 2021).

“It is our destiny to be recognized with the positivity as well as the negativity of our history. The city (and the country as a whole) remains in a frozen conflict after war, while we are known for our national values such as the Winter Olympics, Čevapi etc.” (M. C., Bosniak, 30 years, personal communication, April 29, 2021).

4.4.2.7 Code 7: memory

Overall results regarding code 7 show all participants share their opinions, although the youth seem less interested in the topic (Figure 4.20).

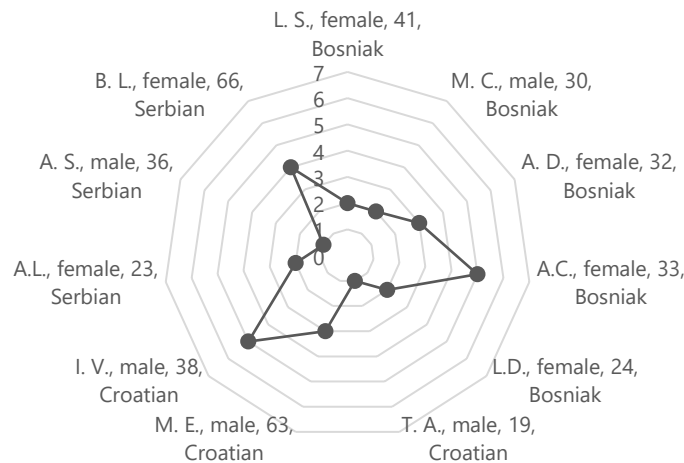


Figure 4.20 : Overall evaluation by the interviewees for Code 7.

The green layer of the city recalls different things than it usually does in another setting. Loss of urban gardening, escape to the mountains during the siege, transformation of urban parks to graveyards has a negative impact on memorization of the war:

“The natural environment in Sarajevo is probably reminding different things than usually it should be. It reminds us of the war, our escapes to the mountains, our loss of our urban gardens. Nowadays parks are transformed into graveyards which reminds us to the fear of escaping and losing.” (L. S., Bosniak, 41 years, personal communication, May 12, 2021).

“Spending my time in certain green areas makes me upset because of the memories it brings back.” (M. E., Croatian, 63 years, personal communication, June 23, 2021).

“After war, many areas are closed and secured because of the land mines. Now I do not have access to some protected herbage. This is one of the worst things that can happen to a collector.” (M. E., Croatian, 63 years, personal communication, June 23, 2021).

Almost all the participants are strongly attached to their own house and its direct neighbourhood. These private places seem to create most of the memories and is the main reason for return in case of displacement:

“Although I was aware of the poor quality of the house, my former house was inherited property and I never had the intention to move to another place. It was

my home, the place where I grew up, the place where I wanted my children to grow up.” (I. V., Croatian, 28 years, personal communication, May 23, 2021).

“My home itself was the only war experience, because we came back to our home in Butmir and we renovated it.” (M. C., Bosniak, 30 years, personal communication, April 29, 2021).

“My mother's main motive to return was to raise the children in the country where they belong to. And it actually makes sense, because friends who stayed in Norway kind of lost connection with their roots.” (A. D., Bosniak, 32 years, personal communication, May 20, 2021).

“The Serbs who have left to other countries still have their houses here in our neighbourhood. The buildings are partly ruined. They do not sell them, but they also do not come back to use their property. These are clearly marks of war, physically but also socially.” (A. C., Bosniak, 33 years, personal communication, May 8, 2021).

“The Bosnian community rented an old building in Munich and used it as mosque. Even it was far from our home, my mother insisted to us to learn the Quran. She was very persisted in this, because before war in Sarajevo we did not have religion courses at school, just ethics. Thus, this building became a community centre for us.” (A. C., Bosniak, 33 years, personal communication, May 8, 2021).

“I remember that when our house was not safe anymore in the beginning of the war, we went to an underground basement in the neighbourhood. My mother wrapped us in red blankets. The basement was very crowded. All our neighbours came to that place. There were no windows. My sister cried when she heard bombs and noises.” (A. C., Bosniak, 33 years, personal communication, May 8, 2021).

Almost all the participants refer to times of war and relate the event of war to physical (or psychological) attachment:

“The tram has a very special meaning in Sarajevo. It has far beyond a form of public transportation.” (B. L., Serbian, 66 years, personal communication, April 17, 2021).

“Darkness reminds me of the war. Those times I have seen the city lit up only by bombs during during night.” (B. L., Serbian, 66 years, personal communication, April 17, 2021).

“It is a contradiction; when I am upset, I feel better by spending my time outdoors in the nature. On the other hand, spending my time in certain green areas makes me upset because of the memories it brings back.” (M. E., Croatian, 63 years, personal communication, June 23, 2021).

“It bothers me that everyone in the city is focusing on the past.” (A. L., Serbian, 23 years, personal communication, May 15, 2021).

“Sarajevo is a great city to visit as war zone for tourist. The prices are moderate. It is not strange that inhabitants are open for a talk with tourists. They are pleased to welcome foreigners, as they can finally ‘share their story’, even almost 30 years has passed.” (M. C., Bosniak, 30 years, personal communication, April 29, 2021).

Although, the youth (post-war generation) think differently about preserving the scars of war:

“In Sarajevo, history is not always something a subject to be proud of. Maybe because I did not witness the war events, but I heard a lot of stories about it. I respect it, but we must respond to the contemporary needs and clearly these needs do not prioritize the scars of war, at least for people from my generation.” (A. L., Serbian, 23 years, personal communication, May 15, 2021).

“As much as I love the old part of the city, for leisure activities I prefer to go to new places. These places have less history, so I can create the history by my own.” (A. L., Serbian, 23 years, personal communication, May 15, 2021).

Tourism is a growing sector in the city. Particularly, representation of war as a tourist attraction and interpersonal communication between locals and tourists seem to be notable subjects. Many participants express their opinions about tourist behaviours:

“You can directly recognize tourists in this city. If you see someone looking up to the facades of buildings or looking down and take a look at the ‘roses’, you definitely know it is a tourist. Most of the inhabitants walk by, they are used to the red marks, but foreigners find it impressive, because the marks on the ground explain themselves. Most of the walking tours in the centre are arranged according

to these marks.” (M. E., Croatian, 63 years, personal communication, June 23, 2021).

“Some years ago, a group of international researchers came to do a cooperative workshop here. I was their tour guide for a couple of days before their actual work began. They were very impressed when they saw the graveyards in the middle of the city. One of them asked me why we insist to commemorate the war in such a way. ‘Isn’t it much easier just to (re)move the graves?’ was the question asked to me. It is not to refresh our memories or emotions of loss and pain. The dead are a part of this city. Maybe they are the ones who deserve to be here the most.” (I. V., Croatian, 28 years, personal communication, May 23, 2021).

“Some tourists are surprised with the fact that they can buy souvenirs featuring war motives. The shops in Baščaršija (old town) are selling souvenirs like carved and decorated bullet shells and grenades. Many tourists think that it is just an attractor, but react surprised when they become to know that they are used materials during war time. For some it is a great souvenir, while others think it is a reminder of hard times and just provokes negative thoughts about war.” (I. V., Croatian, 28 years, personal communication, May 23, 2021).

“After war, winter and cultural tourism have been promoted through the advertisement of war.” (I. V., Croatian, 28 years, personal communication, May 23, 2021).

4.4.2.8 Code 8: places of belonging and local sentiments

Overall results regarding code 8 show that especially Bosniaks and the war-generation identify and describe physical places of attachment (Figure 4.21).

Serbian and Croatian participants generally describe the notion of attachment, but do less identify specific places in the city they feel attached to. The residential locations of the participants are shown in Figure 4.22. The residential locations of the participants are divided throughout the city. A part of the interviewees lives in the centre, while multiple participants are living in the extension area and suburbs.

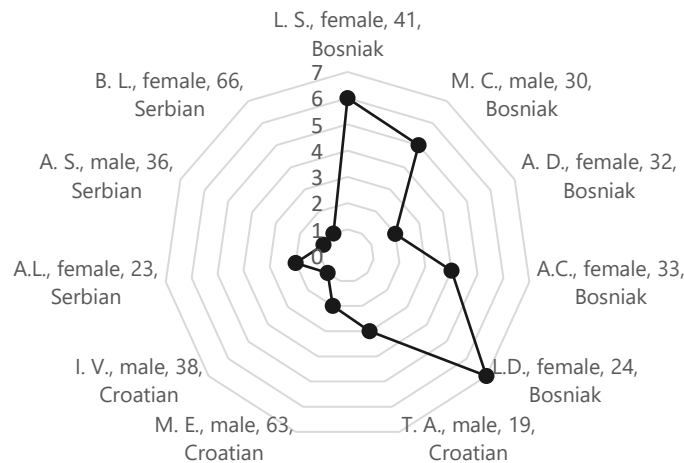


Figure 4.21 : Overall evaluation by the interviewees for Code 8.

I.V. and T.A. live in Hrasno, a district consisting of apartment buildings ranging from approximately ten to sixty meters in height. The district has been badly affected by the war and reconstructed afterwards. The tallest towers of the city are also located in this district. B.L. lives in Čengić Vila. The district is located on the Northern side of the Miljacka river and has an extension on the Southern side (Čengić Vila II). The neighbourhood is considered as one of the best districts to live in within the city, both for locals and tourists. M.C. lives in Alipašino Polje. The typical socialist suburb of the city has been built during the 70s and exists of high-rise residential blocks and large communal areas. Due to their height, many blocks were damaged during the siege. A.D. lives in the centre of Ilidža, a municipality that lays at the foot of the Igman mountain. Today, the municipality is a suburb of the city located in the natural environment. L. D. and A. C. are living in Butmir, the oldest part of Ilidža. The area has remains from prehistoric times and was inhabited far before the establishment of Sarajevo. M. E. and L. S. are living in Stup, a neighbourhood in Ilidža with residential building blocks and detached houses with private gardens.

Furthermore, there are two interviewees living in Lukavica, located in Republika Srpska. Interviewees have identified specific places of attachment during the interviews, which are shown in Figure 4.23. Most of the places that are mentioned are situated in and near the Old Town and along the river. The places of attachment are listed and described in Figure 4.24.

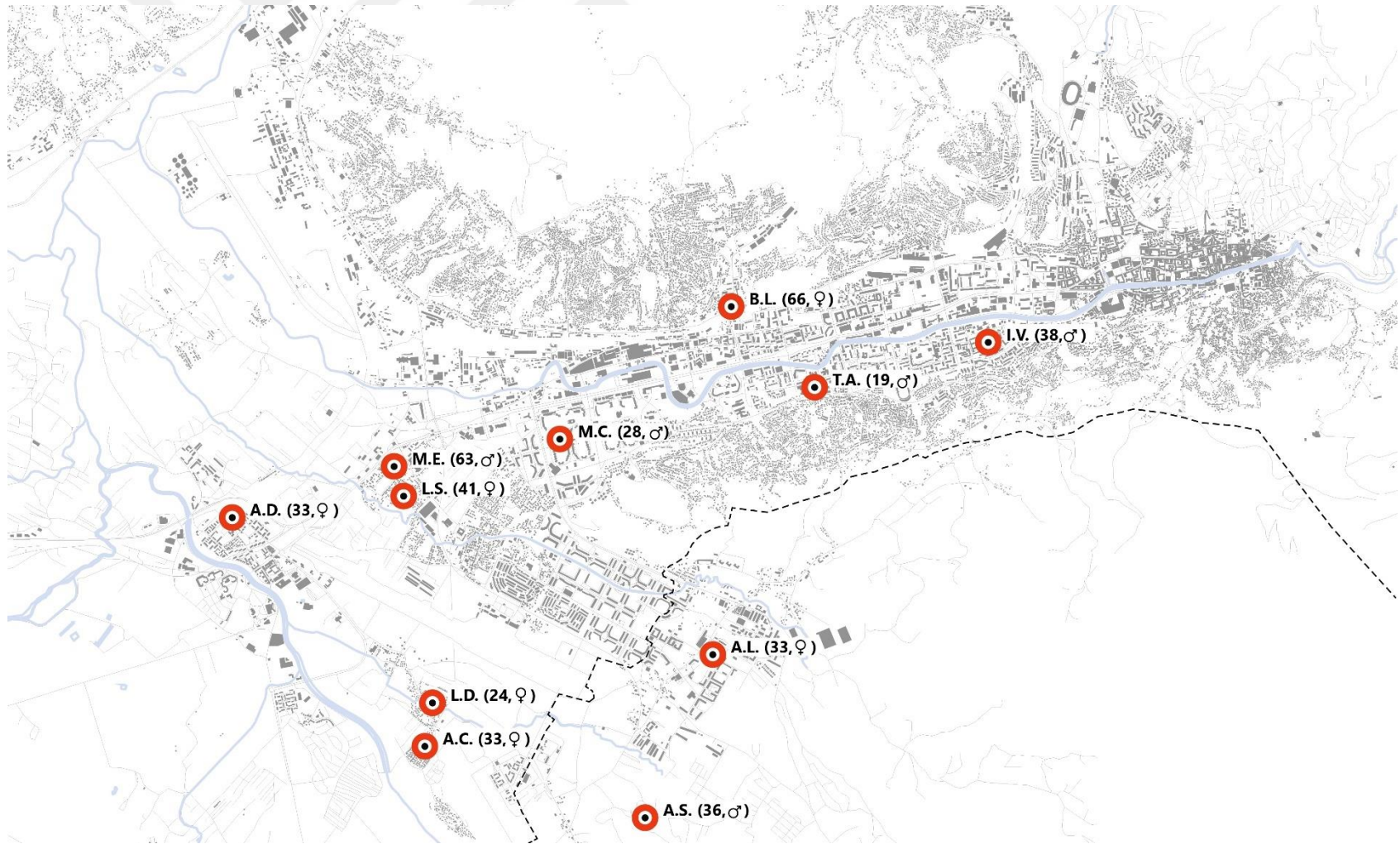


Figure 4.22 : Interviewees' residential places.

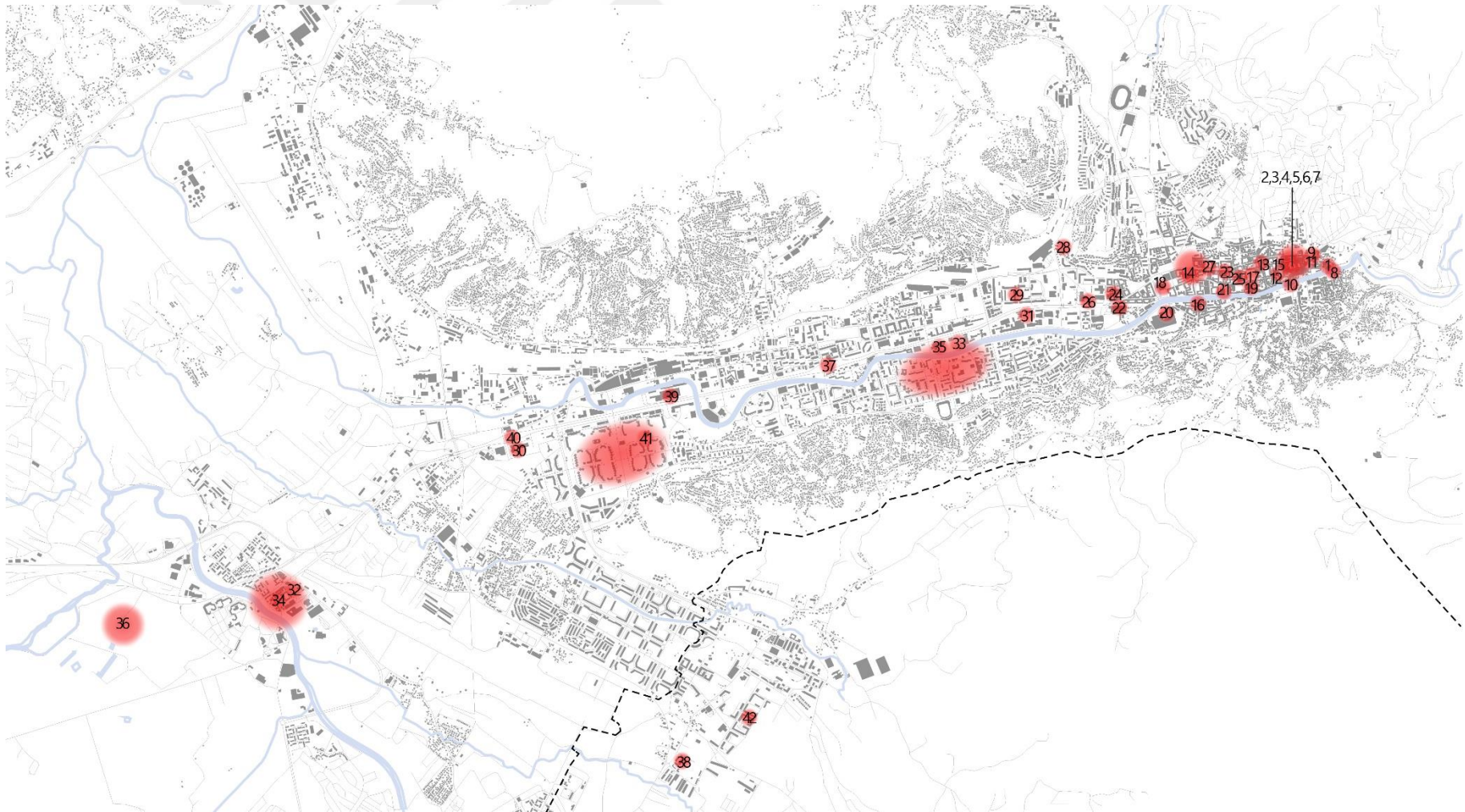


Figure 4.23 : Map of places in Sarajevo perceived as public spaces with a high attachment mentioned by the interviewees.

1. Vijećnica City Hall



The historical building, which was built as a town hall during the Austro-Hungarian Empire and is now used as a national library.

2. Baščaršija (Old Town)



One of the main shopping destinations in the city where the city's original bazaar can be found dating back to the 15th Century.

3. Buregdžinica Sač



A popular place in the oldtown to eat Bosnian burek (pie).

4. Gazi Husrev-Begova Museum /Library



A library and museum located on the side street of Baščaršija and which is a part of a larger complex.

5. Gazi Husrev-Begova Mosque Courtyard



A large courtyard in front of the mosque in the middle of the old town.

6. Gazi Husrev-Begova Public Fountains



Two public fountains adjacent to the garden wall of the mosque on the corner of the street.

7. Pekara Imaret



A bakery which is part of the Imaret or imarethane that has been built with the purpose to be a charitable institution created to help the poor.

8. Šeher Čehaja Bridge



The bridge in front of the former town hall crossing the Miljacka river.

9. Baščaršija Tram Stop



The closest bus/tram station to Baščaršija.

10. Latin Bridge



The bridge of which the name is referring to the Catholic quarter of the city and where the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand took place.

11. Sebilj



An Ottoman-style wooden fountain in the center of Baščaršija Square.

12. Hotel Europe



A historic hotel situated at the border of the oldtown.

13. Sacred Heart Cathedral Square



The square in front of the largest cathedral in the country, which is an extension of the main shopping street Ferhadija.

14. BBI Centar



One of the largest shopping malls in the country.

15. Ferhadija



A lively street filled with shops, cafes, restaurants, and bars, it is also the epicenter of the city's best nightlife.

16. Academy of Fine Arts



The academy is a faculty within the State University of Sarajevo.

Figure 4.24 : List of places in Sarajevo perceived as public spaces with a high attachment mentioned by the interviewees.

17. Oslobođenja - Alija Izetbegović Square



The square situated between the municipalities Stari Grad and Centar.

18. Ali Pasha's Mosque



The mosque is a complex built from 1560 to 1561 in Classical Ottoman Style, which is situated along the Maršala Tita street.

19. Armed Forces of BiH Hall



An army hall which was the former casino for officers and currently a national monument.

20. Skenderija



A cultural, sports and trade center consisting of several venues where various sports, cultural and trade events are organized throughout the year.

21. Sarajevo National Theater



The National Theater is located along the Miljacka river and is the most prominent theater house in the country.

22. Sarajevo City Center (SCC)



A business complex and shopping center that consists of a state-of-the-art shopping mall and leisure complex, a hotel tower and a commercial offices tower.

23. Vječna Vatra (Eternal Flame)



A memorial to the military and civilian victims of the Second World War in Sarajevo.

24. Marjin Dvor



A neighborhood in the center that is noted for buildings from the Austro-Hungarian Empire era.

25. Sarajevo Youth Theater



A children's and youth theater in the city and the largest theater of its kind in the country.

26. Alta Shopping Center



One of the main shopping malls along Zmaja od Bosne, the main traffic road in the city.

27. Metropolis Cafe Maršala Tita



A popular contemporary cafe viewing Maršala Tita Street, one of the main streets in the center.

28. Avaz Twist Tower



A skyscraper and the headquarter a Bosnian newspaper company.

29. University of Sarajevo Campus



A public and the largest and oldest university in the country, as well as the oldest institution of tertiary learning in the former Yugoslavia.

30. Radon Plaza



A luxurious hotel between the center and suburb Ilidža with a rotating restaurant.

31. Importantne Shopping Center



A local shopping and business center also featuring a residential block of apartments.

32. Ilidža Tram / Bus Terminal



The central tram/bus stop of Ilidža including an ATM, kiosk, coffee bar, fast food, exchange office and a parking lot.

Figure 4.24 (continued) : List of places in Sarajevo perceived as public spaces with a high attachment mentioned by the interviewees.

33. ZiraatBank



ZiraatBank is located in the famous S2 Tower. The primary purpose of the building is residential and business building, which is near the center of Sarajevo.

34. Mala Aleja Ilidža



The main shopping and leisure street in the suburb Ilidža.

35. Elektroprivreda BiH



A Bosnian public electric utility company's headquarter.

36. Vrelo Bosne



A public park featuring the system of numerous springs of the River Bosna at the foothills of the Mount Igman, on the outskirts of the city.

37. Sarajevo Tram



The tram is one of Europe's oldest having originally served as the test line for Vienna's trams.

38. Municipality Office East Ilidža



The municipality office in the city of Istočno (East) Sarajevo (Republika Srpska).

39. BHRT



An umbrella broadcasting organization which broadcasts content in the country's three official languages.

40. Nedžarići Tram Stop



One of the main tram nodes which was supposed to have an extension to Dobrinja which was planned in the early 1990s right before the Bosnian War.

41. Elementary School Meša Selimović



An elementary school in Alipašino Polje an is accepting students since 1981.

42. Lukavica Center



The main shopping and leisure area of Lukavica in Istočno (East) Sarajevo (Republika Srpska).

Figure 4.24 (continued) : List of places in Sarajevo perceived as public spaces with a high attachment mentioned by the interviewees.

The places include 1 natural / semi-natural urban space, 5 civic spaces, 11 movement spaces, 1 service space, 3 interchange spaces, 8 public 'private' spaces, 8 retail spaces, 4 thirds spaces, 5 private 'public' spaces and 2 internal private spaces (Figure 4.25). The places of attachment are mostly described through common values in daily life experiences and their effect on the city identity. The strength of social relations and the solidarity between individuals and or/among groups (and group members) has a high impact in the creation of place attachment.

	ethnic diversity, ethnic diverse cities	past, present and future citizens	social cohesion	common values in daily life experiences	environmental identity and quality	effect of the city identity on daily life	memory	places of belonging and local sentiments
<i>Natural / semi-natural urban space</i>								
Vrelo Bosne			●	●	●	●	●	●
<i>Civic space</i>								
Sebilj		●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Sacred Heart Cathedral Square	●	●	●			●	●	●
Oslobođenja - Alija Izetbegović Square			●	●				●
Vječna Vatra (Eternal Flame)	●		●	●			●	●
Sarajevo Memorial for Children		●		●	●	●	●	●
<i>Movement space</i>								
Baščaršija (Old Town)	●	●	●	●		●	●	●
Gazi Husrev-Begova Public Fountains	●	●		●	●	●	●	●
Šeher Ćehaja Bridge			●	●		●		●
Latin Bridge	●	●	●	●		●	●	●
Ferhadija			●	●		●	●	●
Marjin Dvor			●			●		●
Grbavica			●			●		●
Alipašino polje		●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Mala Aleja Ilidža			●			●		●
Butmir		●	●	●	●		●	●
Lukavica Center	●		●			●		●
<i>Service space</i>								
Sarajevo Tram		●	●	●		●	●	●
<i>Interchange space</i>								
Baščaršija Tram Stop		●	●					●
Nedžarići Tram Stop		●	●					●
Ilidža Tram / Bus Terminal		●	●					●

Figure 4.25 : Evaluation of places of attachment in Sarajevo according to the codes.

<i>Public 'private' space</i>								
Vijećnica City Hall		●		●		●	●	●
Gazi Husrev-Begova Museum /Library	●	●		●		●	●	●
Armed Forces of BiH Hall		●	●	●		●	●	●
Sarajevo National Theater		●		●		●	●	●
Sarajevo Youth Theater				●		●	●	●
Hotel Europe		●		●		●	●	●
Radon Plaza		●	●	●		●	●	●
Malak Hotel			●	●				●
<i>Retail space</i>								
Skenderija		●	●	●		●	●	●
BBI Centar		●	●	●		●		●
Sarajevo City Center (SCC)		●	●	●		●		●
Alta Shopping Center		●	●	●		●		●
Importanne Shopping Center		●	●	●		●		●
ZiraatBank		●		●		●	●	●
Elektroprivreda BiH		●		●		●	●	●
BHRT		●		●		●	●	●
<i>Third place spaces</i>								
Buregdžinica Sač		●	●	●		●	●	●
Pekara Imaret		●	●	●		●	●	●
Metropolis Cafe Maršala Tita		●	●	●		●		●
Restaurant Kilim		●	●					●
<i>Private 'public' space</i>								
Ali Pasha's Mosque	●	●	●	●		●	●	●
Gazi Husrev-Begova Mosque Courtyard	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
Academy of Fine Arts			●	●		●	●	●
Elementary School Meša Selimović	●		●					●
University of Sarajevo Campus			●			●	●	●
<i>Internal private space</i>								
Avaz Twist Tower				●		●		●
Municipality Office East Ilidža	●							●

11 32 36 36 7 38 29 48

Figure 4.25 (continued) : Evaluation of places of attachment in Sarajevo according to the codes.

Patterns can be found in the types of spaces mentioned by the interviewees. It has been seen that most of the places mentioned by the interviewees are movement spaces. Results show that these spaces encourage social cohesion and define the city identity,

which is a very valuable given if one can assume that social interaction and coherence itself defines the city identity and increases the attachment to places. In relation, interchange spaces show that social cohesion acts on different on diverse generations. There seems to be a gap of social interaction between generations. In particular, the post-war generation seems to separate themselves from former generations, regardless their ethnic identity.

Social cohesion occurs also on public 'private' spaces, which are mentioned mostly as theatre buildings or hotels in the case of Sarajevo. These places define the city identity, which reflects the idea that Sarajevo is the city of culture in the region. Cultural events are considered as stimuli of relationships between community members and can foster social segregation.

According to the mentioned places, a place boundary map has been generated (Figure 4.26). The place boundary map displays the physical reflection of the degree of attachment of all interviewees. It is clearly seen that the degree of attachment in the city is correlated with the periodic layers of the city's development shown in Chapter 3.

Regarding, the results of this study, the citizens feel mostly attached to the area been built during the Ottoman Era, which include the area of the Old Town. Secondary, the Austro-Hungarian extension seems to be an area which people feel attached to in a significant level. These areas have a sense of collective belonging, while the attachment for the places in the suburbs in the West (socialist-Yugoslavian area) is on local or individual level. Thus, the more history the place contains for the individual, the more permanent and collective place attachment is.

The overall evaluation of the codes (Table 4.4) show that the interviewees were comfortable to mention about social and physical qualities in the city and their effect on daily life experiences, but less about the overall evaluation of the notion of ethnicity in broader sense. The socio-political issue regarding 'a possible division' is considered as a political obstacle rather than a social one. Thus, the existence of attachment develops regardless their ethnic diversity. Although, they all clearly recognize difference in use and interpretation patterns of different age groups. The easiest way to explain these differences were made through mentioning of specific places of attachment of certain groups. The youth seek obviously for more 'neutral' places,

while the older generations feel more comfortable in places that contain cultural/historical values. Remarkably, the participants identified many environmental problems limiting their daily life activities. Yet, it does not seem to affect the degree of attachment to the city. Furthermore, the event of war (and all related indicators) seems to be related to all past and present perceptions of place and place attachment. Participants express that the current city still deals with physical and psychological traces of the war. The city tourism sector has always existed in different forms, but the sector has exploded in the post-war period and made a comeback as a recreational sector ‘promoting’ the war. War tourism in the city developed economic potentials, but besides that it also became (unintentionally) a medium for the citizens to deal with the complicated instances.



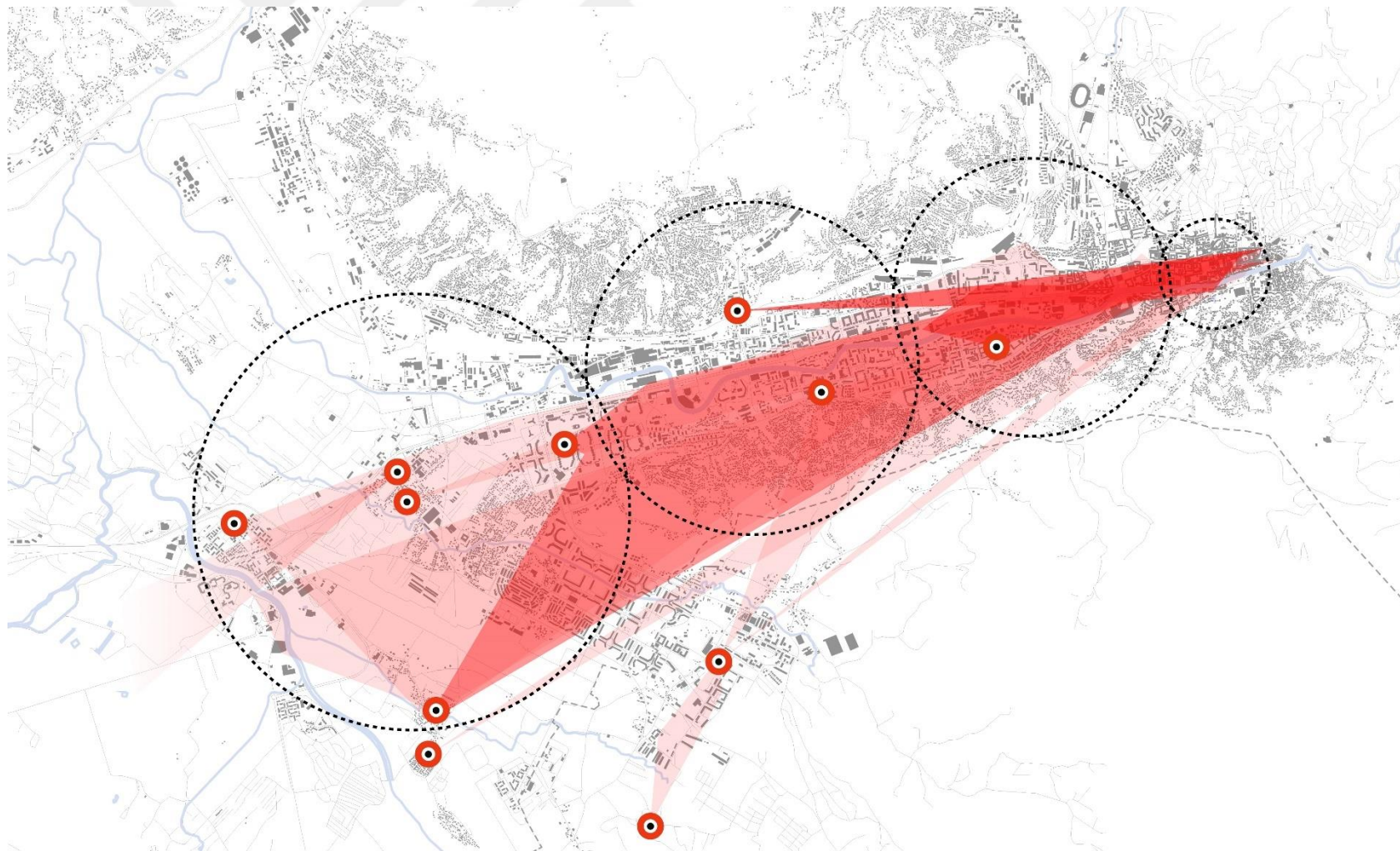


Figure 4.26 : Place boundary map of Sarajevo according to the interview results.

Table 4.4 : Overview of the interview results.

	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4	Code 5	Code 6	Code 7	Code 8
Participant 1 feedback	-External forces -No minority-majority relation	-Transformation in generation	-External forces	-Coffee -Ottoman traditions	-	-City as spatial plateau for multiculturalism	-Urban green	-Old Town -Vijecnica
factors	1 Collective identity 2 Heterogeneity	1 Collective identity 2 Interpersonal interaction	1 Ethnic identification	1 Routine 2 Social activity	-	1 Place identity	1 Environmental identity	1 Place identity 1 Use of public space
Participant 2 feedback	-Emphasis on commons rather than differences	-Transformation in generation	-Affiliation with religion rather than ethnicity	-Coffee -Water	-Parking problem -Natural water sources	-Between two cultures -Identity and psychological struggle	-Home -Tourism	-Butmir -Old Town -Vijecnica -Alipasino Polje
factors	1 Collective identity	1 Collective identity 2 Interpersonal interaction	1 Religious bond	1 Routine 2 Social activity	1 Street vitality 2 Environmental identity	1 Place identity 2 Local sentiments	1 Personal memory 2 Reconstruction of place	1 Place identity 2 Use of public space
Participant 3 feedback	-Sharing cultures	-	-Importance of neighbours rather than family -Bosnian community abroad	-Bosnian Islam is unique -Coffee	-Natural sources -Air pollution	-	-Butmir during war -Motives for return	-Emotional connection to place -Ilidza -School in Grbavica
factors	1 Collective identity 2 Interpersonal interaction	-	1 Relationship with neighbours 2 Displacement 3 Familiarity	1 Religious bond 2 Routine 3 Social activity	1 Environmental identity	-	1 Personal memory 2 Displacement	1 Local sentiments 2 Interpersonal interaction 3 Social activity
Participant 4 feedback	-Cultural division -Communism	-Transformation in generation -Diversity in family	-Change in neighbour relations -Diversity in family	-Islamic culture and traditions	-Natural sources	-Cultural center -Tourism	-Home -Motives for return	-Emotional connection to place -Neighbourhood -Coffee

Table 4.4 (continued): Overview of the interview results.

factors	1 Collective identity 2 Ethnic identification 3 Heterogeneity	1 Collective identity 2 Ethnic identification	1 Relationship with neighbours 2 Heterogeneity	1 Religious bond 2 Familiarity	1 Environmental identity	1 Social activity 2 Reconstruction of place	1 Personal memory 2 Displacement	1 Local sentiments 2 Relationship with neighbours 3 Routine
Participant 5 feedback	-Between two cultures -Political forces -Ethnic boundaries	-Transformation in generation -Employment opportunities	-Neighbourhood as community -Working environment	-Culture in suburbs	-Traffic -Natural sources	-Home	-Preservation and restoration -Difference in flags	-Shopping malls -Coffee -Butmir -Mountains
factors	1 Collective identity 2 Ethnic identification	1 Collective identity 2 Ethnic identification	1 Relationship with neighbours 2 Interpersonal interaction 3 Ethnic identification	1 Environmental identity 2 Place identity	1 Environmental identity	1 Personal memory 2 Local sentiments	1 Reconstruction of place 2 Ethnic identification	1 Social activity 2 Routine 3 Personal memory 4 Environmental identity
Participant 6 feedback	-Political forces -Preference in marriage	-Mistrust due to other factors -Employment opportunities	-Attitudes between communities	-Smoking	-Smoking	-City image	-Memorials	-Student neighbourhood -Shopping malls -Republika Srpska
factors	1 Collective identity 2 Ethnic identification	1 Heterogeneity	1 Ethnic identification	1 Routine	1 Use of public space	1 Collective identity	1 Reconstruction of place 2 Place identity 3 Use of public space	1 Social activity 2 Routine 3 Personal memory 4 Ethnic identification
Participant 7 feedback	-Sharing cultures	-Transformation in generation	-Street life	-Hospitality -Common sentiments	-Outdoor spaces -Natural Sources	-Newcomers	-Urban green -Traces of war	-Natural Sources
factors	1 Collective identity 2 Heterogeneity	1 Ethnic identification	1 Street vitality 2 Interpersonal interaction	1 Collective identity 2 Local sentiments	1 Use of public space 2 Environmental identity	1 Heterogeneity	1 Reconstruction of place 2 Place identity 3 Use of public space	1 Personal memory 2 Environmental identity

Table 4.4 (continued): Overview of the interview results.

Participant 8 feedback	-Cultural division	-Transformation in generation	-Trust / mistrust	-Balkan temperament	-Flooding -Home -Pre-war / post-war	-Tourism	-Tourism -Interethnic contact	-Home
factors	1 Ethnic identification	1 Ethnic identification 2 Religious bond	1 Heterogeneity	1 Collective identity	1 Personal memory 2 Environmental identity 3 Place identity	1 Social activity 2 Reconstruction of place	1 Social activity 2 Reconstruction of place 3 Interpersonal interaction	1 Displacement
Participant 9 feedback	-Slavic culture	-Transformation in generation	-Life abroad -Diversity in family	-Coffee	-Air pollution	-	-Motives for return -Traces of war	-Contemporary places -Sebilj
factors	1 Collective identity	1 Interpersonal interaction	1 Displacement 2 Heterogeneity	1 Routine	1 Environmental identity	-	1 Displacement	1 Social activity 2 Place identity 3 Personal memory
Participant 10 feedback	-Political forces -Entities	-Transformation in generation	-Religious expression -Republika Srpska -Neighbourhood relations	-Preference in marriage	-Climate -Traffic -Air pollution	-	-Tourism -Newcomers	-Lukavica (Republika Srpska)
factors	1 Ethnic identification	1 Ethnic identification	1 Ethnic identification 2 Relationship with neighbours	1 Ethnic identification	1 Environmental identity 2 Street vitality	-	1 Use of public space 2 Place identity	1 Place identity 2 Social activity
Participant 11 feedback	-Slavic culture	-Transformation in generation -Neighbourhood relations	-Slavic culture -Tram -Coffee -Neighbourhood relations	-Diversity in family -Slavic culture	-	-Economic recovery	-Tram -Night life -Traces of war	-Ethnic community within multicultural setting
factors	1 Collective identity	1 Interpersonal interaction 2 Relationship with neighbours	1 Collective identity 2 Interpersonal interaction 3 Relationship with neighbours	1 Heterogeneity 2 Collective identity	-	1 Place identity	1 Use of public space 2 Personal memory 3 Local sentiments	1 Collective identity 2 Local sentiments

There seems to be a certain degree of overlap in the perceptions of the participants (Figure 4.27). Although perceptions about a place item that remain in the memory vary according to the type of use of the place, the duration of use, and most importantly, the person using the place. The dimension of memory seems to be important for the creation of the attachment to a place. The spatiality of these places was easy to describe for the interviewees, while the feelings associated to the places were very mixed and vague. The research evaluates that place attachment is not a unitary concept. It consists of different factors which each have different weights when assessing the overall results.

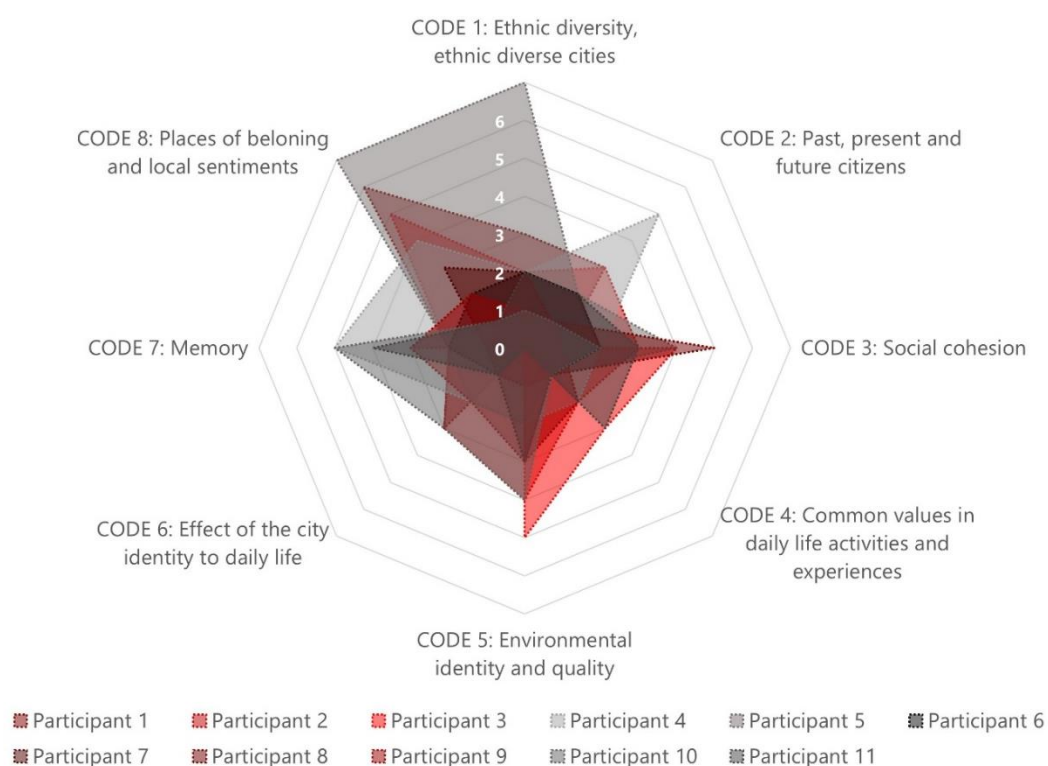


Figure 4.27 : Overall evaluation of the codes according to the feedback of the interviewees.

4.5 Emerging Issues regarding Place Attachment in Sarajevo

Outcomes of the previous sections of the chapter show that war tourism has been assessed as very important in the (trans)formation of place attachment, which is assessed as the personal and collective identity involving the connectedness and responsibility towards the tangible and intangible cultural aspects evolved through present and past experiences with and perceptions of the war. Furthermore, the environmental attributes of place attachment seem to be very significant in the forming

of the future city. This section focuses on these two emerging issues in the context of Sarajevo and contains published studies in the framework of the thesis.

4.5.1 War tourism in Sarajevo: a battle of memory and image²⁰

The tourism sector is characterised as being a sector that has attracted immensely the interest of both developed and developing countries as it is one of the fastest growing sectors worldwide. It is expected that within ten years, the number of international tourists will reach 1.8 billion worldwide (UNWTO, 2020) and 46% of international travels are cultural trips (UNWTO, 2018). Motivation of respect for history and commemoration and the curiosity towards human experiences increases the interest in travels to war sites, both on national and international level (Alaeddinoğlu & Aliagaoglu, 2007; Okuyucu & Erol, 2018). Within the scope of special interest for culture-based tourism, the concept of war tourism -which has been developing rapidly since the mid-1990s- has been gaining importance in the recent years. The notion of war tourism was introduced by Foley & Lennon (1996) and defined as attractions that are somehow related to death (Akyurt Kurnaz et al., 2013: 58). The concept was previously mentioned by Seaton (1996) as ‘Thanatourism’ and described as the travel to places in reference to symbolic or actual places of death and disaster. Visiting these places, the tourists encounter death for real or symbolically and affiliate themselves with the event (Seaton, 1999). As a matter of fact, war tourism offers tourists the opportunity to get closer to human experiences that are screened off in everyday public space within a safe, defined and socially accepted environment (Stone & Sharpley, 2008). Many places that are subject to war tourism are often affiliated to cultural heritage (Alaeddinoğlu & Aliagaoglu, 2007).

Sarajevo, the capital city of Bosnia and Hercegovina, has always been a popular tourist destination. Its geo-political position, tremendous landscape and rich historical and cultural heritage including architectural portrayals of different eras turns the city into an authentic, vibrant place of living. Alongside its multicultural character, distinctive natural landscape and biodiversity, its tangible and intangible historical and cultural landscape, the city has been often mentioned with its civil war. Therefore, its multi-dimensional tourism with its continuity throughout the year is indubitably a great

²⁰ This section is in peer-review process for publication.

contributor to the economy of present Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to visitors' evaluation²¹, about 40 percent of top ten attractions in Sarajevo are related to the war. On the other hand, war tourism merits to be studied from the witnesses' perspective, because "it reflects how people have gradually emerged from the shadow of war and gained the courage to face history" (Lee, 2016: 698). Thus, both the visitors', as well as on the witnesses' perception is noteworthy to emphasize on while evaluating attributes of war tourism. Almost three decades after war, the scars of war are still clearly visible in the city and in people's memory. The study analyses the post-war reconstruction management and the adaptation structure of war related tourism in the post-conflict context of Sarajevo. The occurrence and aftermaths of the Bosnian War during 1992-1995 have been introduced in Chapter 3. In the extent of the Dayton Plan, the 1999 Sarajevo Canton Development Strategy until 2015 aimed to develop the city towards a European metropolis, strengthening the east-west connection. The emphasis on the economically oriented sectors increased, fostering new economic conditions and directions for both the locals and foreigners. This next post-war recovery phase encouraged the grow tourism after 2015 (Figure 4.28).

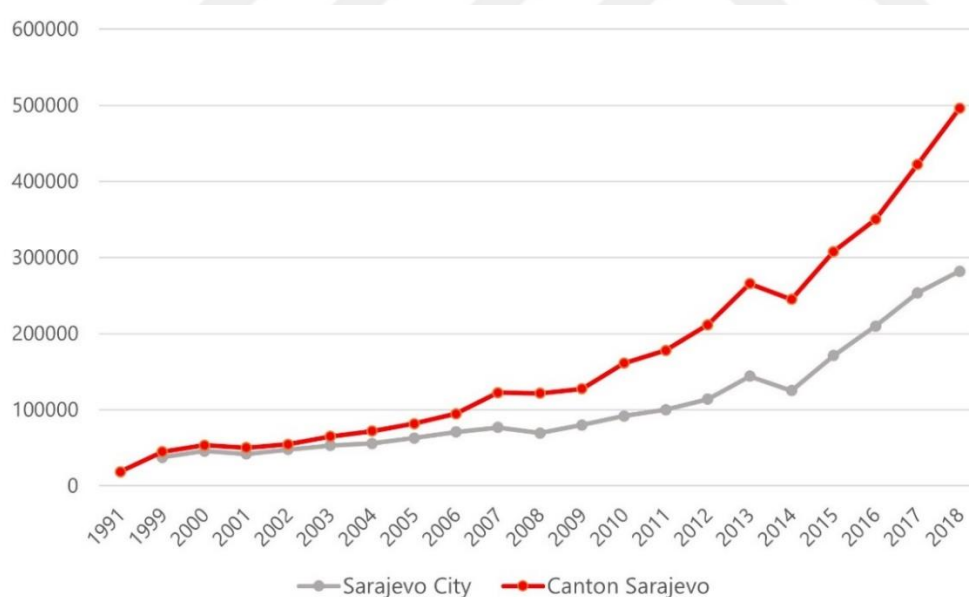


Figure 4.28 : International tourism indicators for Sarajevo between 1991-2018 (ZPR KS, 2010; 2015; 2019).

²¹ Sarajevo's ten most popular attractions according to the travelers' rankings on; tripadvisor.com, booking.com, google.com, getyourguide.com, culturetrip.com, trip.com, lonelyplanet.com, travelocity.com, expedia.com and viator.com.

This is not surprising at all, as the increasing internationalisation (both in terms of labour and capital), the degree of power-sharing between the public and private sector and the transformation of industrial and urban cultures and consumption played a major role in the formation of contemporary urban reconstruction that can be observed in cities in the entire Central and Eastern European region (Sýkora, 1994; Szelényi, 1996). Additionally, the (temporary) return from displacement of qualified Bosnians changed the diaspora patterns and tourist indications in the city:

“I have returned in the late 2000s from Germany. A couple of my colleagues also came as expat to live in Sarajevo. The city became a point of a civilized attraction with cheap living conditions for expats, due to the war. Since then, the increase of foreign tourists is clearly noticeable. The city has directly reacted to this socio-cultural potential and the tourism sector got more institutionalized.” (A.S., male, 35 years).

In Sarajevo, the nature of the tourism products and presentations has transformed by building the tourism sector around the theme of war (Naef, 2014; 2016). Eventually, in post-conflict contexts it is expected that the tourism potential of post-war sites will increase, as it may play a role to overcome or reduce long-term post-war traumas and difficulties (Smith, 1998). It seems that the citizens benefit from the interaction with tourists and consider encountering as a tool to process these difficulties:

“Sarajevo is a great city to visit as war zone for tourist. The prices are moderate. It is not strange that inhabitants are open for a talk with tourists. They are pleased to welcome foreigners, as they can finally ‘share their story’, even almost 30 years has passed. It is a long process; lessons are still not learnt. Outsiders should not blame people in this country. It takes a long time to process the events of war, from the governing level to the individual. We are still in struggle to find the right balance between our identity and its representation.” (M. C., personal communication, April 29, 2021).

4.5.1.1 Memorialization based recovery

Culture determines and defines social life and builds social capital. Hence, culture and heritage are essential in creating the city’s identity and image. Sarajevo represents the immense cultural heritage destruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Mileusnić, 1994; Riedlmayer, 2002). Moreover, Hadžimuhamedović (2019) defends that “the

destruction of cultural heritage in Bosnia was not simply a collateral outcome of the 1990s war. It was large-scale, systematic and co-orchestrated with other forms of human suffering” (p. 1). Until the war, Sarajevo promoted art and music to develop authentic cultural tourism yields. Tangible and intangible cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its individual regions are extremely varied and reflects the very dynamic historical-geographical processes over centuries (Causevic & Lynch, 2011; Naef, 2013; Naef & Ploner, 2016). Other than the tangible heritage, (ethno)cultural events (e.g. Sarajevo Film Festival, Jazz Festival, Bašćaršija Night, Sarajevo Winter Festival) are very characteristic and significantly enriches today’s tourist offer. Although, as mentioned previously, post-Dayton reconstruction policies did not take the existing cultural context and changing cultural dynamics in consideration, but focused on the emergence of physical stability and recovery. Some of the cultural public buildings (e.g. major sport complexes, theatres, museums) were rebuilt, but (deliberate) poor management and non-funding of the creative industry by governing bodies have led to a closure of many cultural buildings.

The impact of war on tourism seems to be negative in the short term (Mihalič, 1996: 244; Radnić & Ivandić, 1999), “although in the long run war may have a positive impact as it attracts additional tourists to the scene of the war” (Weaver, 2000). Correspondingly, the country saw a potential in the increasing demand for travel to war sites. Memorialization of the war became a powerful tool in reshaping the city of Sarajevo and representing it to the outer world. Despite creating a war-based tourism was not the primary objective of the Dayton Convention, the way the post-war Bosnian tourism sector has developed, manifested parallel to the conditions of the agreement (Causevic & Lynch, 2013: 154). Since authorities and (private) investors saw a chance to promote tourism targeting the present history and memory, the priority converted from emphasizing the national identity to encouraging tourism (and thus the economy) through a politicised nature of developments. The integration of the heritage became an important component in creating the stimulation of war tourism.

In post-conflict Sarajevo, the scars of the war were observable through the entire urban landscape, but particularly on the Sniper Alley (officially Meša Selimović Boulevard and Zmaja od Bosne Street), which runs through the heart of the city and parallel to the Miljacka River (Figure 4.29). This main artery connects the industrial area of the city with the historical-touristic places. During war, it was a very dangerous street due

to the snipers positioned in the surrounding mountains targeting the citizens crossing it. After war, most of the reconstruction practises have been implemented along and around this alley.

New urban projects

The aim to create a profitable business environment in the later phases of the reconstruction development, tourism related new urban projects were considerably important. About 15% of the new urban projects were related to symbolic projects, temples and monuments. To give a boost to the sector, new hotel projects were implemented.

The reconstruction of existing heritage or new heritage were (partly) funded and supported by countries such as Saudi Arabia, Turkey or Malaysia (Martín-Díaz, 2014). Contemporary commercial buildings (e.g. Avaz Tower, Sarajevo City Center) created a new alternative for leisure activities, which motivated certain groups of people to take distance from the represented city identity created around war:

“As much as I love the old part of the city, for leisure activities I prefer to go to new places. These places have less history, so I can create the history by my own. In Sarajevo, history is not always something a subject to be proud of. Maybe because I did not witness the war events, but I heard a lot of stories about it. I respect it, but we must respond to the contemporary needs and clearly these needs do not prioritize the scars of war, at least for people from my generation.” (A. L., personal communication, May 15, 2021).

War-affected cultural sites

Besides exclusive residential buildings, damage has been claimed to numerous sites containing religious, historical and signature buildings. The destruction of the cultural heritage targeted to devastate single buildings on the site, but at the same time to affect the entire urban sphere. These cultural sites represent various periods of Sarajevo; Ottoman and Islamic heritage, Catholic Archbishopric heritage, Austro-Hungarian heritage and Orthodox heritage. Many original documents are lost together with the destruction of these sites.

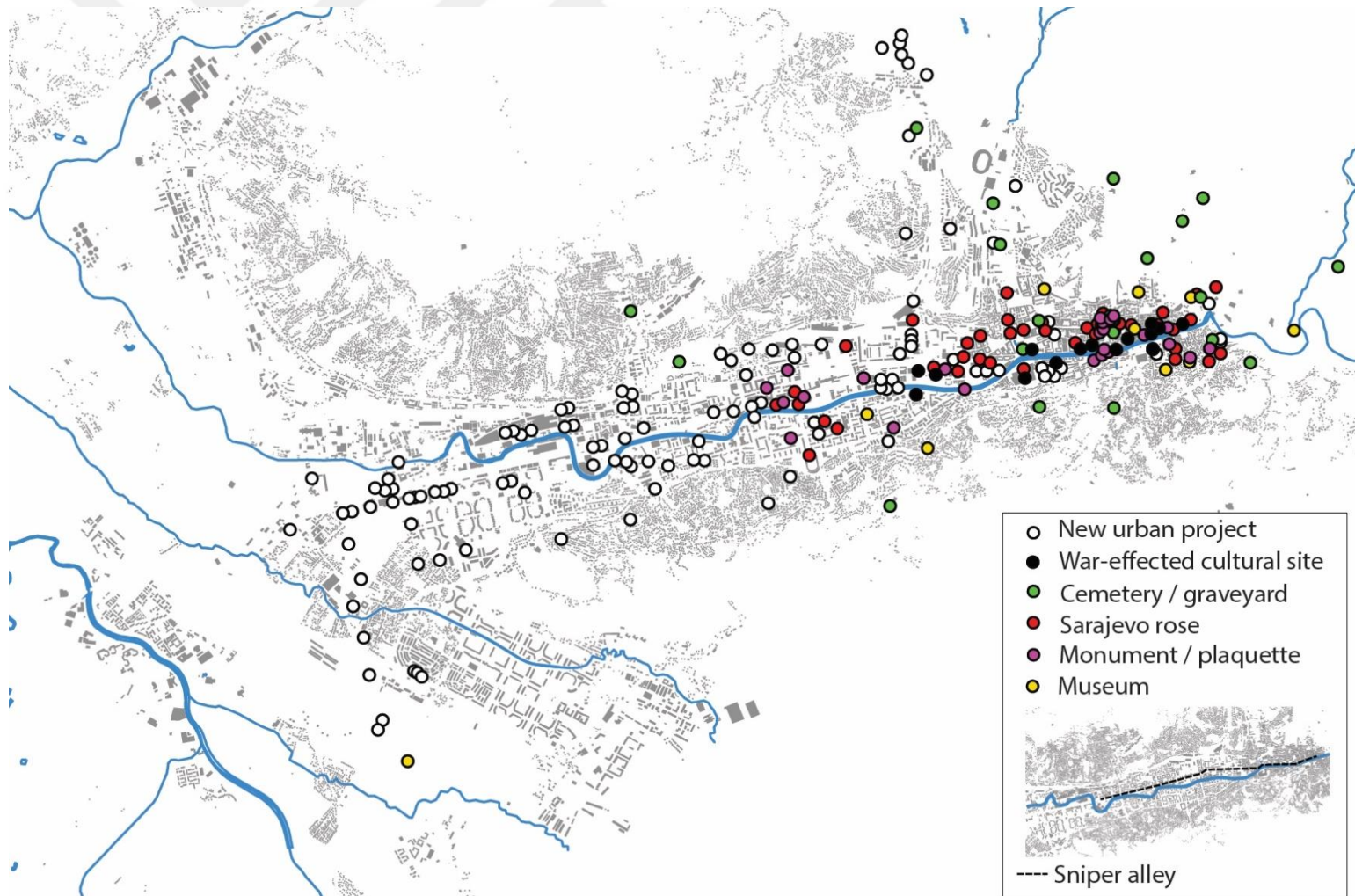


Figure 4.29 : Tangible traces of war in the urban layout of Sarajevo (adapted from: Ristić, 2013; Martín-Díaz, 2014).

For example, the manuscript collection of the Institute for Oriental Studies, which contained thousands of Bosnian, Turkish, Arabic and Persian manuscripts may count as one of the most immense cultural losses of the war in the country.

Similarly, Vijećnica (Sarajevo's National Library and Townhall) built in Moorish-style architecture during the Austro-Hungarian period lost thousands of original documents when it burned to the ground during war. Careva Džamija (Emperor's Mosque) is the first mosque to be built after the establishment of Ottoman Sarajevo. The mosque is part of a complex that includes a hammam, library and residence. The mosque and its cemetery were heavily damaged during war. Despite the fact that the site has (partly) been rebuilt in recent years, numerous bullet holes in walls are still visible (Figure 4.30). The last part of the interviews covered reconstruction strategies and implementations and their reflections on the city. Based on the respondents, it seems that the symbolic role of religious buildings and the use of public spaces have partly changed. In pre-war Sarajevo, religious buildings stand for local diversity and common space. After war, this kind of cultural property became more community specific, but at the same time more prominent as international attraction point:

“Many of my Muslim and non-Muslim friends spend time in the avlija (inner garden) of Begova džamija, which is situated very central in the city. Since my high school years, it was our meeting point. After war we preferred to choose other places to meet. For us (Muslims), Begova has been a place for religious purposes only. So mostly you see Muslim people around. But nowadays, there are also a lot of foreigners, mainly tourists, who spend their time at the avlija to rest.” (L. S., personal communication, May 12, 2021).



Figure 4.30 : War traces are still observable on Careva Džamija (Emperor's Mosque) (personal archive Zivali, T., 2015).

Museums

Another target of destruction were exhibition institutions. Some of these buildings were already functioning as museum, but some buildings have been transformed into museums in order to exhibit the war. The pavilions of the Zemaljski Muzej (National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina) received major damage. Some parts of the complex totally burned down. A part of the exhibition showcases and documents have been saved. After war, the museum reopened and closed several times due to non-funding. The Tunel Spasa (Tunnel of Hope) (Figure 4.31a) dug by the Bosnian army, served to supply Sarajevo during the siege and was the only (relatively) secured route to the rest of the territory controlled by the Bosnian forces. Primary needs such as food, medicine and other goods were smuggled into the city through this tunnel. After the war ended, the tunnel lost its utility and collapsed. There remains only the part which was leading to a private house. The house owners turned the existing structure into a museum after the war. The War Childhood Museum (Figure 4.31b) is another example in which there can be understand how scarce goods were. The collection presents personal items (e.g. toys, letters, shoes) showing how children grew up and spend their time during the war. The War Hostel (Figure 4.31c) stands on the site of a family home where the family survived the siege. Here you will get a real glimpse of how people

lived under real war conditions (with a realistic war décor and items in the rooms) in Sarajevo. A relative of the hotel manager explains that the facility is not only established to offer a point of attraction in the town, but to represent the true emotions of the city through experiencing the war in a tangible environment:

“I did witness just a small part of the war. Listening to war stories is one thing, but seeing them, touching them is totally different. I have the feeling that I can finally share the sadness of the city has been gone through, the pain of many of us” (B. L., personal communication, April 17, 2021).



Figure 4.31 : Most popular war related museums in Sarajevo²² - a) Tunel Spasa (Tunnel of Hope) (personal archive Zivali, T., 2012); b) War Childhood Museum (URL-27); c) War Hostel (URL-28).

Cemeteries / graveyards

Memorialization forms, functions and intentions added a new layer of public space in Sarajevo's urban layout. Numerous cemeteries and graveyards through the city became one of the sensational places referring to the war. In fact, many existing green spaces has transformed into graveyards and herewith, a new function was designate to

²² Sarajevo's most popular war related museum attractions according to the travelers' rankings on; tripadvisor.com, booking.com, google.com, getyourguide.com, culturetrip.com, trip.com, lonelyplanet.com, Travelocity.com, expedia.com, viator.com.

public spaces (Zivali, 2013). Kovači Martyrs Cemetery in the old town is one of the main cemeteries and is situated very central in the city (Figure 4.32) viewing the commercial quarter Baščaršija. As this cemetery is -among others- prominently situated in the city centre, it raises critical questions regarding the urban layout and identity:

“Some years ago, a group of international researchers came to do a cooperative workshop here. I was their tour guide for a couple of days before their actual work began. They were very impressed when they saw the graveyards in the middle of the city. One of them asked me why we insist to commemorate the war in such a way. ‘Isn’t it much easier just to (re)move the graves?’ was the question asked to me. It is not to refresh our memories or emotions of loss and pain. The dead are a part of this city. Maybe they are the ones who deserve to be here the most.” (I. V., personal communication, May 23, 2021).



Figure 4.32 : Kovači Martyrs Cemetery is an example of a city park transformed into a newly designed public graveyard (personal archive Zivali, T., 2018).

Monuments and plaquettes

The continuing interest in 'the war' includes many monuments and commemorations. The 'Nermine, dođi' ('Nermin, come here') sculpture (Figure 4.33a) represents a video scene (recorded during the war) when father Ramo calls on his son Nermin to surrender

and that Serbian troops do not want ‘anything’ from them and they promise they will release them. Unfortunately, the remains of Ramo and his son were found in 2008 in a mass grave near Srebrenica. The sculpture has been designed and situated in Veliki Park (Great Park) in commemoration of this event. Out of protest, the sculpture has been torn many times by ethnic fanatics. Situated in the same city park, Sarajevo Memorial for Children (Figure 4.33b) is a significant but obscure monument standing as a testament for the children who died during the siege:

“This is one of the most benign monuments in the city, as it would be easy to miss it if you do not know its meaning. Many people, including some tourists pass by. It looks like an ordinary fountain until you read the inscription. I prefer to look to it as an ordinary monument instead of a commemoration of war.” (T. A., personal communication, June 19, 2021).



Figure 4.33 : Most popular memorial sights²³ - a) ‘Nermine, dođi’ Statue (URL-29); b) Sarajevo Memorial for Children (URL-30); c) Rose of Sarajevo (URL-31).

²³ Sarajevo’s most popular memorial attractions according to the travelers’ rankings on; tripadvisor.com, booking.com, google.com, getyourguide.com, culturetrip.com, trip.com, lonelyplanet.com, Travelocity.com, expedia.com, viator.com.

The 'Roses of Sarajevo' (Figure 4.33c) are scars from grenade explosions, marked with blood-red paint. Following the marks through the city provide a basic but sufficient passage to visit the main war attractions:

“You can directly recognize tourists in this city. If you see someone looking up to the facades of buildings or looking down and take a look at the ‘roses’, you definitely know it is a tourist. Most of the inhabitants walk by, they are used to the red marks, but foreigners find it impressive, because the marks on the ground explain themselves. Most of the walking tours in the centre are arranged according to these marks.” (M. E., personal communication, June 23, 2021).

Intangible and informal memorialization

The problems plaguing post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina are not only the context in which the tourism industry develops in sense of the built environment. Besides physical remarks in the urban landscape of Sarajevo, intangible and informal traces of war are also a part of the warscape. For example, tourists can buy -among the famous džezva (traditional copper coffee pot) and colourful carpets- handmade crafted grenade cases and bullet shells in various sizes in the old commercial quarter Baščaršija (Figure 4.34b).



Figure 4.34 : Well-known intangible and informal forms of memorialization – a) Sarajevo Red Line (URL-32); b) Decorated bullet shells (URL-33); c) ‘I love this city, I defend this city’ graffiti (URL-34).

This type of craftsmanship play a major role in the story that portrays the country to tourists. Although, not all of them conceive this approach as acceptable:

“Some tourists are surprised with the fact that they can buy souvenirs featuring war motives. The shops in Baščaršija (old town) are selling souvenirs like carved and decorated bullet shells and grenades. Many tourists think that it is just an attractor, but react surprised when they become to know that they are used materials during war time. For some it is a great souvenir, while others think it is a reminder of hard times and just provokes negative thoughts about war.” (I. V., personal communication, May 23, 2021).

There are also many paintings as public messages in Sarajevo that refer to the war. For example, in an alley in the old town you will find a painting of a soldier defending his city. The accompanying text reads: ‘I love this city, I defend this city’ (Figure 4.34c). This type of public expression has transformed into artistry through years and created a distinctive field to coalesce:

“My friends and I have a platform where we create and share public art. With this, we try to reach the city beyond traditional urban boundaries. We work together with NGO’s, cultural centres and various institutes. But (in particular) the youth is very important for us. They tend to leave the city, but by increasing the awareness, we can increase their attachment to Sarajevo.” (A. C., personal communication, May 8, 2021).

The commemoration of the war in forms of art has not been expressed only in the urban layout of the city, but also through national holidays, yearly events and practices. Except of Independence Day (1st of March) and Statehood Day (25th of November), there are various unofficial days in remembrance of the Bosnian war and its victims. Much national and international attention has been paid to the memorial event “Red Line” with 11,541 red chairs lined up along Tito Boulevard (Figure 4.34a). The event was held on the sixth of April in 2012 in memory of the citizens who died during the war. Similar events have been held in various cities in the country.

According to MacCannell (1973), tourists seek the ‘real, experienced life’ of the locals, willing to pay for activities that interactively bring them closer to the visited ‘other’. It seems that the personal stories are the most attractive ones. Parallel to this, Causevic

& Lynch (2011) argue that individuals such as tour guides are also willing to share their side of the narrative:

“There is lots of emotions, such as sadness, frustration, confusion and disappointment inside us. We were not able to share the frustration during war time, this caused serious post-traumatic situation. Traces of war in the city is an expression of our anger. With tourists we have moments we can bring out our dimmed voice.” (A. D., personal communication, May 20, 2021).

In this manner, investments are made for touristification and advertisement of the war sites (Figure 4.35):

“I have been running this tour agency for over 20 years. I can see a clear change in behaviour and demand of ‘the tourist’. In pre-war Sarajevo, the city was known for its Franz Ferdinand and Olympic Games. The city has attracted many tourist (especially from outside the Balkans) after the Olympic events during the 80s. Winter sports and winter tourism increased, but again drastically decreased during war time. After war, winter and cultural tourism have been promoted through the advertisement of war.” (I. V., personal communication, May 23, 2021).

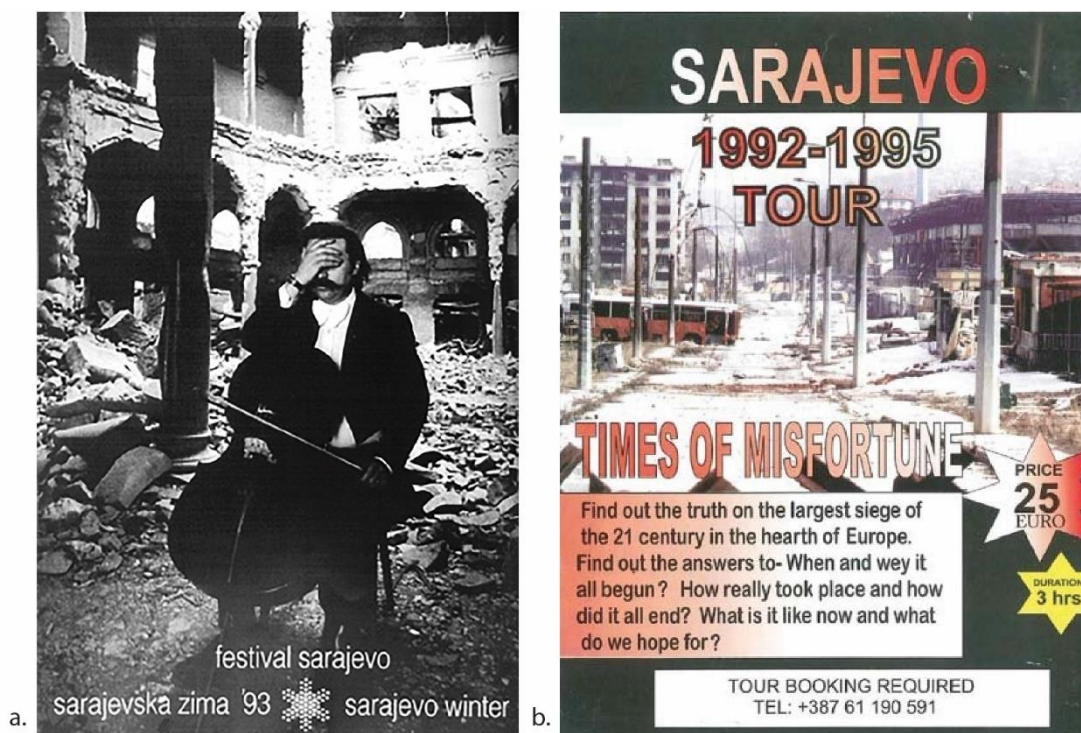


Figure 4.35 : a) Promotion flyer of the film festival event in 1993; b) Promotion flyer for a war tour in Sarajevo (Sarajevo Tourism Office in Naef, 2012: 4).

4.5.2 Belonging to green: environmental attributes of place attachment²⁴

Sarajevo's natural layout is extensively green as it covers large rural and natural areas. Although, as seen in previous results, the environmental layer of the city gains a major emphasis while the city struggles with an insufficient urban layout in terms of environmental quality. This part of the chapter investigates the user's perception of 'green' and examines the environmental attributes of place attachment in the case of Sarajevo. The study reveals an in-depth focus on the subject based on the online surveys with experts and interviews with residents and applies the reframed model of place attachment which provides both a quantitative and qualitative translation of, among other aspects, environmental factors. Within this scope, the research presents a recap of Sarajevo's environmental experiences and focuses on lessons learned regarding the post-war urban development in the environmental context of the city.

With its urban agglomeration in the valleys of the rivers Bosna, Miljacka and Željeznica and embedded in the Dinaric Alps mountains, the larger area of Sarajevo has a respectively high significance of natural value. residents of Sarajevo city travel to the suburban municipalities for tourism, sports and recreation as these areas exist of a wild hilly landscape with high mountain peaks and protected natural areas. Although, the city struggles -among social, economic and cultural- with major environmental problems and it seems that the topography plays a major role in this (Martín-Díaz et al., 2015; World Bank, 2019). Besides its lasting potential for capital, its geographical structure was one of the primary drivers in its urbanization process. Through its rooted and dynamic socio-cultural, political and economic history, urban development has led to a broad range of environmental experiences. More recent, rapid urbanization in the post-war period, diaspora and global migration trends has led to a new demographic and urban structure -and thus new habitation patterns- which demanded for a (delayed) new legislative urban planning framework regarding the environmental and building regulations. These spatial planning tools were lacking in the legislative framework of the near post-war period, which resulted in uncontrolled urban development and affected -among other issues- environmental protection. Sarajevo enacts to respond to

²⁴ This sub-section has been published as book chapter:
Zivali Turhan, T. & Ayataç, H. (2021). Belonging to Green: Environmental Attributes of Place Attachment in Sarajevo, in: *Emerging Approaches in Design and New Connections with Nature* (Esen Gökçe Özdamar & Okşan Tandoğan, eds.), pp. 20-45.

these changing environmental conditions. The Ministry of Physical Planning, Construction and Environmental Protection of Canton Sarajevo have funded diverse projects of which the Cantonal Environmental Action Plan (CEAP) (Kanton Sarajevo, 2017) has been started to be implemented in 2016 and completed in 2017. The project contained a review of the current state of the environment, the major problems and priorities, an action plan with solutions and provision of funds for the execution and monitoring of the plan. Although the implementation took one year, the monitoring program of the project was planned for a five-year period. Presently, the region comprises a Green Cantonal Action Plan (GCAP) in which it enunciates the Canton's 'green city' vision and emphasizes on the key environmental challenges of the CEAP; air quality, mitigation of GHG emissions, water resources, soils, biodiversity and ecosystems, adaptation and resilience to natural disaster risks and green spaces (Kanton Sarajevo, 2017). The strategic plan prioritizes environmental tasks regarding green spaces on macro level and with mainly administrative and technical approaches. To be able to portray synthesized environmental concerns, it is important to address the micro level and understand the status quo of the citizens' approach to (public) green space and related environmental issues. Within this scope, the research deals with prioritized environmental subjects, either directly caused or indirectly encouraged by the unplanned post-war urban development.

4.5.2.1 Theoretical and professional prioritization of the environmental agendas

Most of the existing studies on place attachment has focused on scenic, rural and residential settings (Ryan, 2005). Within this scope, there is an intention to focus primarily on the built environment, while the natural environment and its dynamics are evaluated at least of importance. Nevertheless, facets of the natural environment encourage protection, preservation and defence of the individual and the society and generate thus the possibility of living.

Activities on and experiences with green spaces in everyday life provides a representation of the intensity of the bond between human and the environmental layer of the city. Green space and related positive environmental drivers increase the rural/natural quality of life but has also the potential to improve the environmental conditions in urban settings. From the social point of view, it can also play a role in creating pro-environmental awareness. Moreover, people experiencing positive

emotional affinity with a natural environment tend to protect the certain environment and participate in environment-related activities more likely (Hartig et al., 2001). For example, in their study of inherent and introduced landscapes in Western Australia, Kaplan & Herbert (1987) explored that members of a local wildflower association - who most likely were knowledgeable about the native flora- had a significantly higher preference for native ecosystems and a significantly lower preference for non-native species than a random group of Australian university students who were not primarily affiliated with botany. The belonging to local natural resources has also been associated with environmentally responsible behavior (Vaske & Kobrin, 2001). In this manner, Vorkinn & Riese (2001) reveals that a proposed hydropower plant was perceived as environmentally de-grading. Thus simply, place attachment conduces an intensified perception of environmental responsibility, which is very essential to take into consideration while creating the environmental agenda of a site. Environmental concerns and ethics of attachment have various approaches and values which are not perse compatible, but comprehensive with each other.

While these studies argue that there is a positive correlation between attachment and environmental concern, some studies have suggested otherwise. Vorkinn & Riese (2001) argue that although it is important to consider place attachment, its effect is expected to be context-specific (p. 260). Building on this statement, Uzzell et al. (2002) suggest that place identity did not necessarily generate pro-environmental behaviours. They concluded that even though place attachment might affect environmental attitudes, its role may differ depending on the demographic and environmental characteristics. Hence, belonging and meaning designated to a place emerge from a variety of exclusive experiences and situations depending on the context. Similarly, Schultz et al. (2005) suggest that culture, values, and beliefs as factors influence environmental attitudes. This may be very importance for the case of Sarajevo as the population of the city is culturally diverse. Besides the demographical characteristics, the population level affects the possibilities cities provide for the residents. Population growth has a direct impact on the utilization of resources and environmental deterioration since an increase of the human population demands more than locally available is or is not sustainably planned for the future (Ehrlich & Holdren, 1971). In line with the world population trends, the current urban population has increased enormously in Sarajevo. Authorities such as the World Bank reveal a

population shift from urban to rural areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina (World Bank, 2021a; World Bank, 2021b). In parallel, the United Nations foresee -despite an overall decreasing population trend in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UN, 2019:12) -a serious population growth in the Sarajevo city from 2021 on (World Population Review, 2021) (Figure 4.36), which means that the city should be prepared and take steps to be able to carry the human load in the (near) future. Accordingly, this brings a new focus on the protection and preservation of the natural environment and sources on large scale.



Figure 4.36 : Population prospect of Sarajevo (World Population Review, 2021).

According to existing literature, urban problems on neighbourhood and city levels are directly correlated with environmental attributes (Yang, 2008). In this sense, it is essential to enhance knowledge about plans and strategies to evaluate and encourage the essential environmental attributes that foster place attachment. Investigation and revision of current and future agendas are required in such a case. Sarajevo is very green as it covers a largely rural and natural area. However, rapid urbanization and post-war urban sprawl caused land use changes and therefore the loss of largely agricultural land. Agricultural land was generally cheaper and more affordable for those seeking to build a house, and this was ideal in a rapid reconstruction period. Legislations regarding land use change -among other causes- have led to continuous urban sprawl, illegal construction and development speculation (Figure 4.37).



Figure 4.37 : Traces of urbanization and its environmental outcomes in Sarajevo (personal archive Zivali, T., 2013).

Alongside, the urban area has limited green open spaces. In fact, the notion of public green spaces transformed through history; undefined green spaces emerged which were not equally accessible by all residents and new definitions were assigned to decades-old green spaces (e.g. urban parks transformed into places of commemoration or graveyards). During the siege of Sarajevo (1992-1996) the city was held without electricity, heating, medical and water supplies. The old water fountains located in the old commercial quarter (*Baščaršija*), together with a few functioning remaining water sources, became the major water supply alternatives in periods of scarcity. A significant water source was the river Miljacka itself, running through the heart of the city. Reduced industrial activity during this period resulted in an auto-purification of many surface waters, but due to unplanned post-war development, the city was not able to sustain this environmental recovery. Moreover, un-controlled urban sprawl caused an insufficient infrastructure delivery and the collection of wastewaters which could not operate in coordination with the major infrastructural network constructions. Additionally, as the displacement of the population during and after the war to the periphery took place in the slopes of the city, many streets were flooded during heavy rains and sudden snow melting. The situation is not safer in the older parts of the city; the slope systems are inadequate and cause clogging due to

sediments, sand and soil that accumulate in the system from the surrounding steep slopes. Today, the mixed infrastructural system that serves the older part of the city is insufficient and not capable to accept large amounts of rainwater. These problems increase the risk of natural disasters, as well as endangering human health and the quality of life.

Within the larger region, urban settlements deal with similar environmental conditions and pressures. Belgrade, the capital city of Serbia, deals with poor capacity to develop strategic documents at the local level regarding environmental priorities, as current Development Strategy Plans (e.g. tourism, agriculture, afforestation) does barely include environmental aspects. The city aims to enact a local plan for the city, alongside the development of a national plan (UNECE, 2015). Croatia on the other hand has made significant progress since 1999 in adopting and strengthening environmental legislation with progress on laws in various sectors. Due to a (relatively) sufficient policy framework, key environmental indicators showed a positive trend in the country (UNECE, 2014). Northern Macedonia nationalized the EU sustainable development goals through fostering aware-ness and establishing multi-stakeholder participation to tackle the environmental issues (UNECE. 2019). The cases indicate that among a rapid rehabilitation of technical, institutional, environmental and economic subjects, a coherent corporation between governing layers is essential to emphasize the environmental quality of the area. Sarajevo itself enacts to take action on the changing environmental conditions due to socio-political, economic and cultural breaking points. Presently, the region comprises a Green Cantonal Action Plan (GCAP) emphasizing key environmental challenges for Canton Sarajevo.

4.5.2.2 Key environmental attributes

Corresponding to the results of the expert survey, the environmental identity has been assessed as very important in the formation of place attachment, which has been evaluated as the personal and collective identity involving the connectedness and responsibility towards the tangible nature and intangible environmental aspects evolved through the present and past experiences and perceptions. Furthermore, the findings reveal that there are four primary environmental factors regarding place attachment; *vitality*, *sustainability*, *safety* and *walkability* (Figure 4.38). In addition, there are three sub-dimensions (*green*, *natural*, *cleanliness*) mentioned to be important

while assessing place attachment from an environmental perspective. These factors are based on perceivable and visible environmental occurrences instead of technical ones and included and evaluated within the key parameters.

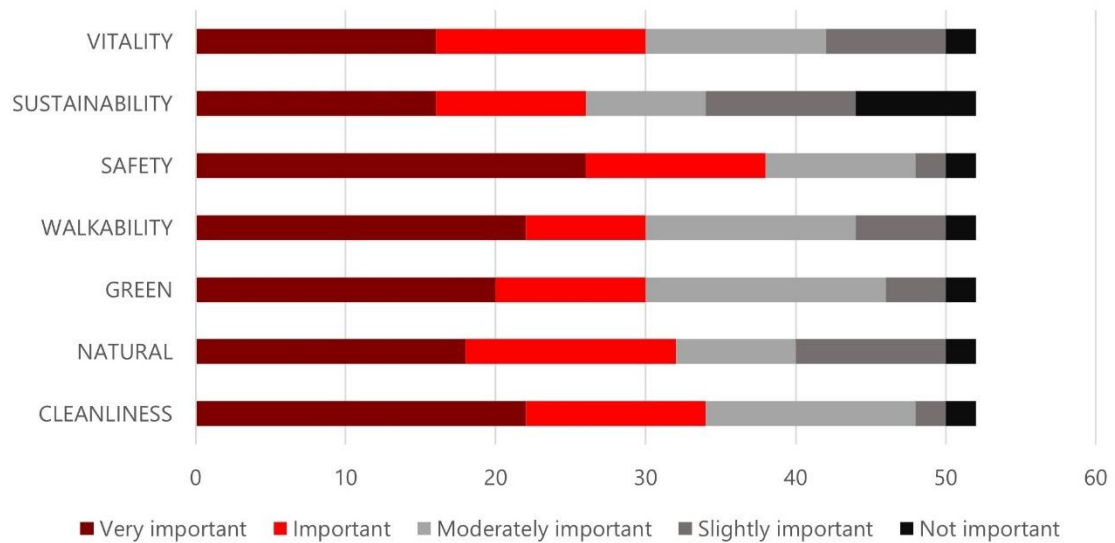


Figure 4.38 : Estimation of environmental factors in relation to place attachment according to the expert survey (adapted from Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2021).

Vitality

In a broader sense, the vitality of a place includes the socio-cultural characteristics of the users, functional and physical characteristics of the place itself and even the political and economic needs of the society (Moradi Masihi et al., 2015). The notion is being considered as an indicator for successful urban places (Jacobs, 1961; Lynch, 1961; Sherman, 1988; Montgomery, 1998). Specifically dedicated to environmental issues, it contains environmental features (e.g. climate, topography) and their effects on the health. 20% of the respondents claim that vitality is very important in creating a successful environment. The participants describe sub-factors such as cleanliness (maintenance) and the availability of green and natural features as essential to realize the vital public sphere and perceive a good impression of the environment.

Sustainability

Sustainability connotes the relationship between the natural environment and the urban tissue with the emphasis on corresponding to the needs of the present, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Inglezaki et al., 2021). Uzzell et al. (2002, p.22) claim that “a sustainable environment involves the protection of natural wealth, the controlled consumption of non-renewable resources,

the controlled emission of contaminant agents, the maintenance of biological diversity, the health of the inhabitants and the preservation of flora and fauna” . There is thus an important link between sustainability and social life and this hypothesis promotes a multi-disciplinary way of thinking. Sustainability encourages stakeholders to shape decisions in the long-term policymaking, rather than the short-term. Sustainable environmental approaches are required to reach a good quality of life and increase place attachment. Social, economic and environmental considerations, adaptation to the existing topography and climate and viable responses to urban development encourage the resilience of the city which leads to an increase of positive attitudes assigned to the place.

Safety

Experiencing places with positive emotions associated with a sense of (societal or individual) safety seems to be crucial to emphasize regarding the attachment to a place (Austin et al., 2002; Dallago et al., 2009) Safety has been evaluated as ‘important’ or ‘very important’ (50%) by the respondents of the survey. A safe place offers a retreat from threats and stress, to think and problem-solve, and to regulate emotions. This parameter is closely related to security and is associated with the physical as well as the psychological comfort of the user. Safety from a technical perspective provides a healthy environment for the users, but disruption of safety causes uncertainty and decreases the level of place attachment.

Walkability

The relationship that walkability has with place attachment is assumed to be twofold. Firstly, the influence of walkability on place attachment can be explained by the satisfaction with different measures (e.g. facilities, access to services, accessibility and vitality of streets, walking and cycling facilities, environmental features in the surrounding, spatial safety, social safety) that coherently form the perceived neighborhood walkability Saelens & Sallis (2002). For example, green or sufficient environmental elements make it more interesting to walk by than an empty space. Or crosswalks and pedestrian signals help walkers to cross the street safely and this encourages the person to walk. Secondly, it seems that a place should be easy to get to and get through to sense the environmental quality of that place. Walking is essential in observing and recognizing this quality because uninterrupted slow movement

increases the visibility from close-up, but also from a distance. A significant difference in the evaluation of environmental factors is depending on the occupation of the experts (Figure 4.39).

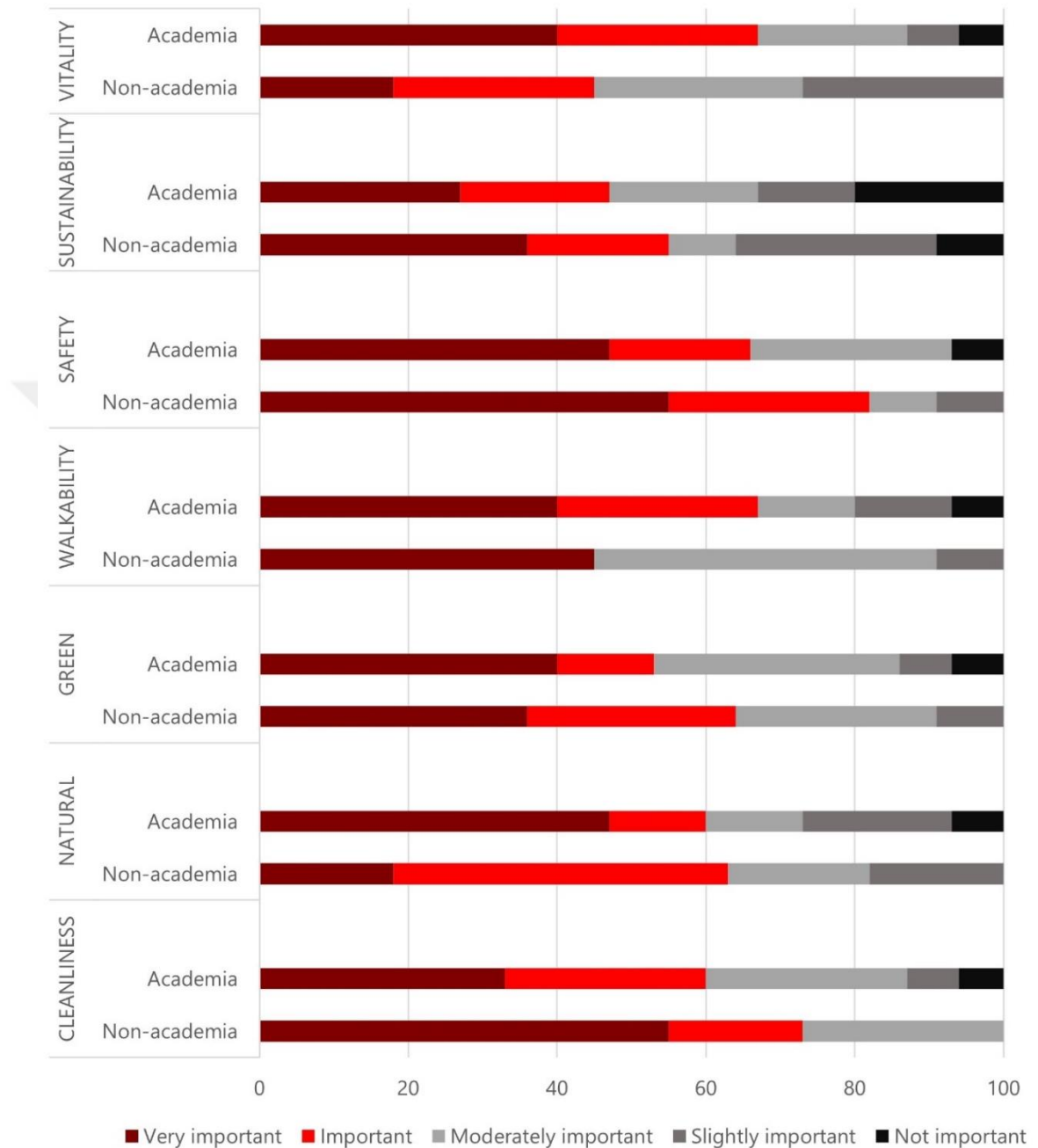


Figure 4.39 : Percentages of prior environmental indicators of place attachment according to the experts' survey with the emphasis on the respondents' occupation (adapted from Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2021).

Respondents working in academia (and education sector) state that a place should include notions as vitality, green and natural which increase the attachment to the certain place. Almost half of this group of participants (47%) claim that the natural environment (including sufficient land use, water quality and biodiversity) is of

primary importance to foster place attachment. The experts working in non-academic fields (public sector, private sector, tv and media, NGOs) prefer to prior sustainability, safety, green, clean. More than half of this group of respondents evaluated safety and cleanliness (55%) as very important. It is noteworthy to mention that both academic and non-academic respondents faced difficulties in assessing sustainability and green, as these parameters are more evenly distributed regarding their importance. A reason might be that these indicators are multi-dimensional notions encompassing dimensions included in the remaining parameters and need to be more specified in the evaluation process of the experts.

4.5.2.3 A place-based evaluation of the urban environmental agenda of Sarajevo

Adaptation and evaluation of the above-mentioned factors through citizens' responses help to comprehend the status quo and dynamics of the current urban environmental agenda of Sarajevo. Figure 4.40 summarizes the total expenditures for environmental protection in 2019, which have been expended for the previous Action Plan for Environmental Protection of Canton Sarajevo (CEAP) (Kanton Sarajevo, 2017). Investments cover subjects in relation to the main matters the city concentrates on in creating its urban agenda for future planning. More than 75% has been invested in the protection of the air. Other major expenditures were related to waste management (10.7%) and wastewater management (5.5%).

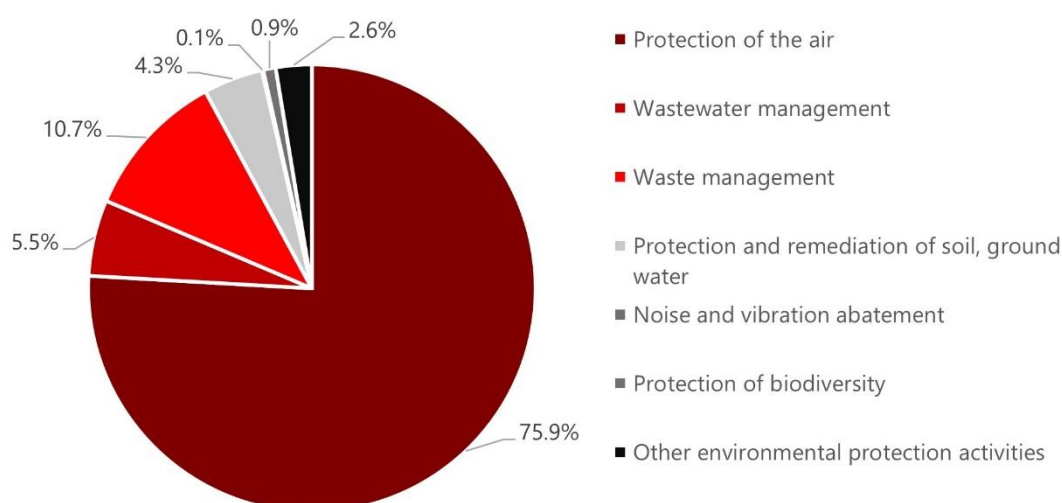


Figure 4.40 : Total expenditures for environmental protection by domains in 2019 (adapted from Zivali Turhan & Ayataç, 2021).

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), under the EBRD Green City Action Plan Framework, has worked in collaboration with the Sarajevo

Canton to develop the Green Cantonal Action Plan for Sarajevo (GCAP). The Sarajevo Canton is committed to developing in a sustainable way and adopted the Cantonal Environmental Action Plan (CEAP) (Kanton Sarajevo, 2017) in 2017 to determine how the Canton should plan to protect its natural resources and align with the Federal Law on Environmental Protection. This has only been partially implemented, but given the scale of the challenges facing Sarajevo, which are being exacerbated by urbanization and development pressures, this GCAP, a strategic planning document covering the whole Canton, was developed with a broader scope and to increase momentum for positive change. The main challenges to address include: poor air quality, which is negatively affected by emissions from traffic, industry and housing; lack of comprehensive solid waste management; poor water quality and monitoring; and inadequate land use and land management, resulting in a risk of landslides, erosion, and land contamination (EBRD, 2020: 1). The GCAP took priority actions for the near future as reaction to the implementation and evaluation of these expenditures (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 : Environmental topic in relation to the priority environmental challenges (EBRD, 2020).

Environmental Topic	Priority Environmental Challenges
Air Quality	Air quality in Sarajevo Canton is generally poor and with an exacerbation in the winter. Effectively addressing air pollution in BiH will require policy interventions and institutions investing in various sectors, in particular housing, transport and industry. The Canton's priority environmental challenges in terms of air quality have been identified and prioritized as: • Fossil/ nonrenewable fuels for residential as well as industrial purposes. Outdated boilers in houses and obsolete fossil fuel boilers for district heating cause a high production of heating. Furthermore, some industry types such as quarries, construction and wood processing are also contributing to particulate matter concentrations. • Constant transport of fossil fuels by private vehicles, with old rolling stock and low engine standards. • Lack of public and Non-Motorized Transport infrastructures.

Table 4.5 (continued): Environmental topic in relation to the priority environmental challenges (EBRD, 2020).

Environmental Topic	Priority Environmental Challenges
Mitigation of GHG Emissions	The Canton's priority environmental challenges in terms of mitigation of GHG emissions have been identified and prioritized as: • High share of private fossil fuel vehicles, fleet age and low engine standards. In relation, sustainable offers in the infrastructure (such as green public transport, pedestrian and bicycle facilities) are not promoted. • Lack of composting, recycling and energy production from waste. The exclusion of domestic materials for construction.
Water Resources	Water from the central water supply system is of good quality, however water samples from local sources reveal bad water quality. The Canton's priority environmental challenges in terms of water resources have been identified and prioritized as: • Underdeveloped / outdated sewage infrastructure, which is why wastewater from residential, commercial and industrial facilities is discharged directly into water bodies without treatment. Economically there is no fund been reserved for sewerage development, as taxes include only the price of drainage and thus exclude capital for wastewater management. • Insufficient inspection of industrial wastewater treatment. • Legally unprotected water supply sources. Decisions on the protection of springs have not been made in accordance with the Rulebook on the manner of determining the conditions for certain zones of sanitary protection and protection for springs of water for public water supply of the population.
Soils	Soil quality monitoring systems are not sufficiently developed, which limits the availability of soil quality data. The most important environmental challenges in terms of soil that have been identified and prioritized as: • Very low level of recycling and composting the municipal waste. • Lacking landfill leachate treatment. • Inappropriate disposal / treatment of industrial wastewater, applied not in accordance with the prescribed manner. • Inadequate knowledge and awareness of solid waste and recycling. • Presence of harmful substances in the soil caused by farming and food industry.
Green Spaces	Although Sarajevo Canton overall seems very green as it includes rural areas and four protected natural areas, the provision of green public areas in Sarajevo Canton is relatively poor. In the Action Plan, the forests and forest lands of the surrounding mountains are included in the calculation of the percentage of green areas. However, the green areas in the urban plan are significantly lower and indicates a lack of green space. The most important environmental challenges in terms of green areas have been identified and prioritized as:

Table 4.5 (continued): Environmental topic in relation to the priority environmental challenges (EBRD, 2020).

Environmental Topic	Priority Environmental Challenges
	• Illegal construction of facilities that threatens green space. • Population density, uncontrolled expansion of urban areas and lack of undeveloped areas that causes limited provision of common green spaces and/or limited access by all citizens. • Restricted recreational areas.
Biodiversity and Ecosystems	Population density, uncontrolled urban sprawl and the absence of undeveloped land creates negative effects on the biodiversity in the region. The Canton's priority environmental challenges in terms of biodiversity and ecosystems have been identified and prioritized as: • Inadequately regulated urban development with respect to the biodiversity and existing ecosystems. • Risky aquatic ecosystems due to poor wastewater management. • Illegal construction of facilities that threatens the biodiversity. • Insufficient monitoring and research (no biodiversity maps and a list of flora / fauna / fungi and no habitat types have been identified in the relevant databases, no monitoring of conservation and protection of dendroid species). • Insufficient capacities for protected area management and planning.
Adaptation and Resilience to Natural Disaster Risks	Adaptation issues are mainly related to the level of resilience of traffic, energy, water and sewage infrastructure to natural disasters. The most common natural disasters are floods and landslides. Citizens are aware of the dangers of natural disasters, but they are not well prepared to act in case of disasters. The most important environmental challenges in terms of adaptation and resilience have been identified and prioritized as: • Inadequate intervention policies regarding resilience to natural disasters. • Increasing temperatures in the summer season, which increases the risk of forest fires. • Lack of resilient infrastructure (drainage systems, electricity network, public transport and water supply systems). For example, the sewage system is not completely separated from the rainwater system, so that, during extreme rainfall, there is a spill of rainwater and sewage from the sewer.

Many people who are affiliated with the environmental sector argue that their childhood experiences in nature created the foundations of their work (Chawla, 1999). Some of the environmental challenges are being reflected directly in the perception and experience of the residence. The evaluation of the environmental topics is based on these experiences regarding the major environmental attributes of place attachment.

Air Quality

As derived from the interviews, urban air pollution is a significant climate issue. Sarajevo (and Bosnia and Herzegovina in general) is facing a major problem with air pollution. The capital city is known as one of the most polluted cities in the world. In combination with weak wind or a stable anticyclone in the valley of Sarajevo, heavy fog in the winter turns into smog (Figure 4.41). The smog is caused by old diesel, coal-fired central district heating and the presence of heavy industry. In addition, the location of the conglomeration in a valley surrounded by high mountains causes an accumulation of fog, air pollution and dust.



Figure 4.41 : Smog in Sarajevo (URL-35).

The air quality index in the city is mostly above the World Health Organization (WHO) exposure recommendation which causes an unhealthy environment for sensitive groups. This results in a high mortality rate compared to other areas in Europe caused by air pollution but also limits the citizens to perform their daily activities in the city:

“I experienced a few times that schools have been closed because of heavy smog. Children were advised to stay at home due to health and safety prevention of the smog. This affects our whole daily planning.” (A.L., personal communication, May 15, 2021).

The residents are either recommended to wear a mask outdoors, use an air purifier, close their windows to avoid filthy outdoor air or are advised to reduce outdoor

activities and simply stay at home during certain periods of the year. Limitation of outdoor activities and a major reduction in visibility generates negative impact on the vitality of the streets:

“Sometimes during the year it becomes very hard to do our daily activities in the city. It is strongly visible that during the last decade the traffic enormously increased. This has a perceivable effect on the smog in the city. My office is at walking distance. I remember that a few times I had serious trouble in finding my way when going to work. It was like walking in emptiness.” (L.S., personal communication, May 12, 2021).

UNICEF Bosnia and Herzegovina is a part of the UN AIR group, which takes long-term actions with the aim to address air pollution-related issues. In corporation with the Cantonal Public Health Institute, real-time data on air quality has been monitored. Although there is a wide notion within the legal framework for air quality, implementation and enforcement remain weak. National recognition of the problem through strategic documents, public awareness of the mitigation measures and air pollution impacts, local action plans with implementable solutions and strategic documents are all crucial but lacking to tackling the issue in the country. In addition, these regulations are not parallel or considered as given in the spatial planning of the city. The solutions require a multi-sectoral and multi-actor involvement and a sustainable approach.

Air quality affects people's perception of a safe and healthy life. On a local scale, there are determinants for air quality that creates this perception. Tobacco consumption is an endemic problem in Sarajevo (and Bosnia and Herzegovina in general) deals with. Although it does not manifest as a major air pollution problem, it has a serious impact on the health, the economy and sociability. In this way, it limits the vitality of the city. The prevalence of daily adult smokers (18 years and older) was 44.1% in 2012 in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (WHO, 2003). Smoking in indoor areas such as healthcare facilities, educational facilities, government facilities, offices, restaurants, cafes and public transport is allowed. Thus, in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina it is exceptional to find an indoor public place that is completely smoke-free. One of the interviewees having health issues describes his difficulties in public due to the smoking problem:

“Smoking almost became a part of the culture. When someone sits for coffee, a cigarette is almost unmissable. Easy access, cheap prices and social acceptability makes it easy to start smoking. People in this city went and are still going through a lot of hard political, social and economic challenges. It is a way of dealing with these problems. You cannot blame them, but it is difficult for people such as me who have health issues to engage with the society. It is allowed to smoke almost everywhere, even in the hospitals. I have asthma since I was a little boy. I use face masks on regular basis because of the smoke.” (T.A., personal communication, June 19, 2021).

Mitigation of GHG Emissions

The climate is strongly influenced by changes in the concentrations of several gases in the atmosphere that absorbs infrared radiation from the Earth’s surface (the ‘greenhouse-effect’). Over the past century, human activities have increased concentrations of greenhouse gases (GHG) and other pollutants in the atmosphere. Although it is not entirely clear to what extent global warming can be attributed to greenhouse gases, it is established that human activities cause an enhanced greenhouse effect or global warming (IPCC, 2018). Climate change is widely recognized as a major environmental investment. Reducing GHG emissions should decelerate the climate change process and simultaneously improve the air quality since both GHG and air pollutants are often released by the same sources (Banja et al, 2020). In relation to the air quality, a challenge responding to the main problems of housing, transport and industries in Sarajevo is the mitigation of GHG emissions. The most influential sector in the emission projections is the electric power sector, which covers 40%-65% of the total emissions (UNDP, 2014). However, on daily basis respondents are perceiving the car traffic as the biggest driver of the emissions:

“The climate in Sarajevo is highly affected by the insufficient use of resources. Our public transportation system is outdated. Both the vehicles as the tracks are not sustainable. That is why people choose to buy their own cars, which increases the traffic and emissions. It is like a loop. Sarajevo is quite human-friendly in sense of walkability and size. That is why the car traffic bothers me. It does not fit in the city. Cycling and walking could and should be promoted much better.” (A.S., personal communication, June 22, 2021).

Water Resources

Sarajevo has a significant amount of (natural) water sources, but the water quality and quantities are unequally distributed:

“In Ilidža -where I live- we can drink from tap water. It is hard water, but it tastes proper. As I live close to the natural forest, I feel the natural taste of spring water much better than in other areas of the city. I know places in Sarajevo, especially in the centre, where tap water is poor and almost not possible to drink. It is clearly that the outer suburbs of Sarajevo are much better to live in regarding drink water.” (A.D., personal communication, May 20, 2021).

Before the civil war took over Sarajevo, drinking water flowed abundantly and cheaply from the tap: four to five hundred litters per inhabitant per day were available (Bohr, 1993). The sources of the Bosna River, which rises about ten kilometres from the city, provide clean water that hardly needs to be purified.

Soils

Bosnia and Herzegovina is very poor in agricultural resources. Large areas of the country are mountainous with shallow soils (containing low content of humus and fertilizer nutrients and high content of acids) and less than 20% of the land is suitable for intensive cultivation (UNDP, 2013). The rural areas of BiH may still be culturally agrarian, but economically they depend on the industry, services and state benefits (Goss, 2013). Rapid urbanization in the city -what accelerated industrialization and the increased the urban sprawl- resulted in land use changes. In relation to this, the occurrence of soil degradation caused serious damage to the city, particularly in the rural areas. Due to the urban growth, uncontrolled urban construction activities and illegal forest cutting physical loss of landscape occurred and this affected the agricultural activities and employment opportunities. Uncontrolled private development on these (particularly in remote hilly) areas caused the presence of illegal dumping of waste. New projects for tourism developments and weekend resorts have been conducted without decent planning. The industrial impact on soil quality is unknown. Monitoring systems are not sufficiently developed and there is no accurate data on physical land losses or soil quality. Due to inadequate management, land in Canton Sarajevo is exposed to a relatively high risk of landslides and soil erosion. Not only in the countryside but the quality of urban soil should be considered, as many

people in the city are exposed to contaminated soils, dust and air particles that may be toxic.

Green Spaces

More than half of the territory of the country is covered with forest. Green spaces do not only include natural outdoor environments, but also human-modified areas with a significant amount of vegetation (Kaplan et al., 1998). Urban green spaces facilitate - among the provision of recreational opportunities- environmental learning (Burgess et al., 1988). Additionally, they have a significant impact on the economic and environmental levels of policymaking. An important effect of these spaces is reduced cooling-related energy costs (McPherson et al. 1997). The tangible value of urban green spaces indicates their importance in urban life, while some of the intangibles are explored through the concept of place attachment (Budruk et al., 2009, p. 825) and evaluated in the case of Sarajevo. Although the city is embedded in mountains and is very near to natural quality, the urban area in Sarajevo has very limited green open spaces, which are unevenly distributed and therefore not equally accessible by all residents. In the post-war period, many urban parks transformed into graveyards:

“The natural environment in Sarajevo is probably reminding different things than usually it should be. It reminds us of the war, our escapes to the mountains, our loss of our urban gardens. Nowadays parks are transformed into graveyards which reminds us to the fear of escaping and losing.” (L.S., personal communication, May 12, 2021).

“It is a contradiction; when I am upset, I feel better by spending my time outdoors in the nature. On the other hand, spending my time in certain green areas makes me upset because of the memories it brings back” (M. E., personal communication, June 23, 2021).

Greener neighbourhoods, especially those with green common areas, encourage social bonding between neighbours and improve the social setting (Kuo & Sullivan, 1998; Westphal, 2003). So, the environmental impact should not be undermined in defining the socio-cultural aspect of place attachment.

Biodiversity and Ecosystems

Most of species are situated in the outskirts of Sarajevo and distributed in the hilly areas close to the city. Because of the existing protected natural areas and biodiversity,

people often travel to the suburbs, forests or mountains around Sarajevo. Rather than a physical source, biodiversity also represents a symbolic value in the city. During the war, the lack of conventional food and the shortage of medicines was emphasized in the urban and sub-urban area of Sarajevo (Redžić, 1999). Obtaining additional nutrition from the natural environment (including gathering medicinal plants in free territories) seemed to be a way of survival.

Sarajevo is one of the cities with the greatest concentration of landmines. Landmines are a serious threat to the forest and biodiversity, as some areas are not able to be treated or recover. The spatial distribution of mine suspected areas overlaps with areas of natural heritage (Figure 4.42) and requires a serious and rigorous management approach.

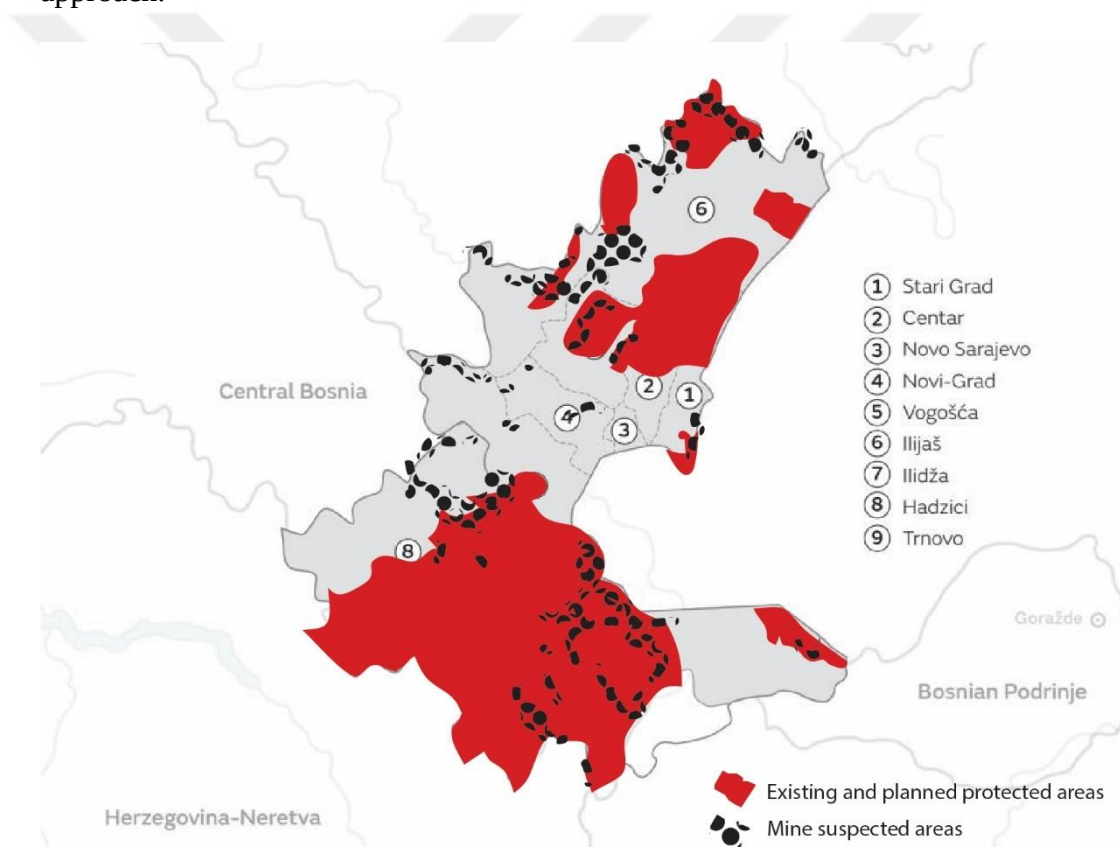


Figure 4.42 : Map of existing and planned protected areas and minefields (adapted from Mirić et al. (2016) in Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2021).

“I am a plant collector. There is a tremendous flora in the higher areas of Sarajevo. Almost each weekend I go out for hiking in the mountains in the surrounding. I collect plants/herbs, some are edible some are not. Sometimes I make herbal tea of it for natural healing. It is like an adventure, a discovery of what exists in the ‘unknown world’. In my younger years, I used to go to unknown

areas. After war, many areas are closed and secured because of the land mines. Now I do not have access to some protected herbage. This is one of the worst things that can happen to a collector.” (M. E., personal communication, June 23, 2021).

Hence, the mountains surrounding the city were always an integral part of the inhabitant's living area. The hilly landscape into the urban fabric. Although, the occupation of the surrounding hills during the war and the negative experiences people have earned changed the appreciation for the landscape. The post-war perception of the landscape and topography changed in people's minds. An interesting anecdote regarding the soil and biodiversity revealed the tremendous balance of nature:

“Long after war, in certain areas within and outside the city, the number of blue butterflies extremely increased. I know from my field of expertise; each butterfly specie feeds on a specific plant. Blue butterflies feed on the Artemisia Vulgaris (Mugwort). The sudden in-crease has been studied by experts in the field. It seemed that this plant preferred to grow on soil above graves. In this way, the nature helped to uncover several mass graves.” (M. E., personal communication, June 23, 2021).

Adaptation and Resilience to Natural Disaster Risks

The Miljacka valley in which the city of Sarajevo is located strongly influences urban development and residential distribution. In the post-Dayton period of the country, the environmental policies were supposed to be monitored within the Sarajevo Canton Development Strategy program under the coordination of international experts. Although the focus was on the sustainable urban development, these developments turned into an unsustainable built environment due to the adaptation of a transition of a socialist economical market to a free-market economy which resulted in liberation and privatization of the land. As a result of the post-war developments, the geomorphological characteristics have been denied and major urban development has resulted in (sub)urban sprawl (Champion, 2001). Urban densification and unplanned distribution of residential areas caused geomorphological risks alongside problems related to the soil and water resources. Another result of the expanding demography has increased the risk of flooding affecting new urban projects since they are situated in the most flood-prone areas (Figure 4.43).

Thus, the city expects to re-interpret the post-war situation and should adapt to the current situation of the city:

“Until 2014, I used to live on the slopes, in the countryside of Sarajevo. So now and then when there was heavy rain falls or during winter Although I was aware of the poor quality of the house, my former house was inherited property and I never had the intention to move to another place. It was my home, the place where I grew up, the place where I want-ed my children to grow up. Unfortunately, in 2014 our house collapsed due to the flooding. Me and my family had to leave the place. We move to an uncle of mine who is living in the city centre, we stayed there for months.

First, I thought it will be temporary, and we considered to go back to our neighbourhood, but we never could have taken the risk to rebuild our life on the same place. I miss being on the farmland, but safety goes first.” (I. V., personal communication, May 23, 2021).

The constitution of cantonal plans since 1986 led to inconsistent development and created conflicts during the post-war reconstruction process. The Green Cantonal Action Plan (EBRD, 2020) aims to build on existing (post-war) masterplans by applying a comprehensive and systematic approach to future development that considers a broad range of environmental issues and links these to eco-nomic and social objectives. However, due to the revision of (post-war) political boundaries, present actualities have been avoided. In this scope, the experts’ view on the environmental domain, in which the environmental parameters of place attachment are identified, provides actual precedence as a specialized perspective. The inclusion of both academic and non-academic experts broadens and deepens the discussion on environmental priorities in urban development.

The in-depth urban narratives provided a coherent translation of these parameters. Based on the interviews, personal attitudes towards the evaluation of environmental attributes of place attachment can be classified into three categories; environment has been interpreted as (1) a source of moral awareness and a catalyst for place attachment;

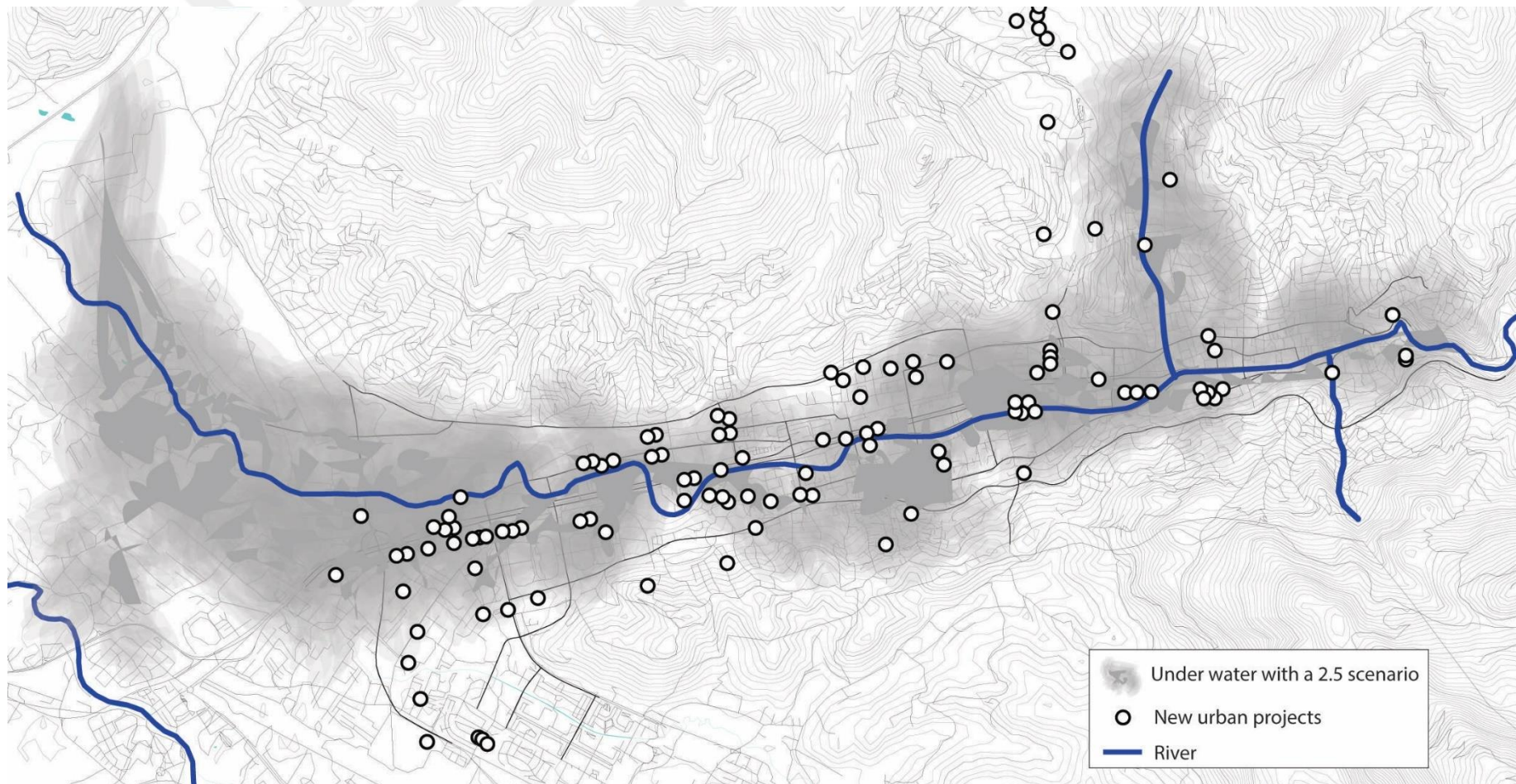


Figure 4.43 : The post-war urban projects and potential flood-prone areas in a 2.5 m scenario, the level reached by Miljacka River in mid-May (adapted from Martín-Díaz et al. (2015) in Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2021).

(2) a primary source of economic development; or as an ethic failure towards the Bosnian natural values. Rather than emissions, soils and ecosystems, subjects associated with daily use of activities (air quality, water resources, green spaces and biodiversity and natural disaster risks) have been more emphasized by the interviewees.

The fragility of the case Sarajevo shows that place attachment is formed regarding the human-nature connection in a multi-dimensional approach. Vitality, sustainability, safety and walkability are significantly associated with a stronger sense of belonging. To increase the success level of place attachment regarding the environmental concern, the above-mentioned parameters should be enhanced. Current studies and political programs show that air quality; mitigation of GHG emissions; water resources; soils; green spaces; biodiversity and ecosystems; and adaptation and resilience to natural disaster risks are the main matters the city concerns about in creating its urban environmental agenda for future planning. The environmental factors of place attachment are quite evenly distributed among the GCAP subjects (Figure 4.44), which presents a multifactorial and inter-linked urban agenda. In this framework, the prior affairs affect the cantonal scale, but also the local scale of Sarajevo. Findings expand knowledge about environmental and social benefits of frequently encountered green spaces and intangible environmental concerns in the city.

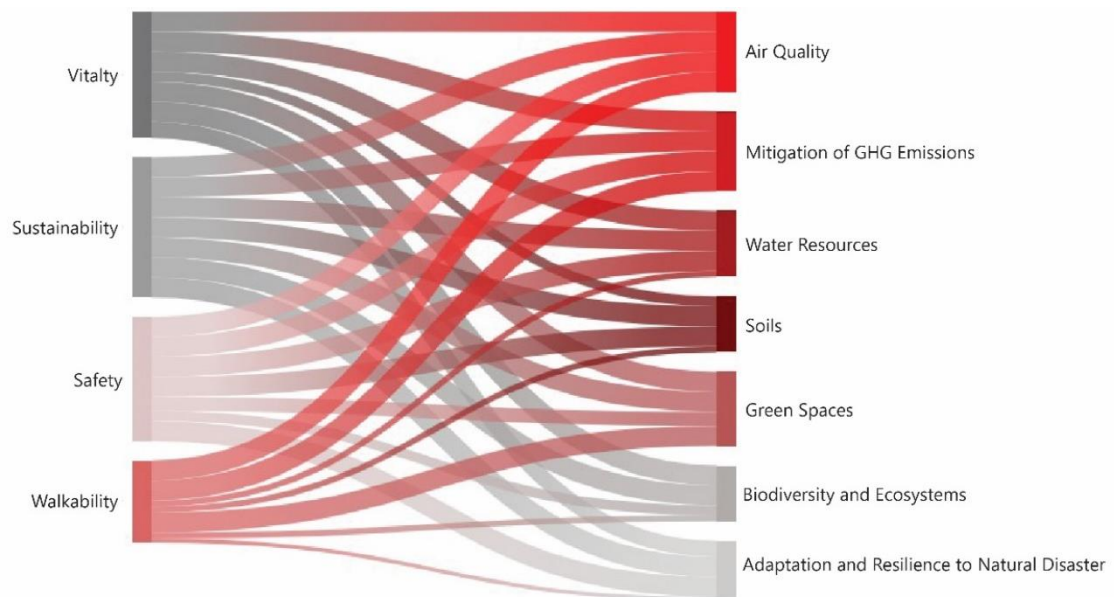


Figure 4.44 : A correlation between the environmental factors of place attachment and the GCAP major agenda subjects (adapted from Zıvalı Turhan & Ayataç, 2021).

4.5.3 An integrative reflection on the emerging affairs

The purpose of this section was to reveal and evaluate the emerging concerns in Sarajevo related to place attachment; on how war tourism is manifested in today's city and how environmental attributes of place attachment are structured. According to the results, environmental attributes of place attachment are associated with individual experience and affiliated with personal emotions. Notably, the war as a socio-cultural, economic and political occurrence plays a major role in generating these experiences and emotions. Therefore, the assessment of the urban agenda has been carried out through the narratives of the city. The objective has been achieved by conducting an online survey with experts in the field and in-depth interviews with the residents. Respondents express their satisfaction by receiving spiritual sustenance from past and present experiences with the concerns.

Sarajevo is the historical symbol of the once divided Europe and a melting pot of the East and West united in diversity. This identity positioned Bosnia and Herzegovina as a vulnerable state through its history. One of the key experiences that fostered this fragility is doubtless the Bosnian War during the nineties. Regarding reconstruction approaches, various strategies have been adopted; the emergence in physical reconstruction and containment in conflict in the early post-war years; shelter and property restitutions and international protectorate; rebuilding of government institutions from the early 2000s onwards; and gradual withdrawal of international donors. Although, early institutional development and sufficient funding provision at the local level could have resulted in better planning and coordination. In this manner, cultural tourism should have employed formally, foreseeing current issues restraining Sarajevo.

Although it was not stated as a major subject, the reconstruction of the city through protection, state-building, reorganization of land and economic targets opened doors for tourism with war as main attraction in the sector. The change to a different type of tourism has determined the new image/identity of the city. Today, a large number of tourists is visiting Sarajevo by the stimulation of war. In this sense, war-based tourism created many new opportunities for revival and recovery of socio-spatial tissue and helped to generate income for the city and (re)created job opportunities for the local community, especially in the field of tourism, craftsmanship and outsourcing. Based on the interviews, personal attitudes towards war tourism can be classified into three

categories: war tourism as a source of moral awareness; war tourism as a primarily source of economic development; war tourism as an ethic failure and humiliation towards the Bosnian cultural and natural values. These dimensions reveal the perspective and the degree and form of attachment of the residents to the city. Additional research emphasizing on the tourists' perceptions could serve as a contribution to this classification.

Another important factor in the reconstruction (and thus the recreation of the cultural identity) processes is the cultural heritage itself. Literature shows that in the context of Sarajevo, there are basically two categories in the heritage management process; the pre-existing cultural heritage constituted before the conflict, and the heritage created by the conflict. In this manner, there is a clear differentiation between the rehabilitated and the new heritage. The dissolution of Yugoslavia did not perse dissolute -but rather transformed- the cultural values of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The war of the nineties has become a part of their culture. The urban metamorphosis seems to have developed a third type of 'hybrid' heritage in which structures already were existing but lost their symbolic value and/or significance as cultural heritage, which have strengthened the moral awareness of 'do forgive, do not forget'.

Unforeseen and present global events are directly affecting the familiarity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, rather than the war. The pandemic which emerged from 2019 on offered the possibility to work remotely. A significant number of displaced Bosnians (especially to Western European countries) chose to return (temporary) and work from their home country. Many juniors, the so-called 'digital nomads' have established small businesses (especially in the IT-sector) in Sarajevo. Short-term and long-term prospects and impacts on the socio-economic area may offer the potential to a shift from tourism-based economy to an entrepreneurial economy. Another current issue concerns the changing demographics of the country. Subjects as brain drain and migration are main concerns the capital city must deal with. Many young people leave the city due to low job opportunities. On the other hand, migration flows are affecting Bosnia and Herzegovina due to is geo-political position in Europe. A large number of (especially Middle Eastern) migrants move through the country towards the Western countries. Appropriate procedures and behaviour towards the new coming groups are essential in the formation of a moral and national identity, as Sarajevo has experienced similar difficulties and challenges such as these refugees experience today.

Results show that the new post-war physical (reconstruction strategy policies) and the social (citizens' perception) layer integrated in the existing townscape emboldens the vision of war tourism. Yet, long-term revitalization of both the physical and social structure of the city requires to integrate present city dynamics and thus to react to the above-mentioned contemporary nomadism and migration-related issues instead of neglecting them. Building upon this study, further research regarding local and national policy interventions and a clear-cut management strategy in especially economy-related sectors can form the base in the process of future policymaking. Then indeed, appropriation of war tourism may open doors to a refreshed new image of the city with the war as a part of the history, representing one of the most vibrant countries of the Balkans.

The environmental impact of the war (and its indirect consequences) causes severe difficulties for further processes in policy making and planning on cantonal level. The devastation of natural resources (degradation of forest lands, uncontrolled exploitation of mineral resources, illegal and unplanned construction, negligent management of water resources) and the occurrence of landmines/minefields and unexploded ordnances (UXO) have created a fragile territory to cope with.

Air pollution has been one of the major environmental problems in Sarajevo for decades, but it increased drastically following the post-war demographic distribution in the city. Urban agglomeration in the valley caused the accumulation of mist and dust due to surrounding high mountains. Air pollution also emerged due to light industrial activities and road traffic in the city. Even though most of the households have access to natural gas, citizens preferred to use coal instead because it is cheaper. Therefore, it became one of the most polluted cities in the world, which reaches its peak during winter. The issue is highly interrelated with the mitigation of GHG emissions the larger region strives for. GHG emissions directly affect air quality. Through the application of more sustainable environmental principles, air pollution decreases. The better the air quality, the higher the street vitality, the more there is a possibility for free movement possible, the more walkable the city will become. Air quality plays also a crucial role in the wellbeing of the residents. The inclusion of disadvantaged groups (in terms of health and safety) should be taken into consideration.

Water-related subjects are twofold. The first one is related to the prevention of inefficient use, the second one is to the recycling process. The maintenance of surface

water and groundwater is necessary for drink water, land soils and tourism-related investments. Accessibility to good quality water is essential for the use of households, but also for the irrigation the rural area. Sustainable approaches such as the intervening of an environmental cycle regarding natural water resources and rainwater are a prerequisite for efficient use of tap water and irrigation.

Perceived benefits have a positive impact on the attachment to these places. Also, negative perceptions seem to have a positive impact on belonging to a place. Indeed, place attachment may lead to an increased feeling of environmental responsibility. Finally, it is noteworthy to mention that the notion of place attachment has been discussed in this study following previous research regarding the multi-cultural dilemma and potential of the city. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches have been applied and diverse focus groups have been examined. The influence of religious and cultural traditions on environmental attitudes was not specifically examined in this research, but it seems that social interaction (positive or negative) within the multicultural context is more than relevant to emphasize.

This review provided an evaluation of the existing environmental action plan in Sarajevo with a focus on the users' experiences and perceptions regarding place attachment. Understanding the emerging relation in the human-environment interaction requires the involvement of the human itself. User perceptions regarding environmental facets in the city require a concise spatial translation to comprehend the physical dimensions of place attachment. Hence, theoretical findings indicate that the built environment, as well as the natural environment, seem to be integral to culture, and (in particular) the natural environment has a strong impact on the settlement's morphology and typology.

Although the Environmental Approximation Strategy of Bosnia and Herzegovina (including air quality and climate change) was adopted in June 2017, there is no state-level strategy on environmental development. Some reports systematically cover climate change issues in Bosnia and Herzegovina in general or Canton Sarajevo, but there is still no established system for monitoring the incidence of certain diseases in a particular region that could be linked to changes in some climate parameters and subsequent natural disasters.

A human-centric approach is required when dealing with the current environmental challenges, whereby local authorities and the community itself should be directly involved. The priority lays in creating a healthy environment for the inhabitants. Rethinking about the design of especially the older parts of the city and the connection with the newer parts seems to have a high priority, as the residents use both parts on a daily level. In this manner, clear design principles in a coordinated and sustainable manner will support social benefits to the individual and societal health and safety. In order to achieve this goal, a long-term green economy development based on sustainability is required. The environmental agenda should be led by local authorities with partial supervision of international actors. The involvement and support of current international stakeholders should be reviewed. International donors during the war transformed into permanent investors in the post-war period. Control and monitoring of the zoning building land and planning agreements should be signed between the authorities and the landowners instead of third parties.

There is a clear distinction between the physical attachment and the psychological attachment to the city. These types of belonging are relevant to the socio-cultural, political and economic agenda of the city of Sarajevo. There has been a broad focus on the physical and psychological post-traumatic conditions (e.g. post-war social reconstruction, psychological rehabilitation), but less emphasis was on the impact of these rehabilitation processes integrated to the environmental challenges. Further research can contribute to the existing knowledge, fill these gaps in the research domain and form a base in the process of future policy-forming.

4.6 Chapter Evaluation

The adventure of modernization during the socialist Yugoslavian time has caused significant changes in transforming individual and social identities, as well as the built environment and environmental identities, since its inception. As seen in Table 4.6, the interviewees have focused on certain subjects, which supports the need to accentuate emerging urban matters in Sarajevo (namely war tourism and environmental attributes).

Factors as *collective / social identity*, *ethnic identification* and *place identity* have been mentioned the most and play a major role in re-creating and managing the national identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Identity is interpreted as the sum of the qualities

that inform the stance in life, such as (collective) belongings, desires, dreams, the way of envisioning ourselves, the way relationships establish and the way individuals or groups are recognized. This recognition seems to be created around ethnic identification. Heterogeneity, relationship with neighbours and interpersonal interaction creates positive attitudes towards place and increases the attachment to it. This rejects in the case of Sarajevo that the hypothesis that in heterogeneous communities (eg. in terms of ethnicity), ties with the territory are weaker. Although, heterogeneity itself has not been perceived as ethnic or religious diversity, yet, neighbours are preferred by ethnic identification. Thus good relations between neighbours and frequent conversations (social factor) can improve the relationship with the territory and significantly weaken the identified negative dependency.

The collective identity perception that an individual develops based on community norms is evaluated in its social and historical context and highlights different elements of identity. Yet, at the core of collective identity lies the tendency to unite regardless the religious identity, as the factor *religious bond* does not receive a high rating. Rather, identity differences seem to be much more dependable to generation differences. While the geographical and cultural characteristics became the same with the formation of a new (contemporary) upper culture, the identities formed by local traditions were brought forward to serve the requirements of capitalism. In this sense, commemoration (in form of war tourism) has been preferred as a response to the damaged city identity as reputation-building strategy to foster the collective identity. War related events seem to clearly have an unsettling and even traumatic impacts on the communities in the city.

On the other hand, there is a lot of emphasis on the environmental identity in the interviews. As a natural result of socio-political transformation, search for a new environmental transformation (in other words a new identity) was made parallel to a new approach of the production and thinking system the period, as many interviewees underline the environmental agenda as a post-Yugoslav concern. The clearly observable effect of the post-socialist adventure on the environmental identity is the gradual disappearance or mistreatment of different natural characters.

Table 4.6 : Summarized overview of the interview results according to place attachment attributes.

	Participant 1 (Bosniak, pre-war)	Participant 2 (Croat, pre-war)	Participant 3 (Serb, pre-war)	Participant 4 (Bosniak, war)	Participant 5 (Croat, war)	Participant 6 (Bosniak, war)	Participant 7 (Serb, war)	Participant 8 (Croat, post-war)	Participant 9 (Bosniak, post-war)	Participant 10 (Bosniak, post-war)	Participant 11 (Serb, post-war)
Collective / social identity	√√	√√	√	√√	√√	√√	√√	√	√		√√√√
Ethnic identification	√			√√	√√√√	√√√	√	√√		√√√√	
Religious bond		√	√	√				√			
Heterogeneity	√			√√		√	√√	√	√		√
Interpersonal interaction / sociability	√	√	√√		√		√	√	√		√√
Relationship with neighbours			√	√√	√					√	√√
Use of public space	√	√				√√	√√			√	√
Social activity	√	√	√√	√	√	√		√√	√	√	
Routine	√	√	√	√	√	√√			√		
Familiarity / knowledge / belief			√	√							
Personal memory		√	√	√	√√	√	√	√	√		√
Proximity											
Displacement			√√	√				√	√√		
Reconstruction of place		√		√	√	√	√	√√			
Local sentiments		√	√	√	√		√				√√
Street vitality		√					√			√	
Space											
Environmental identity	√	√	√	√	√√√		√√	√	√	√	
Level of specificity											
Place identity	√√	√√			√	√	√	√	√	√√	√

5. CONCLUSIONS

Belonging is considered as a basic need that has both spatial and social significance in the enhancement of resilient cities and communities promoting sustainable development. Today, sustainable development does not only express a development understanding in which environmental protection comes to the foreground, but -among economic, financial, commercial and industrial development policies- enhancement of social cohesion has been prioritized with the objective to reach increased levels of mutual respect trust and empathy between people and communities. Multiple Sustainable Development Goals identified by the UN emphasizes on this socio-cultural resilience, empowering social inclusion of ethnic identities, encouraging cultural participation and emancipation and ensuring inclusive decision-making. For the human well-being, the socio-spatial tissue of a city should emphasize the enrichment and strengthening of human relations, enabling people to achieve their goals individually and as a group, as well as creating a bond with the physical space.

This research is an ethnography of how the multi-ethnic city of Sarajevo define, perceive and experience place attachment regarding urban public space. The study systematically examines the notion of place attachment through a historical overview of the socio-political, cultural and physical structure of the city and a theoretical frame of reference built upon Place Attachment Theory. In this manner, it investigates an urban narration using several empirical methods and different focus groups gives the ability to subject the question both on intellectual and practical grounds and reveal the current emerging concerns of Sarajevo regarding place attachment.

5.1 Scholastic Evaluation: Emplacing Ethnic Diversity in the Frame of Place Attachment

Following general literature about place, the readability (imageability, legibility, familiarity, etc.) makes space 'place'. Place becomes both a 'position in space', as well as 'a frame of mind'. If not, a space never comes to one's mind as place. As a mind may be very individual, in its nature, place becomes very personal. Yet, via social

learning, hence interpersonal interaction / sociability, spaces may become (more) legible for others (like newcomers or people with a different heritage than the creators/makers of that space). Legibility in itself is cultural depended, as social groups share in specific vernaculars in creating spaces, alike a language. Cultural zones are complex creations without sharp and unequivocal boundaries, because aspects of culture are transferred and changed without any significant influence on the maintenance of ethnic boundaries. These, on the contrary, are clearly defined because the maintenance of an ethnic community does not depend on its total culture, but on the ability to maintain the importance of (sometimes minor) cultural features as particularly significant markers in the consciousness of its members, and in the consciousness of others who recognize and accept them as their specific markings. This critical role of public space as representation of ethno-cultural value and a property of belonging has been distinctively investigated in theoretical sense. The conceptual engagement between public space and ethnic diversity is twofold; the human-human (socio-psychological) relation whereby public space a mediator is for ethnic encounters, and human-place (socio-spatial) relation whereby ethnic diversity a concern for urban and social policy is considered.

There was a necessity to enlarge the body of knowledge about place attachment regarding cultural diversity. This study aims to fill this gap and contributes to the existing body of knowledge by providing a reframed model of place attachment which is generated encompassing the conception of ethnic diversity. The thesis has rebuilt a theoretical framework around 12 place attachment hypotheses with a specific emphasis on ethnic diversity and proposed a new model of place attachment accordingly. Alike the existing model which emphasizes on person-process-place relations, the suggested model of place attachment including 5 indicators that covers a gradual process from the social dimension (importance of the common) towards the spatial dimension (physical configuration). In this way, the study contributes to the theoretical understanding of place attachment.

5.2 Physical Evaluation: The Embodiment of Public Space in Sarajevo

Sarajevo, which hosts many ideological, religious and cultural differences has never been able to remove itself from the position of being a buffer zone. It is very exceptional for a city to embrace such a large range of public 'spheres'; the tradition

of a clear distinction between the public and private from Ottoman period, large public interventions on the streets during the Austro-Hungarian period, the communal public spaces been created during the socialist period and contemporary interventions with mixed approaches. Regarding the urban public, representations of different periods in Sarajevo, the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian and Yugoslavian periods has each strong characters, while contemporary representations are merely a mix of all the cultures and is affected by neo-liberal policies and profit oriented private interests. Although each era has its specific characterizations, results show that publicness values on representative public spaces in Sarajevo do not perse feature their specific physical characteristics. The users need seems to fluctuate through time and the perception of publicness is highly produced by the practice of everyday life of the society. This seems to be reflected in the inclusiveness degree of places which have been evaluated by the physical access, social access, access to intercommunications and access to activities and information.

Moreover, Sarajevo has a unique position at the distinction between public space and private space. Consistent with the definition of publicness at the beginning of the study, the comprehension of 'public' in Sarajevo is not normative but factual. With this approach, the public space are social spaces where ideas, expressions and experiences are produced within the social life of the community to which one belong to and shared, negotiated and reproduced with others. It is underlined many times that the civic society does not represent the political publicity. No attempts to express demands for political will and shape practises of political power is a cautious attitude towards the political elites. Thus, one of the primary results of the study is that, despite all the historical transformation in Sarajevo, the society maintained its ethnic presence. Hereby, it is important to point out that the community publicity occurs mostly only during religious occurences and activities and especially under particular ethnic communities. Parallel to this, it would not be very misleading to mention about a specific 'Sarajevan public sphere', in which the society largely resort to community publicity (acceptance and recognition of the publicity of an ethnic community in an urban setting) while maintaining their ethnic presence.

5.3 Narrative Evaluation: Place Attachment in Sarajevo from the Perspectives of Experts vs. Citizens

Although the thesis presents distinctive studies having their own specific results and conclusions, common remarks can be given regarding the narration of the city. The evaluation of place attachment has been conducted using a proposed model and tested by experts (in form of surveys without any reference to a certain context) and citizens (in form of interviews with the reference to Sarajevo). Remarkably (and as expected), the citizens refer clearly to their own city, while the experts give unbiased feedback while evaluating the subject of place attachment. In this sense, the utilized mixed method was beneficial to present the subject both in scholastic and practical sense.

A causal relation diagram of place attachment representing the overall cause-effect relations among key dimensions in the case of Sarajevo is presented in Figure 5.1. An overall evaluation of the results shows that both for the experts as well as the citizens a good comfort and image is essential to identify a place as 'successful'. Safety, walkability, welcoming, neighbourly and friendly are the main indicators for a place to prefer. Although, the citizens identify historic values as significant for a place to prefer. These historic values are explained as shared Yugoslavian or religious values during the interviews.

Furthermore, there can be concluded that opportunities for engagement / sociability on public space are much more relevant for citizens than for experts. While attributes for successful public spaces are quite similar for both focus groups, attributes for place attachment seem to differ. Experts think that both collective identity and personal identity plays a role in the formation of place attachment, while the citizens think that relationship with others can bridge a negative personal belonging to place. As seen, attachment to a place is not always in positive sense. Short term effects such as grief and sadness due to war events in Sarajevo cause a temporary attachment to place. Long term effects as loss of internalised place identity and character have permanent negative impact upon place attachment.

The study located attachment at city, neighbourhood and home levels. The degree of the attachment differs depending on the level of analysis.

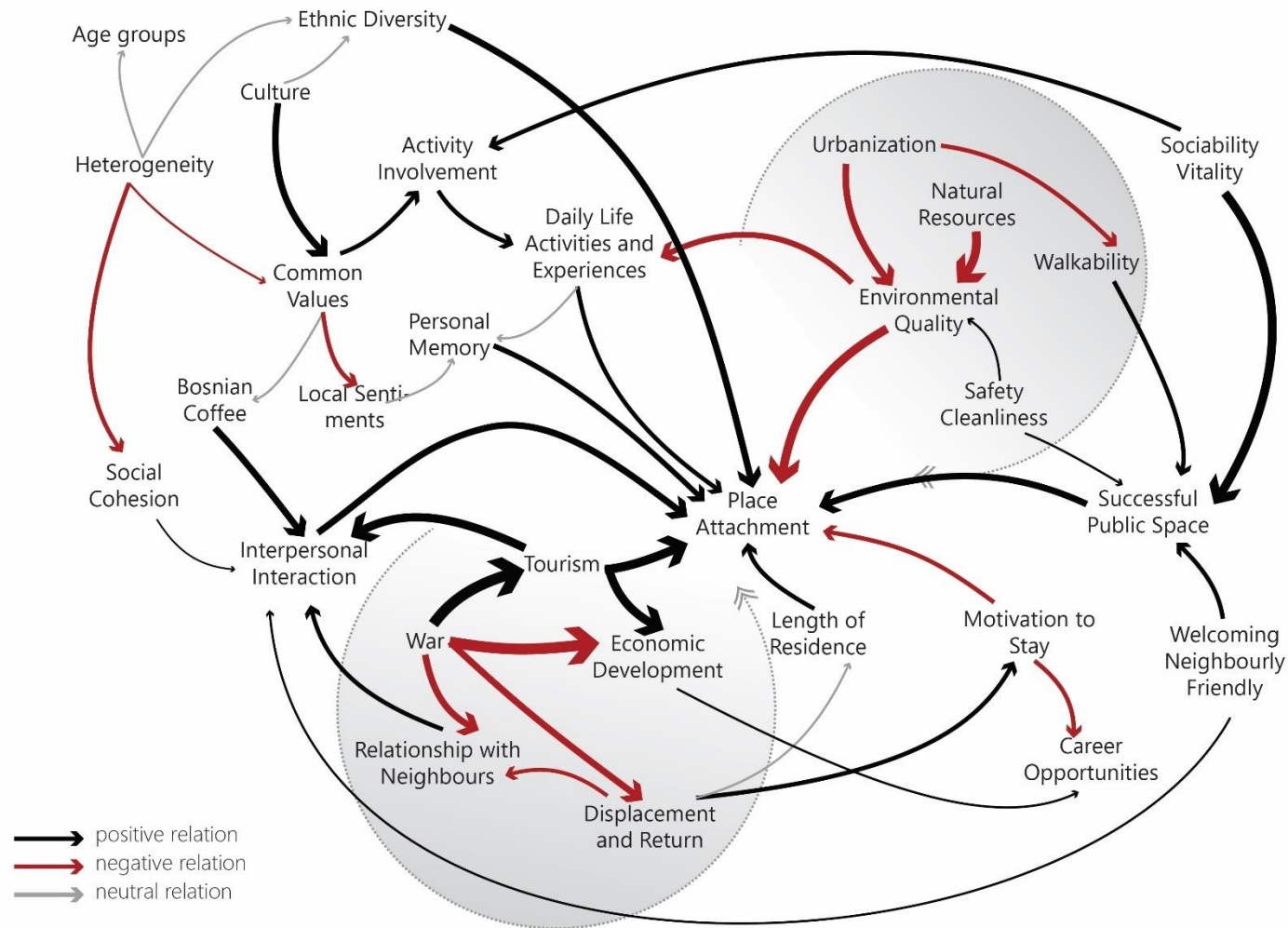


Figure 5.1 : Causal relation diagram of place attachment in the context of Sarajevo.

According to the results greater place attachment emerged for the neighbourhood and city levels than for the home level, and the social dimension of place attachment was stronger than the physical dimension. Noteworthy, according to the results, it seems that there is a level inbetween home and neighbourhood in the case of Sarajevo. According to the feedback, there seem to be a mediate level between them; the family level. Family values and memories (thus not the whole society and not individual memories) counts as a significant layer to emphasize as some multi-ethnic families have unique and different experiences than individuals with specific ethnic backgrounds or the whole ethnic group.

While investigating the effect of social group and demographic characteristics on place identity, it is thought that belonging is the determining factor. It can be considered that there is a common consensus that experience of a place (or an event on that place) and the personal perception and meaning the individual labels to that experience is being important in the formation of attachment. According to the experts, the perception and meaning to the certain experience may have common patterns within group members of a community which is preserved between generations. On contrary, in case of Sarajevo there seem to be an interruption in transferring values from generation to generation. Nevertheless, the results implicate that the age differences of people have a larger impact on the comprehension of place attachment, rather than the ethnic identity.

A very specific example are the war related events. All age groups have an opinion about the state of affairs related to the events, but its reflections on the sense of belonging to certain places (or the city as a whole) totally differs. Multiple socio-demographic breakdowns within the historical continuity were determined as thresholds. Thus, such an event does not only cause physical and psychological discontinuities, but changes also variables such as education system (different ethnic identities apply a different educational system) and marital traditions (decrease of interethnic marriages). In relation, multiple examples in the interviews show that the need for community publicity decreases as the participants' age is younger. It may be concluded that pre-war and the war-generation falls under the 'community of place', as they are attached through geographical location and values. The post-war generation seems to be 'the community of interest', as they seem to have a lower placebound and are attached to places representing their lifestyle. This raises new questions regarding

future generations whereby it is foreseen that the attachment to places will depend less on histo-cultural values. This is very essential to trace, as the results show that attachment to place is directly related to the historical development of the city. Most of the places of attachment are situated in the Old Town and gradually reduces in the newer parts of the city, even while the attributes for inclusiveness (social access and access for intercommunication) are higher in the newer parts.

Two main emerging issues has been explored during the ethnographic studies. Rapid urbanization resulting in urban sprawl during and after the socialist/Yugoslavian period in Sarajevo emerges environmental problems. While the citizens clarify that this is a serious indicator for place attachment, experts have uncertainties about the impact of resources and conveniences on place attachment. Furthermore, war-based tourism after the Bosnian war during the nineties has determined, among new economic opportunities, a new image/identity of the city. According to the results, personal attitudes towards war tourism are classified into three categories: war tourism as a source of moral awareness; war tourism as a primarily source of economic development; war tourism as an ethic failure and humiliation towards the Bosnian cultural and natural values.

5.4 Methodological Evaluation: Mixed-Method Model

More than half of the existing studies used single research methods. Fundamental input has been brought in the methodology, whereby -despite previously used basic methods- a mixed method has been applied with the aim to evaluate and prosper both the intellectual as well as the pragmatic knowledge. This approach has been applied systematically and discussed in three stages, employing both quantitative as well as qualitative methods to mine the subject. This mixed-method model employs exploratory / theory-based research, descriptive / case-based research and explanatory / practice-based research stages.

The first stage included a systematic literature review revealing thematic clusters about the subject and leading the research into the direction of Place Attachment Theory. A reframed model of place attachment has been proposed to assess it on the case of Sarajevo.

The second stage contained the exploration of the case study and examined the physical urban layout of Sarajevo (with the emphasis on public space) through archival and observational field research converted into mappings. Furthermore, representational public spaces of key periods in Sarajevo have been evaluated through the Star Model.

For the assessment of place attachment in Sarajevo in the third stage, an explanatory sequential mixed method has been adopted with a participatory approach. A quantitative study with experts (survey) has been conducted and then a qualitative approach has been applied with residents (interview) in furtherance of explaining and developing the quantitative findings. Hypotheses derived from the literature and related indicators have been evaluated by both focus groups. Data collected from the expert surveys have been transformed into quantitative visual representations, while data collected from the interviews have been analysed through an axial coding technique and according to the interviewees' behavioural responses and emotional states of the persons, to complement quantitative data of the experts. In-depth research based on the narratives has been conducted on the emerging concerns related to place attachment that became prominent according to the interviews. In this sense, the major finding regarding the methodology is that incorporating quantitative and qualitative findings has the potential to considerably increase the quality and accuracy of the outcomes, as online written documents and archival records about the socio-spatial aspect of Sarajevo were limited to reach.

5.5 Recommendations for Further Research

In scholastic sense, the urban planning and design literature presents the notion of public space as mainly dealing with their spatial qualities and basic functions, and the basic functions of public spaces are defined in terms of recreational or socialization opportunities. Thus, the criteria of current publicity models focus on the physical organization characteristics of the space. However, how publicity is conceived becomes more important. The answer to this question is mostly given in the social sciences literature. It has been believed the research brings new insights and contributes to the field of urban studies. This section presents recommendations for further studies for researchers and professionals interested to work on the subject.

Recommendations for further studies are as following:

- *New insights for defining social identity:* The findings of the study also raise new or unveil hidden questions. The critical question of how to exactly define social groups in clusters remains an issue that echos through the research. Identifying and classifying social groups may be the hardest part of the research, because it is challenging to recognize similar patterns of ‘languages’ in space. In addition, some scholars discuss collective memory or, for instance, collective intentionality within specific social group. Thus, there might be a social dimension in the individual mind, and if so, there are several deeper social dimensions to ‘place’ too. The proposed place attachment model focused on ethnic diversity might be a tool to define this issue.
- *Development of the suggested place attachment model:* Further refinement of the suggested place attachment model is needed. To make the model applicable in different multicultural contexts whereby cultural differentiation depends on non-ethnic values, a flexibility gradation should be determined for and within an adaptive model (Figure 5.2).

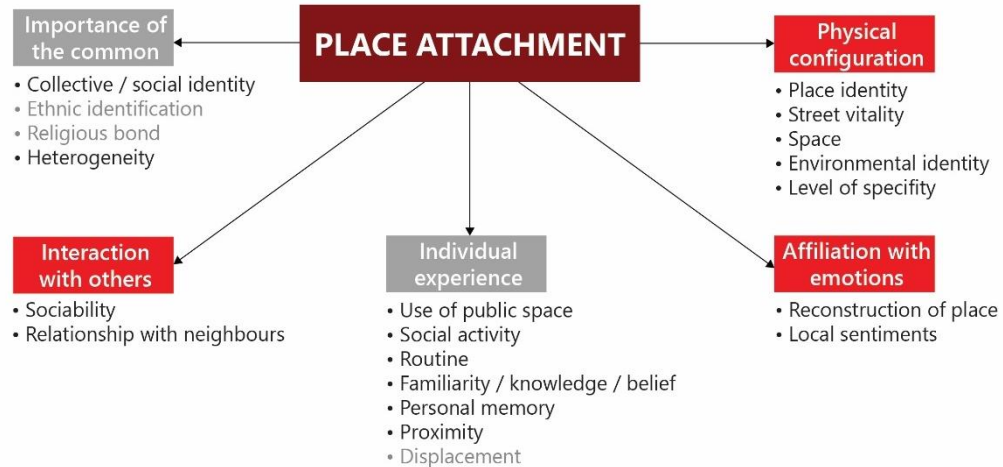


Figure 5.2 : Adaptive model of place attachment in relation to multiculturalism.

There are two main indicators having the necessity to be adaptive. The dimension ‘importance of the common’ will not be defined around ethnic diversity, but rather gains a value around cultural identification (e.g. regarding nationality, political attitudes, skills, education, locality, language). ‘Individual experience’ may exclude the displacement dimension and rather include exclusion factors (e.g. discrimination, ignorance, violence). Related hypotheses from the existing body of knowledge should be re-evaluated and

included and/or excluded and transformed into sub-dimensions accordingly. Evaluating and comparing intercultural cases regarding place attachment in multi-cultural settings in the Balkans (e.g. Tetovo, Kičevo, Glamoč) reveals similarities and differentiations of various ethnical attitudes and values in Slavic countries. Evaluating and comparing intercultural cases regarding place attachment in settings in Turkey (e.g. Adana, Mardin, Hatay) may reveal similarities and differentiations caused by different historical and contextual backgrounds. Rising migration flows requires place attachment studies (thus an extension of migration studies) whereby residence is temporary or dynamic. This all can create a structured presentation of dependable and in dependable variables regarding a global understanding of place attachment with regards to multicultural societies. Besides a cross-analysis between two different codes at the same time, there are other techniques to find patterns, causes or affect relations. One can cluster the participants for example by neighborhood or by participating and not participating in a project. Additionally, the model can be tested in different settings with similar contexts (e.g. other ethnically diverse cities in the region or beyond), so it generates data for cross-comparisons on a larger level. The reframed place attachment model might also be applied by a larger number of experts and citizens which might help in gaining a more valid result. Furthermore, supporting methods such as production of (remote) narratives along urban sequences may contribute to the subject. The legibility of the city through the experience of the urban routes of interest for diverse ethnic identities (as originally intended to conduct for this study) will reveal additional data about the perception of place attachment as the conduction of the walks provides intended or unintended encounters between persons which awakens personal memory and sentiments.

- *Mixed-method approach*: The potential of the methods been used in this research had been widely recognised in the literature, as shown in previous chapters. Yet, most of the existing studies used single methods. In this research, mixed methods are exemplified in where qualitative data has been transformed to quantitative data and quantitative data has been combined with mapping. It may encourage future research to apply similar or different mixed methods, especially for interdisciplinary studies. There seems to be a pattern of spatial

variables creating or stimulating the creation and development of place attachment. Generating insights of spatial dimensions of place attachment in different multicultural environments (where the emphasis may lie in ethnicity, migration or other cultural differences) could reveal this valuable pattern.

- *Place attachment in Sarajevo:* Given that movement spaces and interchange spaces encourage social cohesion which directly influences place attachment, it is recommended (and moreover essential) to emphasis on these types of spaces in further studies when cultivating on socially diverse communities. On the other hand, cultural events are considered as stimuli of relationships between community members and can foster social segregation. Supervision is needed on the city's network of cultural institutes for preserving and developing the specific culture of ethnic communities that currently causes cultural segregation. Given these suggestions, physical applications and investment on specific built environments can cultivate positive attachment to place.
- *Long-term monitoring:* To prevent further deterioration of the social climate, it is crucial to understand the interethnic attitudes in public space. Economic prospects require reevaluation of the impact of short-term and (in particular) long-term international investors in the city, which have an influence on place attachment. Moreover, emphasizing on socio-economic, historical (in terms of (in)tangible heritage) and cultural subjects related to tourism will give directions for a rehabilitation of the city identity and image. Getting more advanced insights into the socio-spatial relation of communities is of societal relevance for future political transitions and prediction and prevention of social conflict. Furthermore, current global impacts such as movement flows of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers but also unforeseen circumstances such as the latest pandemic affect the ethno-cultural balance -and its dynamics- within societies and nations. This research monitored the current socio-spatial concern in the city for a period of a three years. Repeated and enhanced monitoring with application of interdisciplinary framework is required that may open doors to debate the issues for policymaking and peace building on local and global level.



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- URL-33** <<https://media.gettyimages.com/photos/bullet-shells-made-into-souvenirs-are-displayed-at-a-souvenir-shop-at-picture-id924867254?s=2048x2048>>, date retrieved 02.05.2022.

- URL-34** <https://www.flickr.com/photos/tim_photo/8329350141>, date retrieved 02.05.2022.
- URL-35** <https://afbeelding.lc.nl/lc/incoming/nzu3hp-202010212829.jpg/alternates/LANDSCAPE_1920/202010212829.jpg>, date retrieved 10.08.2022.
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Ethical Commission Report

APPENDIX B: Reframing Process Triparte Model of Place Attachment

APPENDIX C: Experts' Demographics

APPENDIX D: Participant Coding Cards

APPENDIX E: Thesis Related Publications





APPENDIX A: Ethical Commission Report

**ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT ÜNİVERSİTESİ (AYBÜ)**
ETİK KURULU
PROJE ONAY BELGESİ

Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi Mimarlık ve Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi Mimarlık bölümü akademisyenlerinden Tülay Turhan'ın, "Cultural Encounters in the Multi-Ethnic Setting: An Ethnographic Study of Belonging in the Urban Landscape of Sarajevo" adlı araştırması değerlendirilmiştir. *(Bukısım başvuru sahibi tarafından doldurulmalıdır)*

Proje etik açısından uygun bulunmuştur. ☒

Proje etik açısından geliştirilmesi gerekmektedir. ☐

Proje etik açısından uygun bulunmamıştır. ☐

AYBÜ ETİK KURULU KARARI (Etik Kurul tarafından doldurulacaktır)	
Araştırma kodu (Yıl – Araştırma sıra no)	2021- 197
Başvuru formunun Etik Kurula ulaştığı tarih	30. 03 2021
Etik Kurul Karar toplantı tarihi ve karar no	16. 04. 2021- 49
Yer	Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi, Esenboğa Külliyesi
Katılımcılar	Formda imzası bulunan üyelerimiz toplantıya katılmıştır.

KURUL BASKANI, BASKAN YARDIMCISI VE ÜYELER:
İMZA

Prof. Dr. Cem Şafak ÇUKUR	Üye
Prof. Dr. Muharrem KILIÇ	Üye
Doç. Dr. Behlül TOKUR	Üye
Doç. Dr. Birgül ÖZKAN	Üye
Doç. Dr. Yüksel Akay UNVAN	Üye
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Şule KAYA	Üye
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ertuğrul DEMİRDEL	Üye
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Nimet YILDIRIM TİRGİL	Üye

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Figure A.1 : Ethical Commission Report.



APPENDIX B: Reframing Process Triparte Model of Place Attachment

TRIPARTITE MODEL OF PLACE ATTACHMENT

existing model	body of knowledge	reframed model	
		sub-theme	new attribute
PERSON who is attached?	1. Cultural place meanings and values influence the extent of individual place attachment, and individual experiences within a place, if positive, can maintain and possibly strengthen cultural place attachment. (Scannel & Gifford, 2010)	individual group	IMPORTANCE OF THE COMMON
	2.In heterogeneous communities (e.g. in terms of ethnicity), ties with the territory are weaker. (Lewicka, 2011)	group	IMPORTANCE OF THE COMMON
	3. Good relations between neighbours and frequent conversations (social factor) can improve the relationship with the territory and significantly weaken the identified negative dependency. (Stolle et al., 2008)	group	INTERACTION WITH OTHERS
	4. Different meanings arise from historical events, religion, and other experiences common to group members, and that these meanings are transmitted to subsequent generations. (Virden & Walker, 1999)	group	IMPORTANCE OF THE COMMON
	5. Place attachment is stronger for settings that evoke personal memories, and this type of place attachment is thought to contribute to a stable sense of self. (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996).	individual	INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE
PLACE what is the attachment to?	6. Social and physical levels of attachment influence the overall bond, while social aspect has a stronger influence. (Hidalgo & Hernández (2001)	social physical	IMPORTANCE OF THE COMMON
	7. Place attachment is based on the ability of frequent interpersonal interactions. (Fried, 1963)	social	INTERACTION WITH OTHERS
	8. One is attached to the place because it facilitates “distinctiveness” from other places or affirms the specialness of one’s group. (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996)	social	INTERACTION WITH OTHERS
	9. One is being attached to a place mainly for its physical characteristics, resources and conveniences. (Stokols and Shumaker (1981)	physical	PHYSICAL CONFIGURATION
PROCESS how is attachment manifested?	10. It is the positive experiences which create attachment, the desire to maintain connection to a place and the senses of safety and comfort. (Hernández et al. 2007)	affect cognition behaviour	AFFILIATION WITH EMOTIONS
	11. Emotion links all human experience so that settings acquire meaning through the steady accretion of sentiment. (Tuan, 2007)	affect	AFFILIATION WITH EMOTIONS
	12. Voluntary disruptions in place, like moving for a job or retirement, are associated with increased place attachments while involuntary disruptions, like disasters or forced relocation create a sense of loss and diminished attachments. (Brown & Perkins, 1992)	affect	AFFILIATION WITH EMOTIONS

Figure B.1 : Reframing scheme of the place attachment model.

existing model		body of knowledge	reframed model	
			sub-theme	new attribute
TRIPARTITE MODEL OF PLACE ATTACHMENT	PROCESS how is attachment manifested?	13. Displacement results in feelings of sadness and longing, and so concluded that attachment is primarily based in affect. (Fullilove, 1996)	affect	AFFILIATION WITH EMOTIONS
		14. The desire to maintain closeness to a place is an attempt to experience the positive emotions that a place may evoke. (Giuliani, 2003)	affect	AFFILIATION WITH EMOTIONS
		15. Place attachment is the result of the interaction between experience in a place and the meaning making associated with that experience. (Seamon, 2014)	cognition	INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE
		16. Place attachment is entwined with other ideological traditions that are used to justify sociospatial entitlements. (Di Masso et al., 2014; Dixonand & Durrheim, 2000)	cognition	IMPORTANCE OF THE COMMON
		17. Individuals are attached to certain types or categories of places (e.g., cottages in rural settings, suburban single-family dwellings or downtowns). (Feldman, 1990; Stokols & Shumaker, 1981)	cognition	INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE
		18. Individuals may connect to a place in the sense that it comes to represent who they are. (Scannel & Gifford, 2009)	cognition	INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE
		19. Place attachment is created through interaction as people routinely talk about themselves in places. (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001)	behaviour	INTERACTION WITH OTHERS
		20. People tend to regenerate their homes, which they left behind, in their new, current surroundings to recreate a meaningful place yet again. Scannell & Gifford, 2009)	behaviour	AFFILIATION WITH EMOTIONS
		21. Place attachment is a positive, affective bond between an individual and a specific place, the main characteristic of which is to maintain closeness (proximity) to such a place. (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001).	behaviour	AFFILIATION WITH EMOTIONS
		22. Familiarity and use takes precedence over new urban planning. (Francaviglia, 1978)	behaviour	AFFILIATION WITH EMOTIONS
		23. Length of residence and efforts to return have a positive impact on place attachment. (Hay 1998, Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974)	behaviour	AFFILIATION WITH EMOTIONS
		24. Preserving the bond with the old place goes through selecting locations that are similar as possible to the former ones. (Michelson, 1976)	behaviour	AFFILIATION WITH EMOTIONS

Figure B.1(continued): Reframing scheme of the place attachment model.

APPENDIX C: Experts' Demographics

Gender (%)

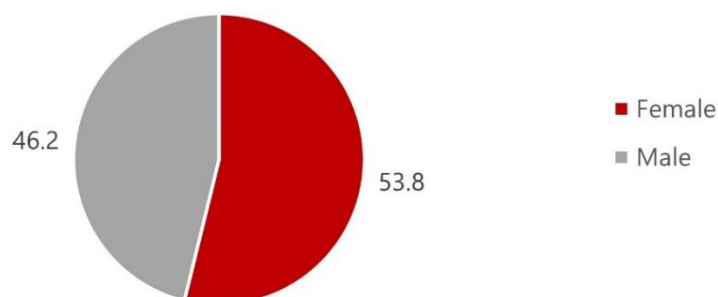


Figure C.1 : Distribution of the survey respondents according to gender.

Age (%)

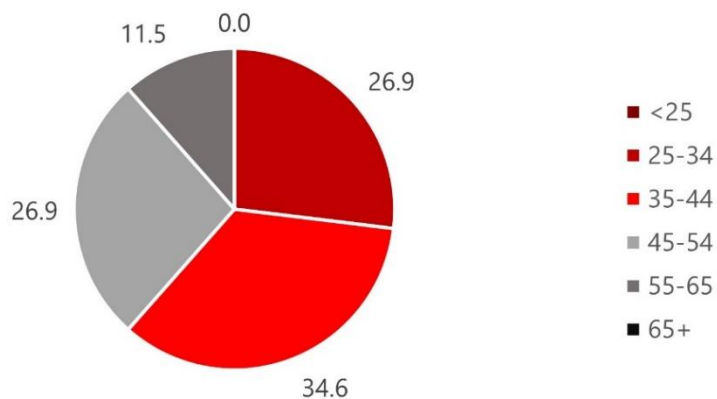


Figure C.2 : Distribution of the survey respondents according to age.

Location

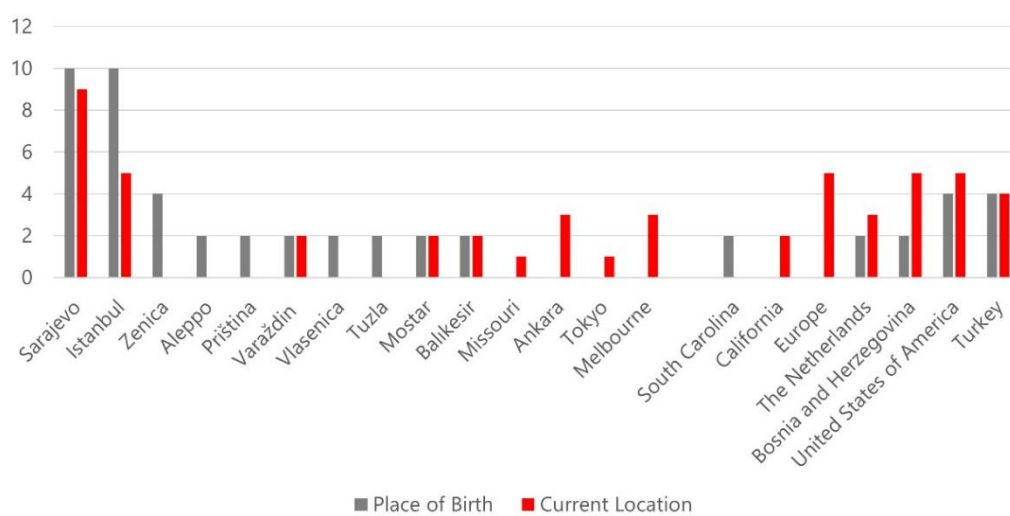


Figure C.3 : Distribution of the survey respondents according to their place of birth and current residential location.

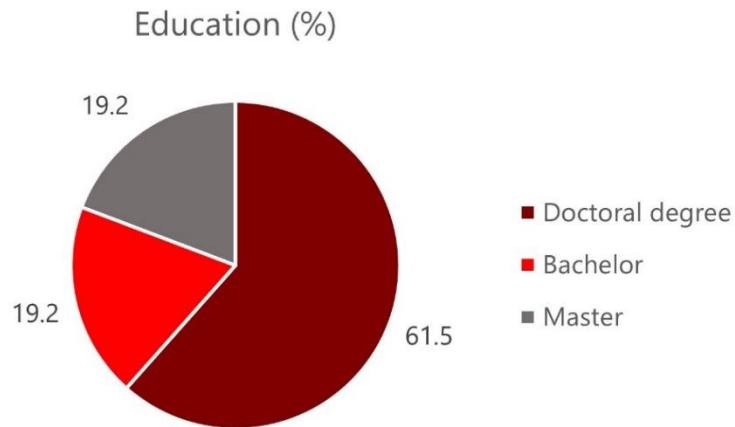


Figure C.4 : Distribution of the survey respondents according to their education.

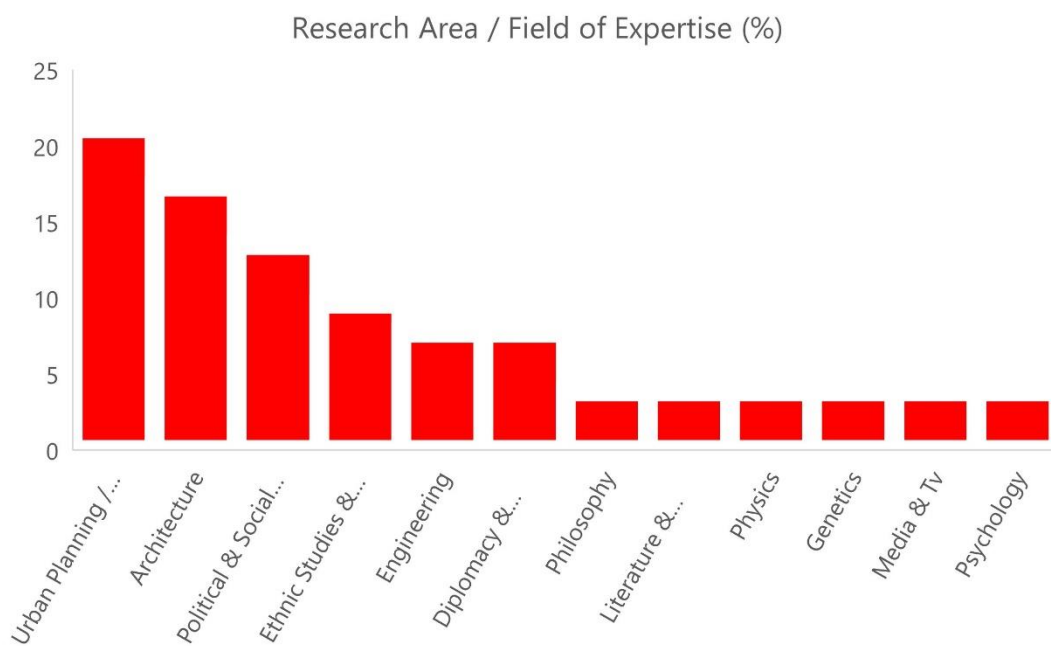


Figure C.5 : Distribution of the survey respondents according to their field of expertise.

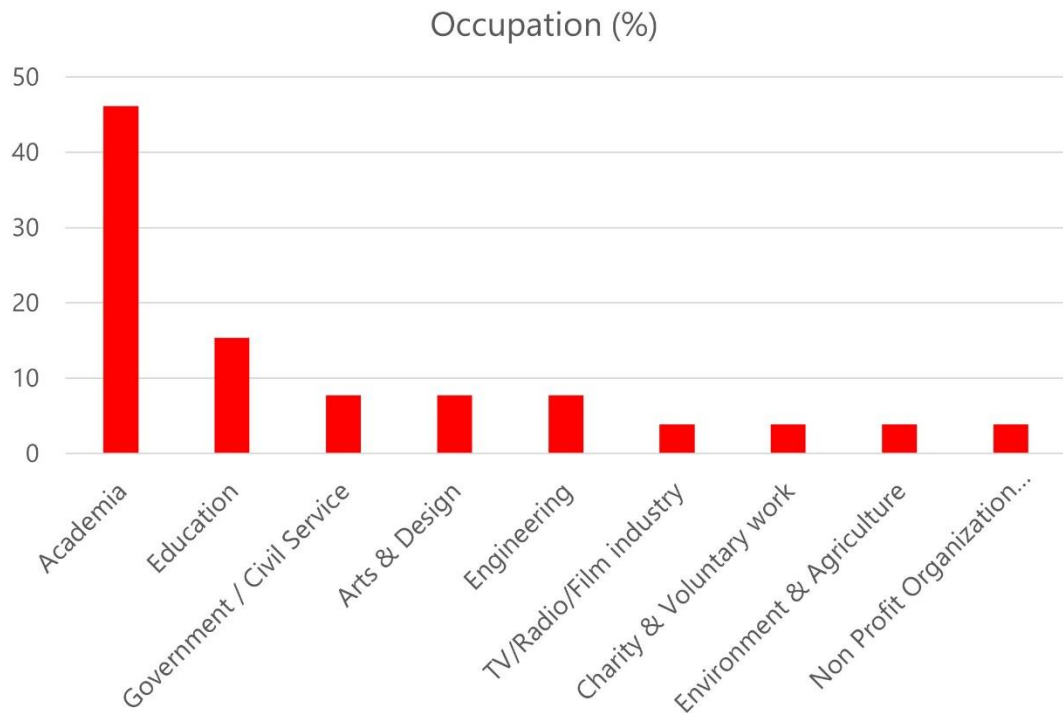


Figure C.6 : Distribution of the survey respondents according to their occupation.

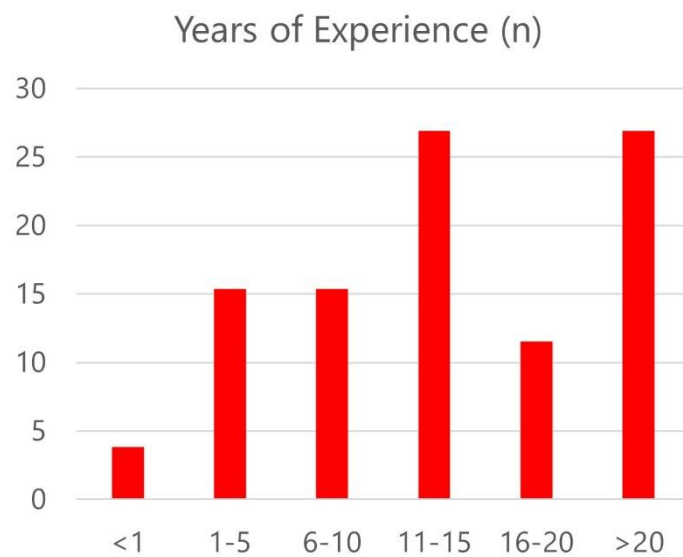


Figure C.7 : Distribution of the survey respondents according to the years of experience.



APPENDIX D: Participant Coding Cards

 PARTICIPANT 1 L. S., 1979, Sarajevo, Bosniak	CODE 1	CODE 2	CODE 3	CODE 4	CODE 5	CODE 6	CODE 7	CODE 8
	ETHNIC DIVERSITY, ETHNIC DIVERSE CITIES	PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE CITIZENS	SOCIAL COHESION	COMMON VALUES IN DAILY LIFE ACTIVITIES AND EXPERIENCES	ENVIRONMENTAL IDENTITY AND QUALITY	EFFECT OF THE CITY IDENTITY TO DAILY LIFE	PLACES OF MEMORY	PLACES OF BELONGING AND LOCAL SENTIMENTS
L. S. (41) is female and is born in Sarajevo, but left the city for a couple of years after the war. She identifies herself as Bosnian Muslim. She has witnessed Sarajevo under different rulerships.	"Before war the ethnic diversity in the city was unique and an advantage for the city, but after war it became suddenly a threat and barrier, or an artificial problem caused by external forces." "My non-muslim friends are celebrating each religious day, and I do the same with them." "In Western Europe, some cultural groups are seen as minor groups, in Sarajevo there is no inequality, no major-minor relation between groups."	"Respect for historical buildings and values and instinct to protection is seen by older generations. The post-millennium generation have to learn these values from books or by stories from older generations. Thus naturally, it fades out by them, or better said, their priorities are different and thus the responsibilities for norms and values are less. The war may be the turningpoint. The 70s/80s generation is the last generation who preserves these values" "Our young people are leaving here due to different reasons such as unemployment and do not see any opportunity for any future here." "The meaning of 'time' is much more different for the youth. Time is much more valuable for them, they live faster. In a way, we are reliving the post-industrial society switch in a recent form. Back then, there was also generational differences regarding the perception of time and how to spend it."	"We as society feel equality between the communities, but political forces and the media want to break this cohesion."	"Stari Grad (Old Town) contains well-known families from originally Bosnian roots. They never lost their traditions and behaviours." "For us, drinking coffee is a reason for conversation, an expression for sharing joy, a way of communication, a way of reconciling anger, a way of meeting young people and a way of solving problems. It is an "excuse" for interaction, between existing communities, but also between locals and tourists."		"Within a few kilometers you can feel and touch different souls of the city. The city is perceived by many as a touchable plateau reflecting the multiculturalism." "Tourist can feel instinctively the soul of the city, they can find their own way. In this way the city is very readable." "Future generations will create a different use pattern in the city."	"Vijećnica (former City Hall/Library) represents the history of the city, as it contained a lot of original sources. Nowadays these tangible and intangible sources has been reused in form of political meetings, concerts, symposia and wedding ceremonies." "The natural environment in Sarajevo is probably reminding different things than usually it should be. It reminds us of the war, our escapes to the mountains, our loss of our urban gardens. Nowadays parks are transformed into graveyards which reminds us of the fear of escaping and losing."	"I feel proud to be a member living in the multicultural environment, to be a child of this city." "Many of my Muslim and non-Muslim friends spend time in the avlija (inner garden) of Begova Džamija (Gazi Husrev-beg Mosque), which lays very central in the city. Since my high school years, it was our meeting point. After war we preferred to choose other places to meet." "I feel attached to the culture of Stari Grad (Old Town). For us (Muslims), Begova (Gazi Husrev-beg Mosque) has been a place for religious purposes only. So mostly, you see Muslim people around." "The prayers in the mosque has been heard outside and attracts a variety of people (even they are not muslim) due to its location and openness. No-one feels offended. This makes me proud." "As students, we used to go to the courtyard of the mosque between two lectures. But nowadays, there are also a lot of foreigners, mainly tourists, who spend their time at the courtyard to rest." "Places which do not represent a certain group or ideology are more importantly for me. Instead, places of interaction such as the tram stop in front of the Sebilj (fountain in the Old Town), bakeries and small shops."
	RESULTS 3	3	1	2	0	3	2	6

Figure D.1 : Participant Coding Card of L. S.

 PARTICIPANT 2 M. C., 1991, Sarajevo, Bosniak	CODE 1	CODE 2	CODE 3	CODE 4	CODE 5	CODE 6	CODE 7	CODE 8
	ETHNIC DIVERSITY, ETHNIC DIVERSE CITIES	PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE CITIZENS	SOCIAL COHESION	COMMON VALUES IN DAILY LIFE ACTIVITIES AND EXPERIENCES	ENVIRONMENTAL IDENTITY AND QUALITY	EFFECT OF THE CITY IDENTITY TO DAILY LIFE	PLACES OF MEMORY	PLACES OF BELONGING AND LOCAL SENTIMENTS
M. C. (30) is male and is born in Sarajevo, but left the city during war time. He is currently working in the field of international relations and diplomacy in the context of Europe. He identifies himself as European Muslim.	"As you know, Sarajevo is mentioned as the 'European Jerusalem'." "Culturally different groups search for commons rather than clashes being created due to their differences."	"All kind of people from all ethnicities were defending Sarajevo as the city of all cultures, they still do." "The Balkan temperament is just different than others, that is why there is still brotherhood on social level. This mindset should pass to future generations." "Back in the days we spent much more time outside in the neighbourhood yards, the younger generation nowadays does not play outside anymore."	"There are two groups of social cohesion: one is the bosniak, when you are only bosniak you affiliate yourself with bosniaks from Turkey, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo etc. And if you are just Bosnian, you affiliate yourself with all people from Bosnia and Herzegovina including Serbs and Croats who live there. In some cases these are crossing each other." "I identify myself as European Muslim, in which I can find affiliation with other Muslim groups, but also with non-muslim Europeans." "In religious manner I feel more affiliated with the cultural group which feels closer to Turks, because the Turks brought us this religion."	"Merak or Ćejf (enjoyment) coming from the word Keyif in Turkish, it has transformed in to a verb "ćejfiti" based activities and experiences." "We serve here free water with coffee. This is very unique and rare in Europe."	"One of the problems in Sarajevo is a lack of parking places during certain times. That encourages to use public transportation in the city." "It is a very walkable city." "Bijelasnica and Trebevic mountains are very nearby." "Although the Miljacka river is not very clean, we have a lot of natural sources and we have the opportunity to drink tap water."	"It is our destiny to be recognized with the positivity as well as the negativity of our history. The city (and the country as a whole) remains in a frozen conflict after war, while we were known for our national values such as the Winter Olympics". "Dino Merlin says in a song: 'sjedi mali, tu je tvoj dom, daleko su istambul i Beč', which means 'sit down boy, this is your home, far from Istanbul and Vienna'. We live between these cultures." "It is a long process, lessons are still not learnt. Outsiders should not blame people in this country. It takes a long time to process the events of war, from the governing level to the individual one. We are still in struggle to find the right balance between our identity and its representation."	"My home itself was the only war experience, because we came back to our home in Butmir and we renovated it." "Sarajevo is a great city to visit as war zone for tourists. The prices are moderate. It is not strange that inhabitants are open for a talk with tourists. They are pleased to welcome foreigners, as they can finally 'share their story', even almost 30 years has passed."	"It is a pleasure to live in this city." "Butmir is much older than Sarajevo. It is dating back to the Neolithic time and is a part of our long history. So Sarajevo is originally known by Bosnian Neolithic culture." "The route from Baščaršija, passing by the Sebilj (fountain in the Old Town) to Ferhadija street presents a sequence from traditional to modern times." "Vijećnica (former City Hall/Library) in the old town was built during the Austro-Hungarian time, and is very authentic for the city, functionally and architecturally." "Alipašino Polje is a neighbourhood representing Yugoslavian times."
RESULTS	2	3	3	2	4	3	2	5

Figure D.2 : Participant Coding Card of M. C.

 PARTICIPANT 3 A. D., 1989, Sarajevo, Bosniak	CODE 1	CODE 2	CODE 3	CODE 4	CODE 5	CODE 6	CODE 7	CODE 8
	ETHNIC DIVERSITY, ETHNIC DIVERSE CITIES	PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE CITIZENS	SOCIAL COHESION	COMMON VALUES IN DAILY LIFE ACTIVITIES AND EXPERIENCES	ENVIRONMENTAL IDENTITY AND QUALITY	EFFECT OF THE CITY IDENTITY TO DAILY LIFE	PLACES OF MEMORY	PLACES OF BELONGING AND LOCAL SENTIMENTS
A. D. (32) is female and is born in Sarajevo, but left the city for a couple of years during the war. She works in a private company. She identifies herself as Bosnian Muslim.	"Non-muslim friends are always sending their greetings during our own religious holidays. So the multiculturalism is not only the fact that there are different ethnic groups, but they exchange values and norms with each other."		"I belong to the traditional Bosniak families. I bring the same tradition over to my children. Although we have certain strong values, we are open for other traditions." "Neighbours are more important than some relatives." "Here where I live, mainly Serbs used to live before war. Now, many of them left, but we have good relations with the ones who stayed." "I remember that my parents took us to a two hours drive just to meet other Bosnian people in Norway. This created a kind of attachment, we could speak our own language and celebrate our own holidays together."	"I take care of what I wear. My tradition describes what to wear, eat and how to behave." "Islam in Bosnia is different than Islam in other countries, that makes it possible to have common values with other religions in Sarajevo." "Wherever I have to go in the city, the moment a find some free time, I drink coffee."	"In Ilidža -where I live- we can drink from tap water. It is hard water, but it tastes proper. As I live close to the forest, I feel the natural taste of spring water much better than in other areas of the city. I know places in Sarajevo, especially in the center, where tap water is poor and almost not possible to drink. It is clearly that the outer suburbs of Sarajevo are much better to live in regarding drink water." "You have a great view to the mountains, regardless wherever you travel within Sarajevo." "We go on daily natural tours. Up to one hour you are in the mountains." "Our natural sources are not been used as it should be. It is very poorly maintained." "When the air is too polluted, I do not take the kids out. Instead, we go to the mountains."		"People used old ruins and materials (such as clothes, shoes etc) to heat up directly after war in Butmir." "We returned to Sarajevo immediately after war. I remember it was a shock for me when I stepped out of the bus. It was chaos everywhere, while I had a very organized life in Norway." "My mother's main motive to return was to raise the children in the country where they feel they belong to. And it makes sense actually, because friends who stayed in Norway kind of lost connection with their roots."	"People, architecture and maybe some emotional connections create place." "Me and my friends from high school who were living in the suburbs of Sarajevo gathered in Ilidža for the bus. We took the same bus to go to school in Grbavica."
RESULTS	1	0	4	3	5	0	3	2

Figure D.3 : Participant Coding Card of A. D.

 PARTICIPANT 4 A. C., 1988, Sarajevo, Bosniak	CODE 1	CODE 2	CODE 3	CODE 4	CODE 5	CODE 6	CODE 7	CODE 8
	ETHNIC DIVERSITY, ETHNIC DIVERSE CITIES	PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE CITIZENS	SOCIAL COHESION	COMMON VALUES IN DAILY LIFE ACTIVITIES AND EXPERIENCES	ENVIRONMENTAL IDENTITY AND QUALITY	EFFECT OF THE CITY IDENTITY TO DAILY LIFE	PLACES OF MEMORY	PLACES OF BELONGING AND LOCAL SENTIMENTS
A. C. (33) is female and is born in Sarajevo, but stayed during war time in Germany as refugee. She is the co-founder of an art platform. She identifies herself as Bosnian Muslim.	"The diversity is very visible in the city, both in physical as in social manner. But the cultural diversity - or better said the division - is the most visible in schools. There are purified territories for certain ethnic groups. However, there is no or not much preference in choosing a school based on the ethnic identity." "The effect of communism has strengthened the sense of brotherhood, I think that it influenced the ethnic diversity in a positive manner."	"But in particular the youth is very important for us, for our future investments. They tend to leave the city, but by increasing the awareness, we can increase their attachment to Sarajevo." "Both of my parents are from Sandžak, Serbia. During the 80s my father sold everything there and came to Sarajevo." "I asked my parents if they did not foresee what would happen. They (and their generation) trusted the government that no war would start, or they did not want to believe that such a thing would happen in the middle of Europe." "My mother was born in Serbia, so she had also the Serbian passport, but we (her children) did not, so she could not cross the border with us." "The youth who have finished their university cannot find any job in the city, so they tend to leave."	"Our relation with our neighbours has changed. Just a few Serbs were living in our neighbourhood. They kind of foresee the war and knew what would happen, but they did not warn their neighbours. They left before war and never came back." "My uncle was married to a Catholic wife. They were divided in thoughts and practise. My uncle insisted to raise the children Muslim. Through time, this became a problem within the family. Eventually they got divorced."	"We are very connected to our Bosnian Islamic cultural life from generation to generation. I hope I will pass this culture to my children too." "The Bosnian religious tradition I have learned in Germany is not the same as the traditions in Sarajevo."	"Our government should protect the city's land, in particular Vrelo Bosne (natural area) which should be a protected zone. But instead, it is a very popular zone for Middle Eastern investors." "The mountains are very close to the city."	"My friends and I have a platform where we create and share public art. With this, we try to reach the city beyond traditional urban boundaries. We work together with NGO's, cultural centers and various institutes." "It is a pleasant city, especially during summer. It is crowded, there are a lot of tourists and their is always something going on in the streets. Their is a lot of interaction between people who do not know each other or just have met each other."	"The Serbs who have left to other countries still have their houses here in our neighbourhood. The buildings are partly ruined. They do not sell them, but they also do not come back to use their property. These are clearly marks of war, physically but also socially." "The trip to Germany itself is very fresh in my mind. We went by boat to Italy, then to France, and then by car to Germany. They said we should not talk, so they would not understand that we were Bosnian. It is the Bosnian identity that travels all the way with you, wherever you go." "The Bosnian community rented an old building in Munich and used it as mosque. Even it was far from our home, my mother insisted to us to learn the Quran. She was very persisted in this, because before war in Sarajevo we did not have religion courses at school, just ethics. Thus, this building became a community center for us." "The Avaz Tower did not exist when we returned to Sarajevo, there were just ruins. Each time I see the tower, I think back to these times." "I remember that when our house was not safe anymore in the beginning of the war, we went to a basement in the neighbourhood. My mother wrapped us in red blankets. The basement was very crowded. All our neighbours came to that place. There were no windows. My sister cried when she heard bombs and noises."	"There are lots of emotions, such as sadness, frustration, confusion and disappointment inside us. We were not able to share the frustration during war time, this caused serious post-traumatic situation. Traces of war in the city is an expression of our anger. Interaction with tourists create moments we can bring out our dimmed voices." "Our house, our street, our neighbourhood and its traditions makes me feel attached to this city. It represents the culture, it is like a small city within a city." "I like public spaces such as theaters and concert halls. I like the crowd, the idea that people who like the same play or concert. These kind of places are representing the culture here." "Drinking coffee in Baščaršija is the most I like."
RESULTS	2	5	2	2	2	2	5	4

Figure D.4 : Participant Coding Card of A. C.

 PARTICIPANT 5 L. D., 1997, Sarajevo, Bosniak	CODE 1	CODE 2	CODE 3	CODE 4	CODE 5	CODE 6	CODE 7	CODE 8
	ETHNIC DIVERSITY, ETHNIC DIVERSE CITIES	PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE CITIZENS	SOCIAL COHESION	COMMON VALUES IN DAILY LIFE ACTIVITIES AND EXPERIENCES	ENVIRONMENTAL IDENTITY AND QUALITY	EFFECT OF THE CITY IDENTITY TO DAILY LIFE	PLACES OF MEMORY	PLACES OF BELONGING AND LOCAL SENTIMENTS
L.D. (24) is female and is born in Sarajevo. She has studied her master's MBA and is working in the field of finances in an international company. She identifies herself as Bosnian. She has witnessed Sarajevo under different rulerships.	"I present myself as Bosnian, and only if it is expected to inform about the religion, I mention that I am Muslim." "The multi-cultural environment exists very much in the university where I have studied. Also, I work in a multi-national company, in where I am in direct contact with many identities." "Sarajevo is called 'the Jerusalem of Europe'. From small scale (friends, neighbourhood) to the city scale the diversity is seen in so many aspects." "I was not in a Bosnian highschool, but in a Turkish highschool and I have met people from all over the world." "In sense of governance, it is a bit hard. The state system is bad in Sarajevo, because if for example Bosnian Croats want to implement something, the other representatives (Bosniaks and Serbs) in the government are against it. International aid and monitoring in this sense is still necessary." "The cultural diversity is higher in the center." "People in Lukavica (mostly Serbian) have more hatred towards the other ethnicities than people in Belgrade."	"Even I was not even born during the years of war, I and even small kids feel what war is. Because older people are talking about it all the time. And this is not perse bad; 'we should not forget but we should forgive' in order to live a normal life." "A large part of our youth wants to work in governmental institutions because it is more stable. This may limit their career and future, as it is hard to work in such an environment in this context."	"My relation with my neighbours are very good, they are like family for me. We always gather for celebrations such as birthday parties, national holidays etc. Most of them are Muslim." "I left for two months to Ljubljana. I am a social person, but in Europe I cannot feel the same level of interaction as much as in Sarajevo." "I have a lot of Croatian and Serbian friends, but we do not talk about the war and related subjects." "When we talk about war, we usually make jokes about it. This is related to fear, the fear that it would and could happen again."	"The suburbs of Sarajevo managed to keep their tradition. These are key areas which made Sarajevo today's Sarajevo in cultural and economic sense."	"The traffic is a very big problem in Sarajevo." "Bjelašnica (mountain) is today not privatized, nothing much is happening there. On the other hand Jahorina (mountain) is privately owned and it is greatly maintained and developed."	"I travel a lot, I saw many other cities. Always after five or six days I am back in Sarajevo again, because I think that Sarajevo has a unique social and physical character. The feeling when I am in Sarajevo, I only felt when I was in Istanbul." "When I travel to other cities, I have a lot of fun but I rarely learn something new. There is nothing much to remember. Although, living in Sarajevo means learning new things each day."	"The reconstruction process exists mainly of renovations. The reconstruction of the center of the city was based on the preservation of architectural and cultural values." "Once I went to a football game, and Serbian hooligans were yelling and singing very bad things. They had the Serbian flag. It was night. I had the feeling I was in war and I was very scared."	"A pleasant place should provide peace, manage all activities, provide balance between work and private life and family and friends. It should be a place where there is not much stress. Importan Center (shopping mall) provides these aspects." "Sarajevo City Center (shopping mall) provides good food, nice shops and it is nearby the center." "For good coffee I prefer to be in Ilidza, because it is very peaceful for me. Killim Cafe is my favorite in this neighbourhood." "I go to the gym in Malak Hotel." "The center of Sarajevo is very suitable for clubbing, but as I do not prefer that I go rarely to the center. Baščaršija is an exception." "I am very attached to my neighbourhood in Butmir, it is not so crowded, neighbours are friendly, everyone knows each other because most of the people live here since the 50s and it is child-friendly. I feel safe." "I prefer to go to Bjelašnica (mountain) than Jahorina (mountain), because Serbians own facilities in Jahorina. I would rather leave my money to 'my people' than to others."
RESULTS	7	2	4	1	2	2	2	7

Figure D.5 : Participant Coding Card of L. D.

 PARTICIPANT 6 T. A., 2002, Sarajevo, Croat	CODE 1	CODE 2	CODE 3	CODE 4	CODE 5	CODE 6	CODE 7	CODE 8
	ETHNIC DIVERSITY, ETHNIC DIVERSE CITIES	PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE CITIZENS	SOCIAL COHESION	COMMON VALUES IN DAILY LIFE ACTIVITIES AND EXPERIENCES	ENVIRONMENTAL IDENTITY AND QUALITY	EFFECT OF THE CITY IDENTITY TO DAILY LIFE	PLACES OF MEMORY	PLACES OF BELONGING AND LOCAL SENTIMENTS
T. A. (19) is male and is born in Sarajevo. He never left the city. He identifies himself as Bosnian Croat. He studies engineering and has the ambition to leave the city in the future.	"I believe that diversity is beyond ethnic identity. Ethnicity is just a notion which is been misused by politician to classify the society for its own priorities." "No, I would not marry an Orthodox or a Muslim."	"There is a mistrust between certain groups of people, I am just not sure if it is the ethnicity, or another factor what makes this possible. I would think it is the age." "A lot of my friends don't have any ambition to study, we do not want to leave this city but we are concerned about our future."	"People are still friendly, they still talk." "I barely go to the church or community centers for Croats. I do not really appreciate their attitude towards other communities. But I definitely identify myself als Croatian."	"Smoking almost became a part of the culture. When someone sits for coffee, a cigarette is almost unavoidable. Easy access, cheap prices and social acceptance makes it easy to start smoking. After all, people in this city went and are still going through a lot of hard political, social and economic challenges. It is a way of dealing with these problems."	"It is difficult for people such as me who have health issues to engage with the society. It is allowed to smoke almost everywhere, even in the hospitals. I have asthma since I was a little boy. I use face masks on regular basis because of the smoke."	"Maybe we should less focus on accentuating the war as an event. Everywhere in the city you have remarks of the war. This is bad for the city image."	"Sarajevo Memorial for Children is one of the most benign monuments in the city, as it would be easy to miss it if you do not know its meaning. Many people, including some tourists just passing by, the memorial. It looks like an ordinary fountain until you read the inscription. I prefer to look at it as an ordinary monument instead of a commemoration of war."	"I feel the most comfortable in Marjin Dvor, this is the best district for students. It is close to the university, shopping malls and cafes. It is active during day and night." "Places such as SCC (shopping mall) and BBI (shopping mall) are the new places to be in the city center. Mostly I drink coffee in one of the cafes in these malls. It is forbidden to smoke in these indoor places." "I have been to areas where people look at you as you do not belong here. I have personally witnessed where Muslim women are been discriminated in areas such as Lukavica (Republika Srpska)."
	RESULTS 2	2	2	1	1	1	1	3

Figure D.6 : Participant Coding Card of T. A.

 PARTICIPANT 7 M. E., 1958, Sarajevo, Croat	CODE 1	CODE 2	CODE 3	CODE 4	CODE 5	CODE 6	CODE 7	CODE 8
	ETHNIC DIVERSITY, ETHNIC DIVERSE CITIES	PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE CITIZENS	SOCIAL COHESION	COMMON VALUES IN DAILY LIFE ACTIVITIES AND EXPERIENCES	ENVIRONMENTAL IDENTITY AND QUALITY	EFFECT OF THE CITY IDENTITY TO DAILY LIFE	PLACES OF MEMORY	PLACES OF BELONGING AND LOCAL SENTIMENTS
M. E. (63) is male and is born in Sarajevo and never left the city. He experienced war times during the 90s. He has studied forestry and is plant collector. He identifies himself as Croatian Catholic, although he expresses that he is in fact Yugoslavian. He has witnessed Sarajevo under different rulerships.	"In the Balkan region many people from different backgrounds are living together since centuries. This is unique in the Western World."	"I think there is a larger gap between generations than ethnic communities. Or at least there is an equal gap concerning communication."	"In my idea, life is on the streets in Sarajevo. I think that many people like to be outdoors and gather with each other."	"People admire each other for their unity and hospitality." "Yes, we are a bit lazy, we like to take it polako (slow)."	"It is a contradiction; when I am upset, I feel better by spending my time outdoors in the nature. On the other hand, spending my time in certain green areas makes me upset because of the memories it brings back." "I am a plant collector. There is a tremendous flora in the higher areas of Sarajevo. Almost each weekend I go out for hiking in the mountains in the surrounding. I collect plants/herbs, some are edible some are not. Sometimes I make herbal tea of it for natural healing. It is like an adventure, a discovery of what exists in the 'unknown world'." "Long after war, in certain areas within and outside the city, the number of blue butterflies extremely increased. I know from my field of expertise; each butterfly specie feeds on a specific plant. Blue butterflies feed on the Artemisia Vulgaris (Mugwort). The sudden increase has been studied by experts in the field. It seemed that this plant preferred to grow on soil above graves. In this way, the nature helped to uncover several mass graves."	"It is strange that the city is still mentioned referring to the tensions between the three ethnic groups. From the 2000s many expats from different backgrounds came to the city. This has changed the diversity and thus the city identity." "Maybe we should focus on the newcomers instead of the existing society."	"Spending my time in certain green areas makes me upset because of the memories it brings back." "After war, many natural areas are closed and secured because of the land mines. Now I do not have access to some protected herbage. This is one of the worst things that can happen to a collector." "You can directly recognize tourists in this city. If you see someone looking up to the facades of buildings or looking down and take a look at the 'roses', you definitely know it is a tourist. Most of the inhabitants walk by, they are used to the red marks, but foreigners find it impressive, because the marks on the ground explain history. Most of the walking tours in the centre are arranged according to these marks."	"I used to be in a trekking club. Being a citizen of Sarajevo means intensely in contact with the nature rather than the city itself." "In the natural environment I feel a deep feeling of peace."
	RESULTS	1	1	1	2	3	2	3

Figure D.7 : Participant Coding Card of M. E.

 PARTICIPANT 8 I. V., 1983, Sarajevo, Croat	CODE 1	CODE 2	CODE 3	CODE 4	CODE 5	CODE 6	CODE 7	CODE 8
	ETHNIC DIVERSITY, ETHNIC DIVERSE CITIES	PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE CITIZENS	SOCIAL COHESION	COMMON VALUES IN DAILY LIFE ACTIVITIES AND EXPERIENCES	ENVIRONMENTAL IDENTITY AND QUALITY	EFFECT OF THE CITY IDENTITY TO DAILY LIFE	PLACES OF MEMORY	PLACES OF BELONGING AND LOCAL SENTIMENTS
I. V. (38) is male and is born in Sarajevo and moved to Croatia during war. He used to work in an international company, before war but when he returned to Sarajevo he started a tour agency. He identifies himself as Croatian Catholic.	"Here in Sarajevo, we deny to talk about what really caused ethnic division."	"My family is religious. During communism my family was pressured, but they didn't give up their religion and traditions. By time, that faded out. Our generation is more progressive I think."	"I trust people in my neighbourhood, people who I know regardless their identity." "I would not call them 'the others'."	"Even back in Croatia my lifestyle was totally the same. It is the Balkan temperament."	Unfortunately, in 2014 our house collapsed due to the flooding. Me and my family had to leave the place. We moved to an uncle of mine who is living in the city center, we stayed there for months. "First, I thought it will be temporary, and we considered to go back to our neighbourhood, but we never could have taken the risk to rebuild our life on the same place. I miss being on the farmland, but safety goes first." "In pre-war Sarajevo, the city was known for international events such as the murder of Franz Ferdinand, theater plays and the Olympic Games. The city has attracted many tourist (especially from outside the Balkans) after the Olympic events during the 80s. Winter sports and winter tourism increased, but again drastically decreased during war time." "Until 2014, I used to live on the slopes, in the countryside of Sarajevo. So now and then when there were heavy rain falls or during winter we had serious problems."	"I have been running this tour agency for over 20 years. I can see a clear change in behaviour and demand of 'the tourist'." "I felt that I had to stay during war and that I would survive to tell afterwards what happened." "My grandmother told me always to remember hard times (not only war times) when approaching someone. Simple things such as caring about street pets or for example doing groceries."	"Some years ago, a group of international researchers came to do a cooperative workshop here. I was their tour guide for a couple of days before their actual work began. They were very impressed when they saw the graveyards in the middle of the city. One of them asked me why we insist to commemorate the war in such a way. 'Isn't it much easier just to (re)move the graves?' was the question asked to me. It is not to refresh our memories or emotions of loss and pain. The dead are a part of this city. Maybe they are the ones who deserve to be here the most." "Some tourists are surprised with the fact that they can buy souvenirs featuring war motives. The shops in Baščaršija (old town) are selling souvenirs like carved and decorated bullet shells and grenades. Many tourists think that it is just an attractor, but react surprised when they become to know that they are used materials during war time. For some it is a great souvenir, while others think it is a reminder of hard times and just provokes negative thoughts about war." "After war, winter and cultural tourism have been promoted through the advertisement of war." "Ofcourse things have changed, I miss the old times, when playing outside without worries." "Thinking of our shared past, neither would I call them 'victims'."	"Although I was aware of the poor quality of the house, my former house was inherited property and I never had the intention to move to another place. It was my home, the place where I grew up, the place where I wanted my children to grow up."
	1	1	2	1	4	3	5	1

RESULTS

Figure D.8 : Participant Coding Card of I. V.

 PARTICIPANT 9 A. L., 1998, Sarajevo, Serb	CODE 1	CODE 2	CODE 3	CODE 4	CODE 5	CODE 6	CODE 7	CODE 8
	ETHNIC DIVERSITY, ETHNIC DIVERSE CITIES	PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE CITI- ZENS	SOCIAL COHESION	COMMON VALUES IN DAILY LIFE ACTIVITIES AND EXPERIENCES	ENVIRONMENTAL IDENTITY AND QUALITY	EFFECT OF THE CITY IDENTITY TO DAILY LIFE	PLACES OF MEMORY	PLACES OF BELONGING AND LOCAL SENTI- MENTS
A. L. (23) is female and is born in Sarajevo, but lived for many years abroad. She returned a few years ago to her homeland. Her parents are ethnically diverse, but she identifies herself as Serbian.	"This region is known for its cultural diversity for centuries. Although, our roots are Slavic and this is reflected in every aspect of our land, culture and life style." "I have seen many cities in Western Europe with diverse cultural groups. None of them felt like they were really integrated."	"I think that our generation think differently that previous generations, which is normal. Our habits changed, our priorities changed, even our communication with our parents and grandparents has changed." "It bothers me that everyone in the city is focusing on the past."	"I grew up in a multicultural environment in the Netherlands. I do not feel closer to a certain group of people." "My parents are from different religions, though they are not really practising their religion. I respect them both and I try to adapt to both of them."	"I have never seen a city where coffee is this important. People plan their activities according to their coffee time. And there is always time for coffee."	"I experienced a few times that schools have been closed because of heavy smog. Children were advised to stay at home due to health and safety prevention of the smog. This affects our whole daily planning." "The use of heating oil in some district is a serious problem for the air pollution." "Yet, living standards or the quality of life may be not that good, but the fact that Sarajevo is situated in such a rich environment lets me feel I am in a pretty healthy environment."		"The time I returned to Sarajevo, it was hard to adapt. I suddenly could not talk about certain subjects. They were sensitive." "In Sarajevo, history is not always something a subject to be proud of. Maybe because I did not witness the war events, but I heard a lot of stories about it. I respect it, but we must respond to the contemporary needs and clearly these needs do not prioritize the scars of war, at least for people from my generation."	"As much as I love the old part of the city, for leisure activities I prefer to go to new places. These places have less history, so I can create the history by my own." "The Sebilj (fountain) reminds me of my childhood. My father and I went often there to feed the doves."
RESULTS	2	5	2	1	3	0	2	2

Figure D.9 : Participant Coding Card of A. L.

 PARTICIPANT 10 A. S., 1985, Sarajevo, Serb	CODE 1	CODE 2	CODE 3	CODE 4	CODE 5	CODE 6	CODE 7	CODE 8
	ETHNIC DIVERSITY, ETHNIC DIVERSE CITIES	PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE CITI- ZENS	SOCIAL COHESION	COMMON VALUES IN DAILY LIFE ACTIVITIES AND EXPERIENCES	ENVIRONMENTAL IDENTITY AND QUALITY	EFFECT OF THE CITY IDENTITY TO DAILY LIFE	PLACES OF MEMORY	PLACES OF BELONGING AND LOCAL SENTI- MENTS
A. S. (36) is male and is born in Sarajevo, but left the city for a couple of years during and after the war. Today, he lives and works in East Sarajevo (Republika Srpska). He iden- tifies himself as Serbian Ortho- dox.	"It is required to structure the state by preserving the entities. It is true that it takes time to establish balance power-sharing but no reconciliation can be formed otherwise in such situations." "I do not know how the future look like. We in RS function already differently than in FBiH, I expect a formal division of these parts."	"There is a massive hatred towards Serbs in this town by especially people around 40-50 years. In the new generation I do not see such a hatred."	"It is true that certain ethnic groups like to identify and exclude themselves from the others. Extreme expression of religiousness in the public is both a cause and a result of the war." "Kotorac is very nearby Lukavica, the place where I hang out the most. It is on this side of the 'border'." "My environment is mainly in the RS (Republika Srpska). I have my own bakery, my own sport school etc. But I frequently pass the border (IBL) to go to the city." "I have returned in the late 2000s from Germany. After years, even a couple of my colleagues also came as expat to live in Sarajevo." "Maybe I left for a couple of years, I do not perse feel more bonded to a certain group. It is mostly my colleagues and neighbours. I do not prefer to hang out with them because of religion."	"During my university years I had a Muslim girlfriend. Eventually it did not work out, because you know that at a certain point you will talk about how to raise your children."	"The climate in Sarajevo is highly affected by the insufficient use of resources. Our public transportation system is outdated. Both the vehicles as the tracks are not sustainable. That is why people choose to buy their own cars, which increases the traffic and emissions. It is like a loop." "Sarajevo is quite human-friendly in sense of walkability and size. That is why the car traffic bothers me. It does not fit in the city. Cycling and walking could and should be promoted much better." "Sometimes during the year it becomes very hard to do our daily activities in the city. It is strongly visible that during the last decade the traffic enormously increased. This has a perceivable effect on the smog in the city. My office is at walking distance. I remember that a few times I had serious trouble in finding my way when going to work. It was like walking in emptiness."		"The city became a point of a civilized attraction with cheap living conditions for expats, due to the war. Since then, the increase of foreign tourists is clearly noticeable. The city has directly reacted to this socio-cultural potential and the tourism sector got more institutionalized. In my younger years it was not like this."	"As I already live far from the city center of Sarajevo, I prefer to hangout in Lukavica."
RESULTS	2	1	5	1	3	0	1	1

Figure D.10 : Participant Coding Card of A. S.

 PARTICIPANT 11 B. L., 1955, Sarajevo, Serb	CODE 1	CODE 2	CODE 3	CODE 4	CODE 5	CODE 6	CODE 7	CODE 8
	ETHNIC DIVERSITY, ETHNIC DIVERSE CITIES	PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE CITI- ZENS	SOCIAL COHESION	COMMON VALUES IN DAILY LIFE ACTIVITIES AND EXPERIENCES	ENVIRONMENTAL IDENTITY AND QUALITY	EFFECT OF THE CITY IDENTITY TO DAILY LIFE	PLACES OF MEMORY	PLACES OF BELONGING AND LOCAL SENTI- MENTS
B. L. (66) is female and is born in Sarajevo. She lived for a couple of years in Serbia, but partly witnessed the war in Sarajevo. She is retired. She identifies herself as Serbian, but prefers to be mentioned as Yugoslavian. She has witnessed Sarajevo under different ruler-ships.	"In the end, we are all Slavic people. Faith does not and should not create the problems. It is rather the political priorities since the dissolution of Yugoslavia." "My husband too does identify himself as Yugoslavian, we are raised with the idea to respect each others' religion, but I am not sure if I would or could marry a man with another religion today. Thoughts have changed."	"Back in my younger years, our relation with our parents, our neighbours, our people was much closer. Nowadays, the youth lives very fast and individually. It is a results of the globalizing world I think." "New generations are just reading the history from books, each of them in different books from different perspectives. It is logical they cannot understand the 'how and why' of war."	"During the times of Tito our identity was Yugoslavian. We were all one big community when we were in public. Our private lives were not insulting each others'." "I think there are two main areas where interaction is the strongest; the cafes and inside the tram." "Our relations with our neighbourhoods were very good before war. We used to go to each other on daily basis. We took care of each others kids. After war it faded."	"Solidarity and unity during the 50s-60s helped to enhance common traditions and values. Partly, we have lost these values." "My husband is Muslim, although he is not practising his religion intensively. I just do not cook pork for him." "In the end, citizens of Sarajevo do not behave or act different than each other. Even not practising them all, everyone knows all traditions and values."		"Economical recovery is needed. I am one of the few that is retired and receive an income. Therefore, I understand that international support is very important. But slowly it looks like it is transforming the city identity rather than it is enhancing."	"I did witness just a small part of the war. Listening to war stories is one thing, but seeing them, touching them is totally different. Lately, I have the feeling that I can finally share the sadness of the city has been gone through, the pain of many of us." "The tram has a very special meaning in Sarajevo. It has far beyond a form of public transportation." "Darkness reminds me of the war. Those times I have seen the city lit up only by bombs during during night."	"Although I am identifying myself as Serbian and have ancestors from Serbia, I feel proud to be a part of the this city."
RESULTS	2	2	3	3	0	1	4	1

Figure D.11 : Participant Coding Card of B. L.

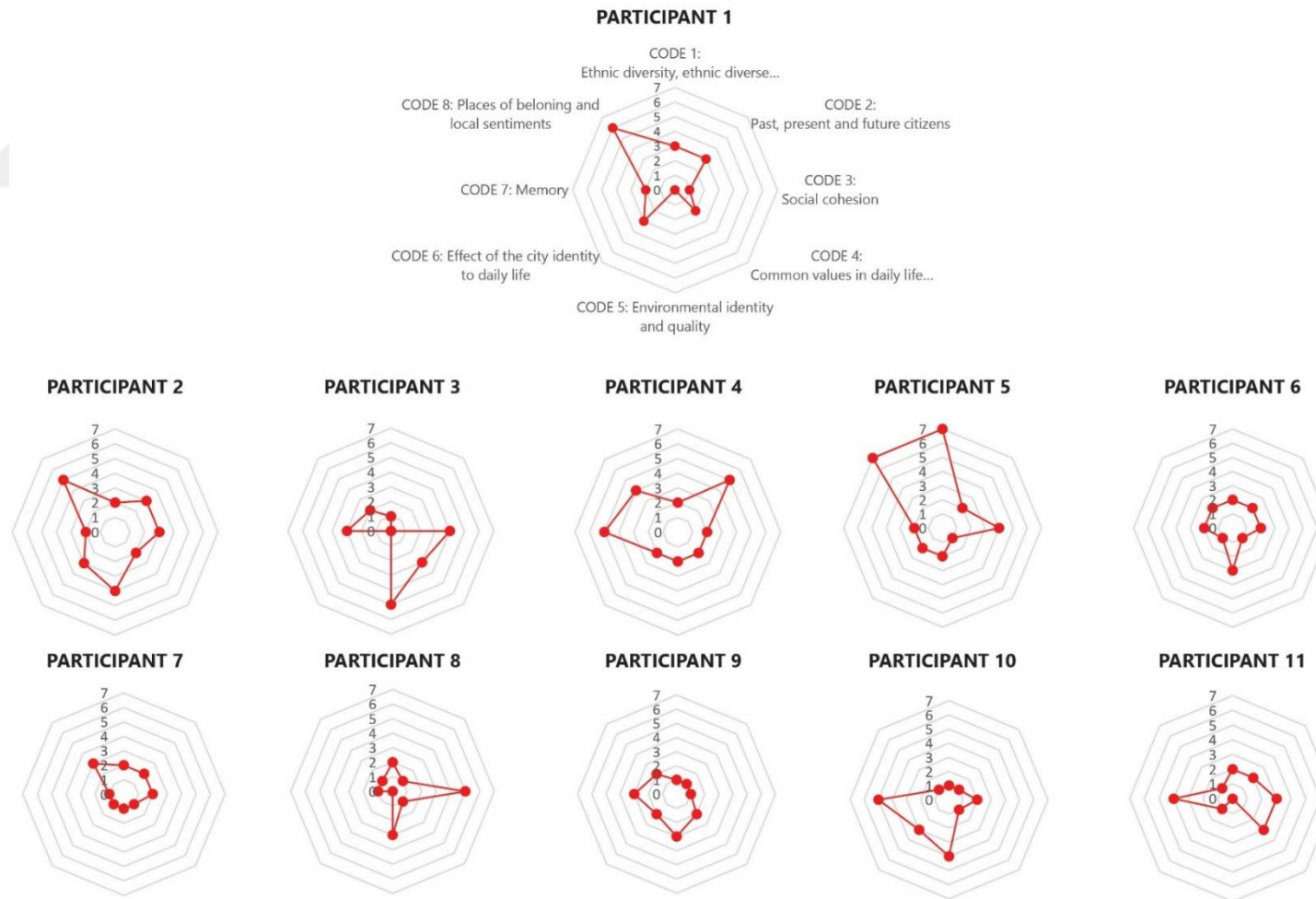


Figure D.12 : Individual evaluations of the participants

APPENDIX E: Thesis Related Publications

Table E.1 : Detailed bibliographic information about the authors' publications included in the thesis.

No	Title	Authors	Publication	Publisher	Indexing	Status	DOI / ISSN	Citation
1	Saraybosna: Bursa'nın Güzel Kardeşi	Hasan Korkut, Tülay Zivalı	Journal: City and Society Journal	Marmara Municipalities Union	-	published	ISSN: 7897678343213	Korkut, H. & Zivalı, T. (2015) Saraybosna: Bursa'nın Güzel Kardeşi, City and Society Journal, Vol.2, p. 34-52.
2	Public Space as Cultural Resource	Tülay Zivalı Turhan	Journal: Turkish Academy of Sciences Journal of Cultural Inventory	Turkish Academy of Sciences	TR Dizin	published	DOI: 10.22520/tubaked.2019.19.008	Zivalı Turhan, T. (2019) Public Space as Cultural Resource, Turkish Academy of Sciences Journal of Cultural Inventory, 19(1), p. 133-144.
3	A Characterization of Public Space: The Conceptual Transformation in Sarajevo	Tülay Zivalı Turhan, Hatice Ayataç	Journal: Journal of City and Civilization	BEM-BİR-SEN	-	published	ISSN: 1308-8386	Zivalı Turhan, T. & Ayataç, H. (2020) A Characterization of Public Space: The Conceptual Transformation in Sarajevo, Journal of City and Civilization, 6(11), p. 233-257.
4	Understanding of the relation between ethnic diversity and public space: A bibliometric analysis	Tülay Zivalı Turhan, Hatice Ayataç	Journal: Urban Challenge Journal	Urban Planning Institute of the Republic of Slovenia (UIRS)	Scopus Emerging Sources Citation Index Index Copernicus Google Scholar	published	DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2021-32-02-01	Zivalı Turhan, T. & Ayataç, H. (2021) Understanding of the relation between ethnic diversity and public space: A bibliometric analysis, Urbani Izziv, 32(2), p. 73-86.
5	Proučevanje povezave med etnično raznolikostjo in javnim prostorom: bibliometrična analiza	Tülay Zivalı Turhan, Hatice Ayataç	Journal: Urbani Izziv	Urbanistični inštitut RS	Scopus Emerging Sources Citation Index Index Copernicus Google Scholar	published	DOI: 10.5379/urbani-izziv-2021-32-02-01	Zivalı Turhan, T. & Ayataç, H. (2021) Proučevanje povezave med etnično raznolikostjo in javnim prostorom: bibliometrična analiza, Urbani Izziv, 32(2), p. 5-18.
6	Belonging to Green: Environmental Attributes of Place Attachment in Sarajevo	Tülay Zivalı Turhan, Hatice Ayataç	Book: Emerging Approaches in Design and New Connections With Nature	Idea Group Publishing (IGP)	Google Scholar	published	DOI: 10.4018/978-1-7998-6725-8.ch002	Zivalı Turhan, T. & Ayataç, H. (2021) Belonging to Green: Environmental Attributes of Place Attachment in Sarajevo, in: Emerging Approaches in Design and New Connections with Nature (Esen Gökçe Özdamar & Okşan Tandoğan, eds.), p. 20-45. ISBN: 9781799867258.



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EDUCATION

- **B.Sc.:** 2009, Delft University of Technology, Faculty of Architecture, Department of Architecture
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PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE AND REWARDS:

- 2013-2013 Delft Actieagenda Bouw.
- 2014-2015 Senior Assistant / Lecturer, International University of Sarajevo, Department of Architecture.
- 2017-present Research Assistant, Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Department of Architecture.

PUBLICATIONS, PRESENTATIONS AND PATENTS ON THE THESIS:

- **Zivalı Turhan, T., Ayataç. H.** 2021. *Belonging to Green: Environmental Attributes of Place Attachment in Sarajevo*, in: Emerging Approaches in Design and New Connections with Nature (Esen Gökçe Özdamar & Okşan Tandoğan, eds.), 20-45.
- **Zivalı Turhan, T., Ayataç. H.** 2021. Understanding of the relation between ethnic diversity and public space: A bibliometric analysis, *Urbani Izziv*, 32(2), 73-86.
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- **Zıvalı Turhan, T.** 2019. Public Space as Cultural Resource, *Turkish Academy of Sciences Journal of Cultural Inventory*, 19(1), 133-144.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS, PRESENTATIONS AND PATENTS:

- **Zıvalı, T.** 2022. فهم العلاقة بين التنوع العرقي والفراغات العامة: تحليل مرجعي (translation paper), *Digital International Journal of Architecture, Art and Heritage*, 1(1) , 113-141.
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- Korkut, H. & **Zıvalı, T.** 2015. Saraybosna: Bursa'nın Güzel Kardeşi, *City and Society Journal*, 2, 34-52.
- Friekch, S., Stam, R., ten Katen, G., Rodewijk, F., **Zıvalı, T.** & Droge, J.-P. 2010. Een klein openbaar gebouw, *Jaarboek D.B.S.G. Stylos*, 2010(2), 148-149.