

A Characterization of Public Space: The Conceptual Transformation in Sarajevo¹

Tülay Zıvalı Turhan * ■ Hatice Ayataç **

Abstract

Its multiple role and varying function within the urban landscape makes public space essential in shaping the public sphere. From this perspective, the formation process of the socio-spatial tissue of a city can be observed by focusing on public space. Since Sarajevo has witnessed diverse transformation procedures in the political, economic, and socio-cultural environment, a physical transformation in public space has been observed as well as a shift in its symbolic meaning. This research examines the conceptual transition and the characteristics of public space and reveals a comparison of the transformation through Sarajevo's historical civilizations. Based on observations, a comparative analysis of four key historical periods were conducted by using the Star Model of Publicness to identify the spatial characterization of the representative public spaces. The study illustrates the impacts of political, economic, and socio-cultural dynamics in the transition of representational public spaces of each era. The data indicates typical public space characteristics are bounded to each era and concludes that public spaces of each era differ dramatically in their functional, socio-spatial and symbolic roles and have their specific physical characteristics.

Keywords: Public Space, Sarajevo, Historical Transformation, Bosnia And Herzegovina, Star Model of Publicness

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Kamusal Alanın Niteliği: Saraybosna'nın Kavramsal Değişimi

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Abstract

Kamusal mekân, kentsel peyzaj içindeki çoklu rolü ve değişken işlevi ile kamusal alanın şekillenmesinde incelenmesi gereken önemli bir unsurdur. Bu açıdan, sosyo-mekânsal doku ya da kent oluşumunun süreci kamusal mekâna odaklanarak gözlemlenebilir. Saraybosna tarihsel süreçte siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyo-kültürel alanlarda çeşitli dönüşüm süreçlerine tanıklık etmiştir. Bu açıdan kentte, kamusal mekândaki fiziksel dönüşümün yanı sıra sembolik anlamda da bir değişim gözlemlenmektedir. Araştırmada gözlem yöntemi kullanılarak dört tarihsel dönemi temsil eden kamusal mekân karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmiş, Saraybosna kentinin kamusallık kavramının anlamı ve değişimi ortaya koyulmuştur. Söz konusu tarihi katmanları temsil eden kamusal alanların mekânsal özelliklerini tanımlamak için Kamusallığın Yıldız Modeli kullanılarak morfolojik bir okuma yapılmıştır. Çalışma, her dönemin temsili kamusal alanlarındaki politik, ekonomik ve sosyo-kültürel dinamiklerin etkileşimi göstermektedir. Veriler, her dönemin temsili mekânlarının kendine özgü fiziksel özellikler taşımakta olduğunu göstermekte ve bu kamusal alanların işlevsel, sosyo-mekânsal ve sembolik anımlarının farklılığı sonucunu sunmaktadır.

Keywords: Kamusal Alan, Saraybosna, Tarihi Dönüşüm, Bosna Hersek, Kamusallığın Yıldız Modeli.

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Introduction

In cities, civilizations are born, grown, fulfil their purpose, degrade and transit through time. These occurrences parallel developments in the social, political, natural, and cultural spheres. Sarajevo is a city in which these phenomena are reflected on public space. The post-war reconstruction period is over, and people are looking ahead to the future. To forecast the future, an overview of the historical outline is required. Different ages in the city planning can be recognized by not only its different architectural and urban styles, but also through its public spaces. Many of the major city structures are destroyed by either natural or cultural disasters and are confronted with the problems of economic decline and social destruction. Processes such as reproduction, rehabilitation, privatization, commercialization, 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, the paper will investigate the characterization and transformation of public space. This will be explored through the publicness variable of public space.

Based on observations, a comparative analysis of four key historical periods will be 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 neo-liberal 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 characterization 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. Thus, the research does not only stress the physical factors of a broad historical comparison but also highlights the association with the contextual dynamics. Embedded in the discipline of urban sociology, the study seeks to contribute to the discussion of the link between public sphere as a sociological category and the morphology and practices of public space.

The paper is composed of four parts. Following the introduction, existing methodological models among publicness are summarized. The third part contains a historical overview of the representative public spaces in Sarajevo and

relates the historical timespan with the spatial development of the city. In the fourth part, case studies have been assessed according to the Star Model of Publicness. Finally, the conclusion part reveals the differentiation in the meaning of publicness for each period and shows the conceptual transition of public spaces in the case of Sarajevo.

Sarajevo as a Patchwork of Identities

Canton Sarajevo is located within Federacija Bosna i Hercegovina and consists of nine districts from which four of them forms ‘*Sarajevo Grad* (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 1)) are located.

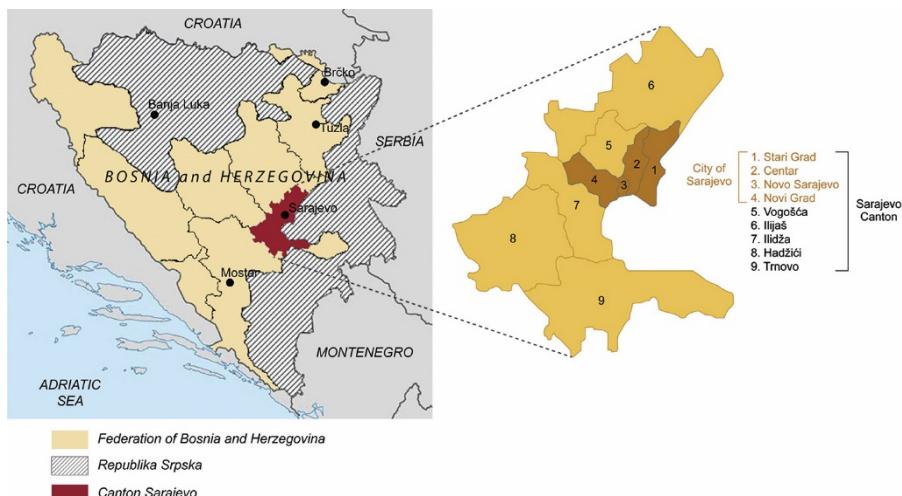


Figure 1. The map of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sarajevo Canton with the districts of Sarajevo (Source: Güll and Dee, 2015).

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 from its East to West axis. The number of the North-South axes are limited as the morphology of the landscape is directly leading the development in the city towards this 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) and this is directly readable in the map of Sarajevo (Figure 2).

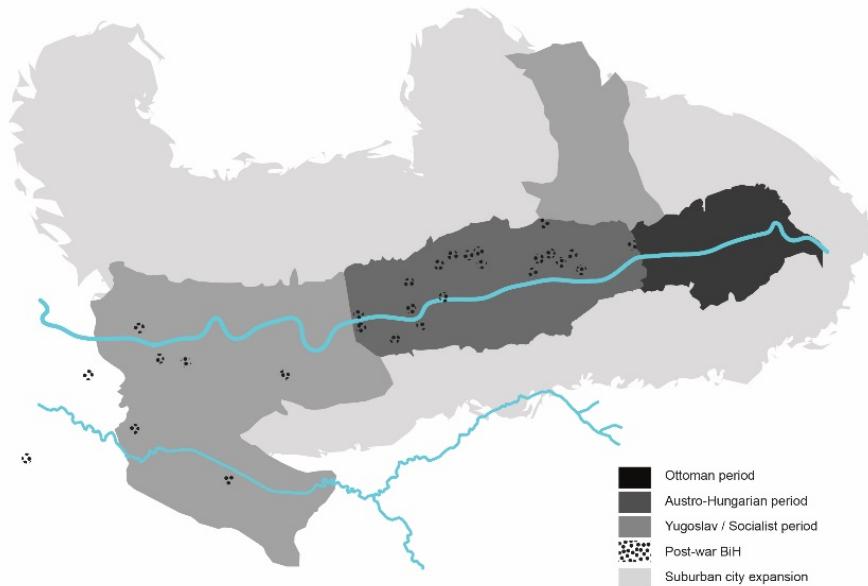


Figure 2. The historical development of Sarajevo in map.

The history of Sarajevo (Figure 3) goes back to the Stone Age, when the Butmir culture flourished in the region. Just a few remains of this period have been preserved. 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. In 1878, the Berlin Treaty stipulated that Bosnia and Herzegovina would become part of Austria-Hungary. However, the most important event during the Habsburg time was the murder of Franz Ferdinand. After the First World War, Sarajevo became part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Companies started to establish themselves near the centre. They do 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. With the declaration of the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina on 5 April 1992, again a different era dawned for Sarajevo.

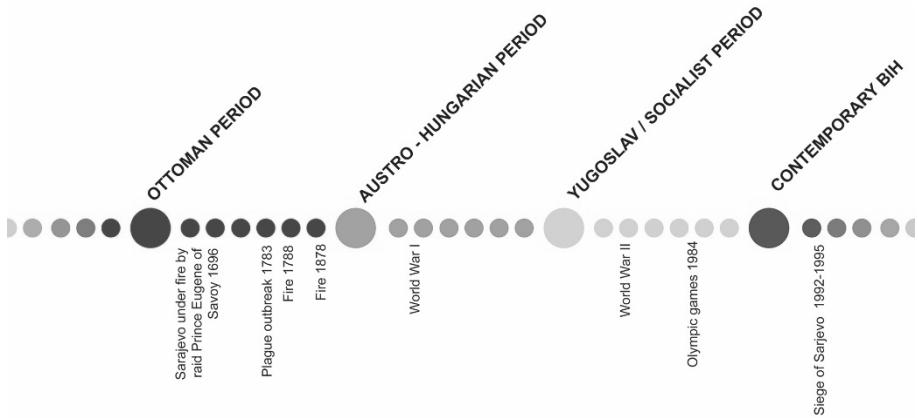


Figure 3. The historical timeline of important events in Sarajevo.

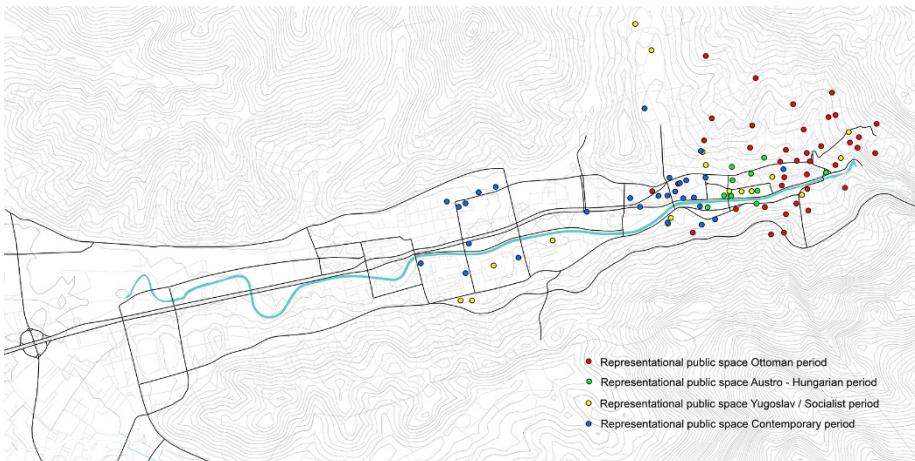


Figure 4. Representative public space of each historical period in Sarajevo.

Methodology

Dimensions of Publicness in Public Spaces

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, Heath, Tiesdell and Oc, 2010) in order to perform its collective and/or personal activities (Carr, Francis, Rivlin and Stone, 1992). The public space phenomenon has been addressed by a wide range of scholars 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 and 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 (Németh, 2009, p. 2464). Thus, privatization of public space leads to a transition of ownership. Public space is privatized 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 and Schmidt, 2011, p. 5). Similarly, Carmona (2015) based on empirical studies in London argues that “ownership and accessibility do not, by themselves, define; ‘publicness’, and processes of privatization do not necessarily restrict public life; they may even enhance it” (Carmona, 2015, 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, p. 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 and Schmidt, 2011), the security (van Melik et al., 2007) and the accessibility (Langstraat and van Melik, 2013) of public spaces. Although, all of the 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’.

Star Model of Publicness

In defining the publicness as a standard for measuring the representational public spaces, Varna (2011) determines the following meta-themes of publicness (Figure 5):

- *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: macro-design (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.) (Varna, 2011).

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 the River Clyde 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, 2013b).

Thus, the Star Model assists more in-depth and situated exploration of the publicness of public places (Varna and Tiesdall, 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, more peripheral, West and East bank) for a better comparison (Varna, 2014). In this manner, this approach holds potential for an explanatory comparative study in the case (such) of Sarajevo.

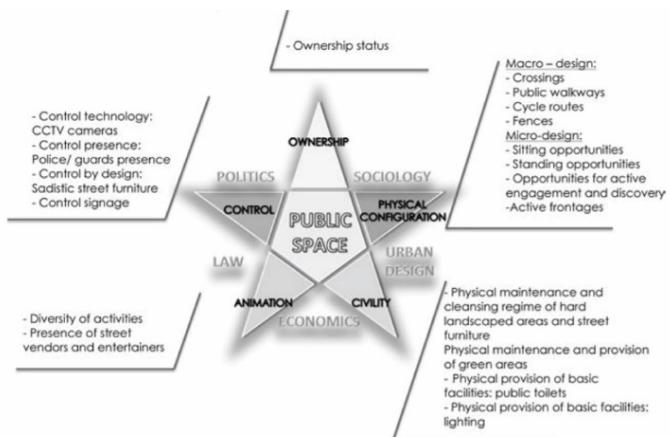


Figure 5. The Star Model of Public Space and the indicators for each dimension (Varna, 2014, p. 82).

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 6). Numerical values in the model represent the observations conducted in each square during a weekend in September of 2019.

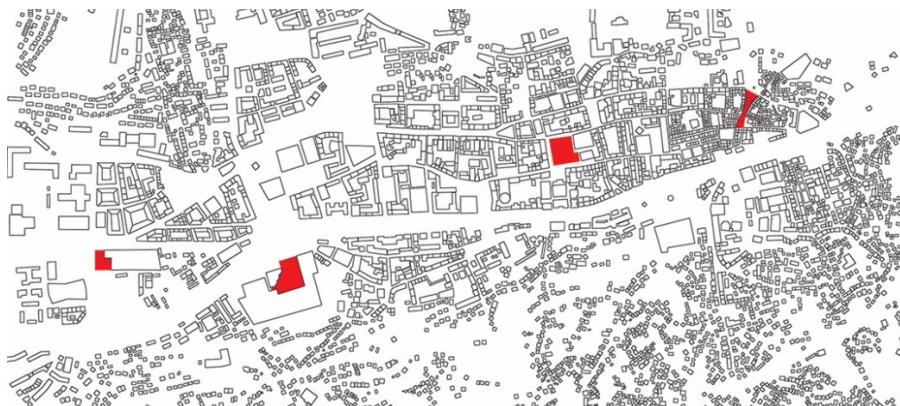


Figure 6. Representational public space of each period.

15th- 19th Century Ottoman Rulership and Baščaršija Square

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 *čarsija* (business area) was situated in the valley. 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 amongst others 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 and Neidhardt, 1957 p. 147).

Within this context, the Baščaršija was in the heart of the city and accessible and visible for everyone which was exactly the main aim of the trading 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. Each trade had its own district (Figure 8). Thus, there were various districts within the city centre such as the *Aschiluk* (boarding house) district, the *Abadjiluk* (clothers') district and many other districts (Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957). Multiple fires during the Ottoman period caused a destruction of a large amount of shops in Baščaršija. Yet, the atmosphere of the area has never been lost.

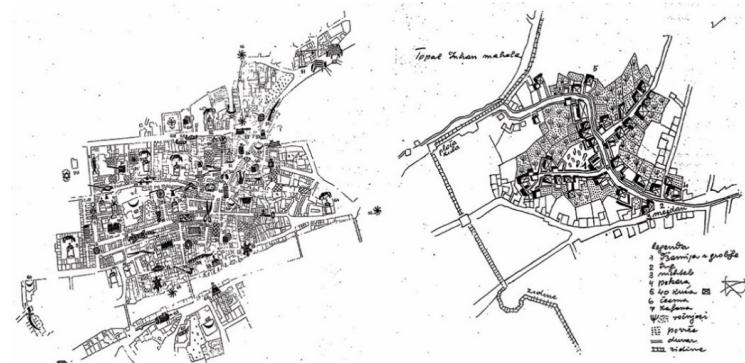


Figure 7. Public-private balance during the Ottoman Sarajevo (left: Baščaršija with the business zones, right: mahala structure) (Source: Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957, p.97, 145).

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.

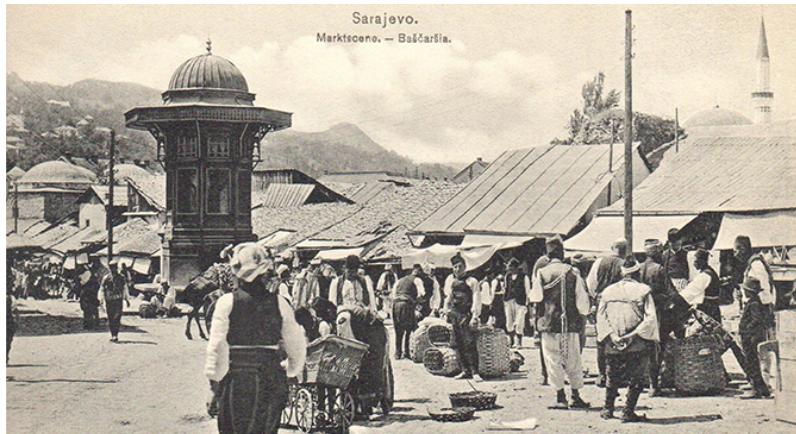


Figure 8. A busy market scene at Baščaršija square with the sebilj in the background
 (Source: Verlag, 1911)

One of the case studies of this research - the main square in Baščaršija - 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.

20th Century Austro-Hungarian Period and Liberation Square

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 and 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. 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. Except this expansion of the centre, the infrastructural network (phone, electricity, sewage-system) has been carried out and an improvement of transport facilities were created 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.

Another key feature in the spatial organization (with focus on the Europeanization of the city) was the appearance of mixed facilitation within the building. In total contrast with the Ottoman model, the ground floor was 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" (Sparks, 2014, p. 114). Today's main shopping area is in the Austro-Hungarian parts of the city.



Figure 9. The tram at Aleksandrova Street in Marijin Dvor (Source: <https://forum.klix.ba/slike-starog-sarajeva-t37595s10600.html>)

The Liberation-Alija Izetbegović square 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 10. Liberation Square in Sarajevo (Source: https://static.klix.ba/media/images/vijesti/160826066.2_mn.jpg?v=1)

20th Century Yugoslav-Socialist Period and Skenderija Plateau

The city expanded rapidly after the end of the Austro-Hungarian period. 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. Furthermore, the population increased enormously and there was a high demand for housing. Former President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito nationalized 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.

The changing demographic patterns sharpened the decentralization 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 western expanded neighbourhoods. 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 11).



Figure 11. Alipašino Polje (Source: <https://www.kathmanduandbeyond.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/Alipasino-Polje-Sarajevo-Bosnia-and-Herzegovina-6.jpg>)

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 and Samic, 2014). The most representative of these institutions was Tito's KSC Skenderija (Beslic, 2019) (Figure 12).



Figure 12. Skenderija Plateau (Source: <http://www.skenderija.ba/images/galerije/arhiva/007.jpg>)

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 is a city square that was opened in 1969 which connects all public facilities of the Skenderija Center. Before the Bosnian War in the 1990s, 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.

21st Century: Contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina

The physical tensions during the 1990s is parallel to a couple of socio-economic and political changes in the region that determined the post-war situation of the city. The triple transition (The Aleppo Project, 2015) exists of simultaneous movements from war to peace, communism to democracy and the socialist market to a free-market economy. In line with the power-sharing arrangements in the Dayton Accords -which created new tensions between ethnic groups- made an end to the physical conflict but never could end the social division. Besides, the adaptation to democracy on the one hand and the market economy on the other hand was harder than thought. The result was twofold. Nearly 60% of the buildings and 80% of the facilities became damaged. Directly after the war, a four-phased reconstruction was followed. Firstly, the physical reconstruction with a focus on emergence of the infrastructure network, prior public buildings, and housing between 1995-2000 took place. Also, suppressing the violence was a part of the emergency reconstruction which led to the international protectorate created in reaction to nationalist obstructions between 1997-2006 in order to contain the physical conflict. With the economic development of the country, state-building improvements between 2000-2006 were established. During the reconstruction process, an enormous amount of international help and donorship was provided. From 2006 until present, a gradual withdrawal of international donors can be observed. However, a part of these donors transformed into private investors and this had a profound impact in forming the major structures and contemporary public spaces in the city. A typical example of such a contemporary structure is the Sarajevo City Center square (Figure 13).



Figure 13. Sarajevo City Center and its square (Source: [https://www.scc.ba/
img/tekstovi/2014/11/slika_scc_front.jpg](https://www.scc.ba/img/tekstovi/2014/11/slika_scc_front.jpg))

Sarajevo City Center (SCC) 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 facade 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.

Findings

The data gathered from the observations are presented in star models (Fig. 14). 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.

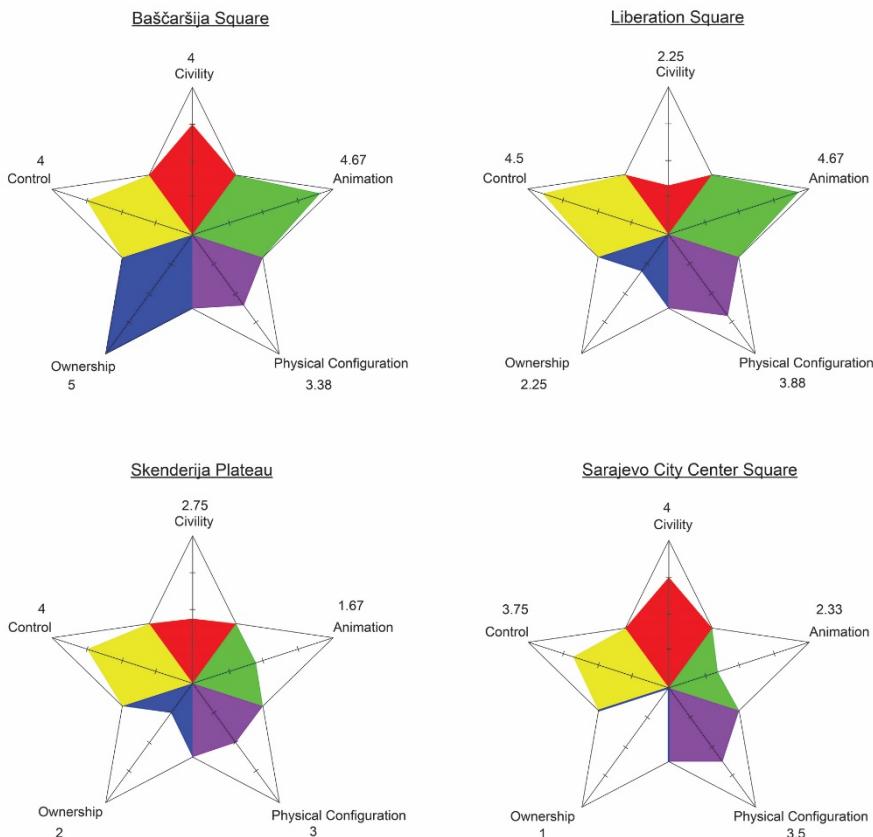


Figure 14. Star model for each case study.

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 *wakf* 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 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 sub-groups 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.

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 1. The evaluation of Public Space in Sarajevo according to Varna's (2010) Star Model

Period		Ottoman Period	Austro-Hungarian Period	Yugoslav / Socialist Period	Contemporary Period	
Planning Approach		15 th – 19 th century	20 th century	20 th century	21 st century	
Representational Public Space		Baščaršija Square	Liberation Square	Skenderija Plateau	Sarajevo City Centre Square	
OWNERSHIP	<i>Ownership Status</i>	Was historically related to the <i>vakuf</i> (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	
PYHICAL CONFIGURATION	<i>Macro-design</i>	- 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

	<i>Micro-design</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Sitting Opp.</i> - <i>Walking Opp.</i> - <i>Opp. for Active Engagement and Discovery</i> - <i>Active Frontages</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 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 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Presence of benches at regular intervals - Even and easily walkable surface - More than three different elements for active engagement - 10-15 premises every 100m 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 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 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Informal sitting opportunities - Even and easily walkable surface - Two different elements for active engagement - 6-10 premises every 100m
<i>Score</i>		3.38	3.88	3	3.5	
ANIMATION	<i>Diversity of Activities</i>	Large amount of activities	Large amount of activities	Large scale activities	Diverse amount of activities	
	<i>Presence of Street Vendors and Entertainers</i>	Street vendors; bird seed, chestnut. Musicians.	Artists with temporary exhibitions. Street vendors.	No presence	No presence	
<i>Score</i>		4.67	4.67	1.67	2.33	
CONTROL	<i>Control Technology: CCTV Cameras</i>	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	
	<i>Control Presence: Police/Guard Presence</i>	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	
	<i>Control by Design: Sadistic Street Furniture</i>	No elements of sadistic street furniture.	No elements of sadistic street furniture.	No elements of sadistic street furniture.	No elements of sadistic street furniture.	
	<i>Control Signage</i>	Sign(s) deterring three behaviours	No signs deterring behaviours	No signs deterring behaviours	Sign(s) deterring one behaviour	
<i>Score</i>		4	4.5	4	3.75	

CIVILITY	<i>Physical Maintenance and Cleansing Regime of Hard Landscaped Areas and Street Furniture</i>	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.
	<i>Physical Maintenance and Provision of Green Areas</i>	Several signs of deterioration	Serious signs of deterioration	No green space	No green space
	<i>Physical Provision of Basic Facilities: Public Toilets</i>	No such facility present on site	No such facility present on site	No such facility present on site	No such facility present on site
	<i>Physical Provision of Basic Facilities: Lighting</i>	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.
	<i>Score</i>	4	2.25	2.75	4

Conclusion

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.

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. According to the results, the following can be concluded:

- Through the historical time span of Sarajevo, the ownership of sites transitioned 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 seem 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.

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