Shifting Morphology: Sarajevo Under Siege

Anisa Glumčević and Lejla Odobašić Novo

International Burch University

Abstract

When violence and destruction occur in an urban setting, as was the case in the 1992-1995 siege of Sarajevo, the city takes on a new morphology as the citizens adapt their living habits. In the process they also adapt both urban and architectural spaces to the new-found circumstances as a form of survival strategy. Aside from mere survival, the notion of civic resistance also becomes crucial in such instances, and in the case of Sarajevo, we argue in this paper, that it unfolded in the form of cultural production and 'consumption'. The culture-related practices were in particular those that allowed for the creation of an alternate reality and in that way became a means of fighting against aggression, thus turning places of oppression into spaces of liberation. Utilizing the example of the siege of Sarajevo, this paper examines modes of urban destruction, the adaptability of the city's tissue, and the formation of spaces that occur spontaneously through the acts of survival tactics and civic resistance of its citizens.

Introduction

Building upon Lefebvre's idea of the right to the city, David Harvey argues that the transformation of the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power of the citizens to reshape the processes of urbanization, where the right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a "right to change ourselves by changing the city".[1] During times of conflict, where violence and destruction occur directly in an urban setting, changes of the urban fabric become a part of warfare tactics but also – at the same time – a part of survival strategy. During times of destruction the citizens often find alternative modes of operation within the newly established social order. In such instances the citizens are able to reshape the morphology of a city by changing their patterns of movement, repurposing existing buildings for new functions, reconfiguring interior space usage, etc. Thus they adapt to the new set of urban rules which are driven by the patterns of military destruction.

Once urban survival mechanisms are set in place, the next step of survival tactics lies in the ability to endure the newly established social and urban (dis)order. This civic resilience may take many forms, from a simple act of going to school or work despite the risk of getting wounded or killed in the process, to that of taking up arms. However, perhaps the most defiant civic act of resilience or resistance comes in the form of engaging in cultural activities in the midst of a conflict. This reflects Lefebvre's demand for "art, conceived as a capacity to transform reality, to appropriate at the highest level the facts of the 'lived,' of time, space, the body, and desire".[2]

Through the prisms of the siege of Sarajevo (1992-1995), this paper focuses first on understanding the role and the means of urban destruction during a conflict; secondly it attempts to explore the adaptive strategies that citizens apply to urban and architectural spaces in order to survive the destruction. Finally, it looks at urban resilience through cultural production as a means of creating an alternative space from which to escape the conflict, if only temporarily.

Destruction of Urban Order

During the 1992-1995 siege of Sarajevo, the city and its architecture became direct targets of war, thus shifting the discourse of urban destruction during a conflict from that of collateral damage to that of purposeful and calculated annihilation. It was during this time that the term 'urbicide' came into the forefront within the context of urban conflict.[3] Although this term was first coined in the 1960's by Michael Moorcock and was built upon by Marshall Berman and Martin Coward, during the war in Bosnia in the early 1990's it came to the forefront through the writings of Bogdan Bogdanović and a group of Bosnian architects from

Mostar. The term 'urbicide' is described as the killing of cities through targeting diversity imprinted in architecture and urban space.[4; 5] Also defined as "war against common urban life", urbicide is a concept commonly mentioned when addressing the topic of wartime destruction.[6; 7]

Along with the notion of urbicide, another important term coined in relation to the Bosnian conflict is 'memoricide', interpreted by Robert Bevan as 'killing of memory'. This term addresses the obliteration of material evidence and anchors of a society (such as historic open spaces, urban quarters and religious or cultural buildings - mosques, churches and synagogues; libraries, museums and archives) that had inhabited the area.[8] Andrew Herscher also argues that a building's identity can not remain stable after it has been attacked and destroyed.[9] All of these terms provide meaningful tools for understanding the phenomenon of spatial violence and terror by building upon the notion that these violent changes of the urban tissue can be understood as collateral damage, destruction of cultural heritage, or metaphors for certain concepts or values.[10]

In Bosnia, and in Sarajevo in particular, the rich and layered multicultural past and a long tradition of coexistence between different ethnic groups was also reflected in the city's layered urban fabric. For the ethno-nationalists' agenda, the city was a physical testament to the multiculturalism that needed to be erased.[11] Thus along with genocide came urbicide and memoricide, with the mutual goal of erasing diversity from Bosnian identity. Robert Hayden contends:

> Heterogeneity was concentrated in the central part of the territory of Yugoslavia [in particular] the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina [and those areas bordering it]...In these parts of Yugoslavia, the idea that the Yugoslav peoples could not live peacefully together was empirical nonsense. It was perhaps because these regions constituted living disproof of [ethno]nationalist ideologies that [they] have been the major theatres of...war.[12]

Systemic Destruction of Cultural Heritage

In the urban form of Sarajevo, buildings from different historical periods are legible and form a chronological narrative along the river. It starts with the old Ottoman city core of Baščaršija at the eastern end, progresses to the Austro-Hungarian part of formal administrative buildings and finally expands to the west and is followed by Socialist architecture consisting of block residential buildings. Aside from having had this physical testament of coexistence, Sarajevo was also the most multi-ethinic city in the former Yugoslavia according to the census of 1991.[13] The destruction of this multiethnic and multicultural story and the attack on the physical environment was an attempt at establishing a new story. Such destruction aims to erase remnants of the common past of different ethnic groups, where aggressors seek "clean" and uniform self-governing spaces and territories. As stated by Midhat Aganović:

> […] the Town has never before experienced such intensity of parallel killing of its citizens and destruction of its physical structures. The whole town complexes, monuments, residential areas, buildings and apartments, facilities of public services and housing, economic potentials, business and religious objects, infrastructural facilities, lines of communications, public units, etc. have been exposed to the most brutal demolishing and destruction for months.[14]

During the siege of Sarajevo, the military targets included cultural buildings, places with a certain meaning that testify to the past of communities and their own present and future. In this circumstance, they ceased to be collateral damage and instead became targeted, methodologically destroyed objects in an attempt to erase the history and identity they represented. Whereas Sarajevo's essence is coexistence and a common past that manifests itself in public space and cultural institutions, the puritan idea of separation and uniformity and the denial of togetherness and diversity is the foundation of the dynamics of its ethnic cleansing. Abolishing cultural infrastructure that bears witness to Sarajevo's identity and shared past is the ultimate act of violence and annihilation of the aggressor's nationalist agenda.[15]

Since the aggressors were in possession of the exact coordinates of over 1500 cultural and other targets, they were able to target even the hidden buildings, and not just those exposed to the siege line.[16] Upon further inspection of the city map (Figure 1), it becomes clear that the violence was most commonly inflicted upon buildings of high symbolic and functional merit. The main public areas were violently eradicated, especially the ones with shared collective identity, such as libraries, museums and religious buildings, reconstituting a 'landscape of fear'— a network of dangerous and forbidden zones in which any daily activity became potentially lethal.

Based on the data on public buildings destruction in the Warchitecture[17] catalogue, 75% of targeted buildings were secular institutions, and 25% were related to particular ethnicities.[18] The manner and frequency of shooting and shelling changed according to the daily practices of the citizens: during peak hours of the day, holidays, and weekends it increased, and during the nights the visibility decreased, as did the destruction.[19] The destruction was at first just a strategy for gaining military dominance and frightening the citizens in an attempt to force the government into accepting the occupiers' terms. C. J. M. Drake mentions different types of terrorists' targets, some of them being the functional ones, such as gas, water and electricity, medical complexes, industrial headquarters, humanitarian aid depots and media centers, with the most attacked being the building of the newspaper Oslobođenje, which in Bosnian stands for 'liberation'.[20]

The systematic destruction of wartime violence often targets a city, its heritage, and architecture. This kind of destruction is often directed towards buildings of 'heightened collective significance,'[9] those which are of symbolic value for the targeted group, ones that trigger communal emotions and affect the victims' resistance and morale. The attack on cultural heritage strikes one's values, tradition and identity.[21] As early as 1992, two main targets of the systematic destruction of Sarajevo could be defined: the multicultural civil population and the urban fabric. The constant intentional bombing of cultural icons dispelled

any doubt that the goal of war was the obliteration of cultural heritage.[22] This included historic buildings, buildings housing cultural heritage (museums, libraries and archives), heritage places of value for national collective memory, as well as buildings related to the XIV Winter Olympics. The besiegers targeted other numerous sites of cultural significance, including Gazi Husrev-beg's Mosque, Sacred Heart Cathedral and the Jewish cemetery, while the former City Hall turned into the Bosnian National Library was completely destroyed along with most of its rich collection. Thus the besiegers intentionally completely demolished the Bosnian National Library and University Library, the main archives of Bosnian written culture, and a major cultural center of the entire region of the former Yugoslavia.[23]

This act of destroying the architectural corpus affects both its physical presence and symbolic role. However, although the physical form undergoes destruction, its symbolism and value are not erased in the collective memory, but rather are oftentimes emphasized and reconfirmed. Destruction instead suddenly sets into motion other forces that then tend to shape a new environment.[24] Thus the meaning of material or physical space gets re-established through action and narration. From the perspective of the ethnography of violence, it has been suggested that the meaning of space is socially formed through brutality, which guides the way people adapt and structure their activities. Space is but a 'practiced place', meaning it is a geographic area until it gets its function through social action.[25]

Adaptive Architecture and Survival Strategies

Adaptive architecture refers to spaces designed to adapt to their environments, users or objects. The expression is an umbrella term for what is implied when discussing and dealing with flexible, interactive architecture.[26; 27; 28] Adaptive architecture brings together several disciplines such as architecture, art and engineering, designing spaces as mediums for a wide range of uses and functions.[29] Regardless of whether spaces were initially envisioned as flexible, interactive or dynamic, the field embraces the concept of all architecture being adaptive rather than static, whether with or without human invention and intervention. Spatial features such as orientation, form, thresholds between inside and out, as well as internal partitioning are all features that can be manipulated under changing circumstances. Fluidity and adaptability of space allows its survival in times of architectural disaster. This implies operating within the given conditions, and what characterizes it are not forms it generates, but rather the interventions that form it.[30] In the case of Sarajevo, according to Mirjana Ristić, "o*rdinary people mobilized new forms of spatial thinking to produce creative responses through which the city was transformed from an urbicidal space into a resilient civic place.*"[10] In terms of patterns of urban dynamics under extreme circumstances, spatial configuration takes on new meanings.[31] Cities in wartime become urban laboratories. Not only does a war-inflicted urban trauma suggest broken spatial and social networks, it also removes memory from space, putting both the

city´s history and future in jeopardy. It is widely argued that "trauma defines the moment in which the urban system needs to reinvent itself in order not to disappear".[32] The example of Sarajevo under siege addresses an urban occurrence that often arises in urban conflicts: self-(re)organization.

Armina Pilav introduced the term 'un-war space', both a literary and spatial concept wherein the prefix 'un' stands for redefining, reimagining and reconstructing, whereas war means "to address conflict via military violence."[32] Those war and un-war spaces resulted in transitional spaces of different scales and materials. Sarajevo was caught in a cycle of destruction and reconstruction, turning both the public and private spaces into self-programmed ones. Subject to constant destruction, the city was physically transformed at all scales: landscapes, streets, living spaces, and building exteriors, but also practices of everyday life. Repurposing building ruins became a daily practice, thus establishing transitory wartime interventions, where living meant adjusting to the new spatial reconfiguration of the war. People's movements were limited to underground and above-ground urban spaces, while most of the everyday life remained under the ground and turned into a total emergency. The above-ground city was used solely for obtaining food and other essential supplies.[33] Many shops, schools, hospitals, and apartment and office buildings were uninhabitable, with walls penetrated by shells, windows shattered by blasts, and rooms gutted and burned. Bricks from destroyed buildings were used to fill holes in walls.[34] Many damaged buildings, once repaired, were habitable again, but some rooms were more dangerous than others, with walls and openings exposed to snipers and shrapnel, making them completely unoccupiable.[35] The urban spaces were transformed into an enclosed 'urban interior' in which residents regained their right to move and access places of social encounter. Historical and inactive cemeteries, city parks as well as green areas and stadiums were repurposed as war cemeteries. The city's 40,000 trees were cut for cooking and heating. Public transport was non-existent, and people moved by foot or bicycles, while heavy supplies were conveyed in baby carriages, wheelbarrows and winter sleds.[36]

Because of its specific geography and urban morphology, as well as the position of the siege line, Sarajevo was extremely exposed to military attacks, enabling a direct and precise aim at many buildings and public spaces.

Due to the morphology of the Socialist part of the town, entire buildings were exposed to the attack and it was more difficult to seek shelter because of the large open and exposed areas between free-standing residential buildings. In need of shelter from snipers, new spatial strategies were employed. A temporary pattern of urban resilience and the main element of contemporary fortifications was an urban wall. This temporary installation was mobile, free standing or fixed onto the walls of opposite buildings, thus closing the space between them (Figure 2).

The 'hard barriers' were improvised from garbage and shipping containers, destroyed cars, tramcars, piled buses, cement blocks or sandbags (Figures 3 and 4), that did not allow for the snipers' shots to pierce through. The only safe route across these areas would be behind the UN armored vehicles. In the Grbavica neighbourhood, there was a strip made of containers known as the 'Road of Salvation', that offered shelter

when crossing the most dangerous part of the town. The buildings of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman parts, except for those along the riverbank, were somewhat sheltered by the surrounding buildings whose roofs and front facades were fully exposed to the attacks from the siege line.

The denser morphology of this part of town was easier to shelter by hanging and stretching large pieces of fabric from building to building. Made from big linens, curtains and canvases, general dimensions of these 'soft barriers' (Figure 5) would depend on the accessibility of the said materials, as well as the level of protection needed. These canvases would sometimes fall down due to weather, and suddenly reveal the street. They could hide passers-by from snipers' gazes but not bullets, as they could still puncture through and harm someone behind it.

All of these barriers also served as canvases for graffiti through which residents channeled their judgement, messages and self-deprecating humor (Figures 6). Some of the writings also said "Tito come back", "I am not crazy" and "Everyone is crazy here". Thus this temporary architectural response to violence also takes on a communicative function through graffiti messages.[37]

Metamorphosis of Living Spaces

Through the siege, not only were the public spaces affected, but also the daily rhythm of residential life of the half-million citizens of Sarajevo was transfixed and overturned. Out of the 71,000 homes in Sarajevo, 24,000 were completely demolished, 35,000 heavily damaged, while only 12,000 were somewhat spared. Adapting and redesigning homes to protect themselves, repairing damage, and maximizing the usability and livability of spaces, citizens were suddenly forced to be architects of improvisation.[38]

Severely affected by constant destruction, citizens were forced to improvise, adapt and overcome through innovative spatial reproductions. These momentary war-time constructions of the city also formed new images of the future of Sarajevo. Zoran Doršner's wartime studies contained texts, articles and over-lapping sketches of the war changes and adaptations that occurred within residential units (Figures 7 and 8). There he pointed out that a prewar Sarajevo apartment had distinctive functional zones: the living area, kitchen, dining room and a balcony linked to the sleeping rooms and the bathroom by a corridor. The wartime-adapted plan showed the living area's function was now to storage bicycles, trolleys, water and firewood, while actual daily activities were all condensed into a pulled-back corner of the apartment.

During winter, balconies served as refrigerators. Since the food supplies ran out soon after the war started, many persons exchanged valuable personal belongings for it. People made gardens in their homes - flower pots on balconies - and exchanged produce for something else they needed. Balconies were also used as escape routes when there were fires caused by shelling. Sheets would be tied to the rail and one would climb down to balconies of the unaffected apartments. Citizens would often joke that "urban

rock-climbing had inevitably become an athletic discipline in the besieged Sarajevo."[10] Destroyed flats and the underground shelters people were forced to live in often had glued and hammered UNHCR1 plastic foil covering their glassless windows, along with stacks of books, sandbags, mattresses and cupboards. Homes lacked electricity, water and food, and were often shared with neighbors of the same buildings. Heating was also fueled by books, clothes, and furniture, and chimneys had to be made in each household, to let the smoke out. Craftsmen came up with designs of simple but efficient metal furnaces that could be fueled by gas (when there was any), coal, wood and other available flammable materials. These were often used to make coffee, which was a luxury Sarajevans gave up with great difficulty. Because of their central position, staircases of residential buildings became places of everyday social interaction; it was where tenants met, talked, hung out, played cards or chess, and exchanged supplies. Besides assuring safety and communal interaction, they were routes for emergency evacuations towards basements and shelters. The apartment buildings' basements were where the people most often socialized and entertained themselves through board games, comics, cards, etc.

Culture as a Means of Civil Resistance

> Some essential realities are being masked by what has been referred to as the 'self-satisfaction' of mass culture. This culture is maintained at the expense of creativity that can emerge only from an imagination stirred by confrontation with every kind of experience and actuality. [35]

More than the military conflict, the siege of Sarajevo represented a struggle for the survival of human will and dignity. For those citizens who stayed in the city during the four-year siege, life was very uncertain. They were constantly exposed to death, danger and poverty. However, with the hope and will for survival, determination to preserve the elements of normal urban life, and the expectation of soon seeing the end of the war, the notion of resistance became crucial. In wartime Sarajevo, everyday life became a resistance of its own. Sarajevans survived the siege by sticking to their normal routines as much as possible, and that meant showing basic humanity and resistance to the cult of violence that physically surrounded them and kept them hostage. A bravery that bordered on madness was noticeable in every aspect of life. This initiative belongs to an important segment of what we define today as cultural resistance to aggression.[39]

The cultural life of the besieged city gave rise to perhaps the most avant-garde scene in the former Yugoslavia. Under the extreme violence that Sarajevo endured, its citizens tried to preserve its identity through cultural production and thereby defended the city from the warped ideals that drove the brutal aggression.[40] Accordingly, artists' work reflected or criticized and even made fun of the siege. Everyone was motivated to perform and exhibit and contribute in any way possible to the resilience through the

arts. Many artists, when asked about their cultural and spiritual resistance, shared the opinion that their engagement in wartime cannot be described that way. They considered the term to be inadequate and that what they did was a form of spite; it was not an organized resistance, but rather a spontaneous act out of a need to reaffirm creative expression despite the horror and destruction.[41]

During the siege, hundreds of art related events were held; forty-eight concerts by the Sarajevo Philharmonic played, 263 books published, 177 art exhibitions put up, 156 documentary films shot, and 182 plays premiered (Figure 9). This number does not include various prayers for peace, countless artistic improvisations throughout the city and reading books to children in the passages of buildings and basements. All this was done, as people say, with sticks and ropes, usually with candles and charity packages with food as artists' fee.[42]

Spiting the oppressor and in spite of danger, citizens attended as many cultural events as possible. They were making a statement that their spirits and morale could not be destroyed while trying to make sense of what was happening and to retrieve a sense of normality. The normal life everyone was nostalgically speaking of was the life they had had before war started, before they were violently stripped of all social norms. Although life under siege was known to be everything but normal, it eventually became strangely so. Surrounded by destruction and death, citizens and artists were coping with their horrendous reality through any form of creative expression, thus working themselves into a conscious forgetting and imitating of life as they went.[43] As Megan Kossiakoff points out, "One lived with death as much as one lived with arts. No cultural activities stopped, but neither did the dying."[44] The artistic life of the city flourished during the siege, driven by both the determination to resist reality and the impulse to forget it. Sarajevo's wartime art grew to become one of its most recognizable brands, but also an object of the kind of nostalgia that serves as a reminder of the worst and the best of times.

Cultural resistance came out of the need to preserve the humanity and spirit of Sarajevo life. It was the city's own way of boosting morale and strengthening its own resilience, and doing so while sending a message to the enemy. Art was one of the only healing refuges left in which people could constructively occupy themselves and unleash their creative energies. It is difficult to plan an entire system of resilience, and much of it appeared spontaneously from within the Sarajevo population. Physical survival was no longer the only existential problem, and that is where art acted as an innovative way of survival. That mindset was put into action while creating and consuming art. Both public and residential buildings' interiors were soon adapted into spaces for socializing through cultural events – such as exhibitions, theatre, movies, concerts, etc. The events were organized under impossible conditions, in destroyed buildings and shelters, basement stages, devastated galleries, repaired open spaces and people's homes. A large number of programs were even done on the front lines, i.e., in Dobrinja neighborhood and surrounding schools. A major segment of theatrical activities from that period always tended to perform part of their activities with an alternative approach, primarily to get closer to the audience, because the audience at that time had a problem getting to the theater. The children from the Mjedenica home were visited by "Flowers of

Love", and some other organizations did dance, music and drama programs. Artists would go performing all over the city, and the idea was that—due to the inability of people to move around—cultural programs would come to the people.

As everything was reduced to such spaces, all of them were free to use at any time, particularly in an attempt to ascribe some function to them, for they gave some sense of security (Figure 10). Spaces with a higher degree of security were recognized as spaces in which work could be done.

Reinventing and appropriating public buildings for culture and performances was a way of revolting against spiritual annihilation. People were no longer moving targets, but bearers of civilization and its positive values. If one were to categorize the alternative spaces used for cultural events, one would be on the front lines where musicians put up events, performing in the barracks, trying to motivate the soldiers. Dobrinja neighbourhood was especially important; it functioned as a state of its own and as one of the best examples of good organization in the city. These people and organizations perfectly covered the needs of the population, including cultural programs, all because they had a community who helped make it all happen. The second category of alternative spaces were healthcare and administrative buildings. People in hospitals could not attend the programs in the city, so the programs went to the hospitals. In the ruins of the post office building and of City Hall, artists put up exhibitions and musical performances. The third category were shelters, located in basements of residential buildings, children's homes, galleries, schools and many other such places. The basement of the Youth Theatre was a shelter to a few of the local actors, a place where they founded the Sarajevo War Theatre and performed all of their plays. The shelters were used more during 1992 and 1993 than in later years.

Conclusion

This paper argues that when the basic survival mechanisms are set in place, the civic resilience becomes the next very important aspect of enduring the anew founded social and urban (dis)order in the time of conflict. It goes on to outline that the civic resilience may take many forms, however, perhaps the most defiant civic act of resilience or resistance comes in the form of engaging in cultural activities. By taking the example of the siege of Sarajevo (1992-1995), the paper focuses first on understanding the role and the means of urban destruction during the siege, secondly it attempts to explore the adaptive strategies that citizens apply to urban and architectural spaces in order to survive the destruction encountered and, finally, it examines urban resilience through cultural production as a means of creating an alternative space from which to escape the conflict, thus also providing a means of civic resistance to the violence.

By examining the patterns of destruction during the siege of Sarajevo, the military targets became everything that had to do with daily life and routine including (and especially) the cultural buildings, places that testified to a common past and a multicultural city. As such during the war, they ceased to be collateral damage and instead became targeted and methodologically destroyed in an attempt to erase the history and multicultural ideas that they represented. Whereas Sarajevo's essence is a coexistence that manifests itself in public space and cultural institutions, the puritan idea of separation and uniformity and the denial of multiculturalism and diversity is the foundation of the dynamics of its ethnic cleansing. Thus, abolishing cultural infrastructure that bears witness to Sarajevo's identity and shared past is the ultimate act of violence and annihilation of the aggressor's nationalist agenda.

Subject to constant destruction, the city was physically transformed at all scales: landscapes, streets, living spaces, and building exteriors, but also practices of everyday life. In order to protect themselves from the ever-present violence and danger, the citizens created transitional spaces of different scales and materials. The paper has outlined how buildings were repurposed and how everyday life remained underground and turned into a total emergency. The above-ground city was used solely for obtaining food and other essential supplies. Furthermore, not only were the public spaces affected, but also it became important to adapt and redesign homes for protection and in order to maximize the usability and livability of spaces. As such, the citizens were suddenly placed in the role of architects.

Aside from physical survival, the survival of the spirit became a question of crucial importance. During the siege of Sarajevo, as this paper has mapped out, hundreds of art-related events were held. This number does not include countless artistic improvisations throughout the city and at informal events. Under the extreme violence and destruction that Sarajevo endured, we've argued, its citizens tried to preserve both the city's identity (and their own) through cultural production, and in doing so, were defending the city from the wrongful ideals that drove the brutal aggression. The cultural life of the besieged city gave rise to perhaps the most avant-garde scene in the former Yugoslavia. Oftentimes, the work reflected or criticized and even made fun of the siege itself. Everyone was motivated to perform and exhibit and contribute in any way possible to the Resistance via the arts.

When violence and destruction occur in an urban setting, as was the case in the 1992-1995 siege of Sarajevo, a city takes on a new morphology as the citizens adapt their living habits. In the process and as a form of survival strategy, they also adapt both urban and architectural spaces to the new found circumstances. Aside from mere survival, we argue that the notion of civic resistance also becomes crucial and that it unfolded in the form of cultural production and 'consumption'. The culture-related practices were in particular those that allowed for the creation of an alternate reality and in that way became a means of fighting against aggression, thus turning places of oppression into spaces of liberation.
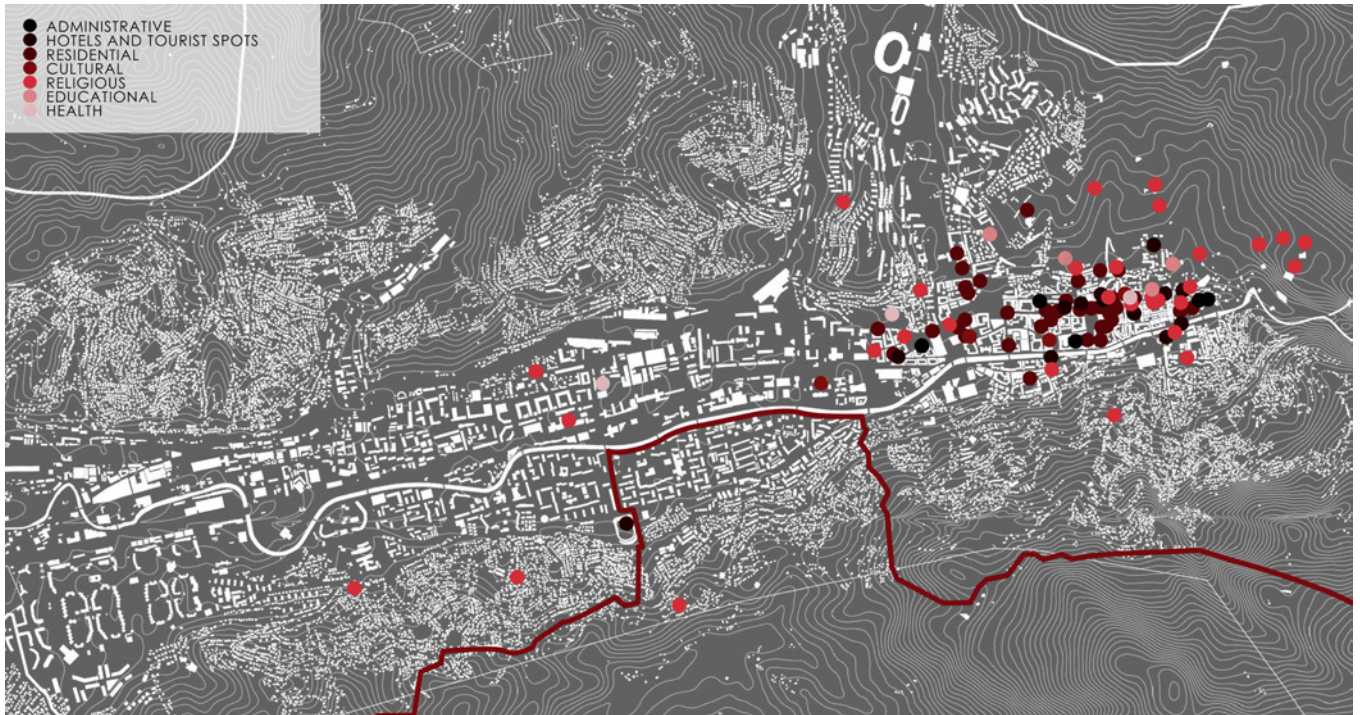
Images

Figure 1. Destroyed buildings across Sarajevo as recorded in Warchitecture: Urbicide catalogue; Map: Author.
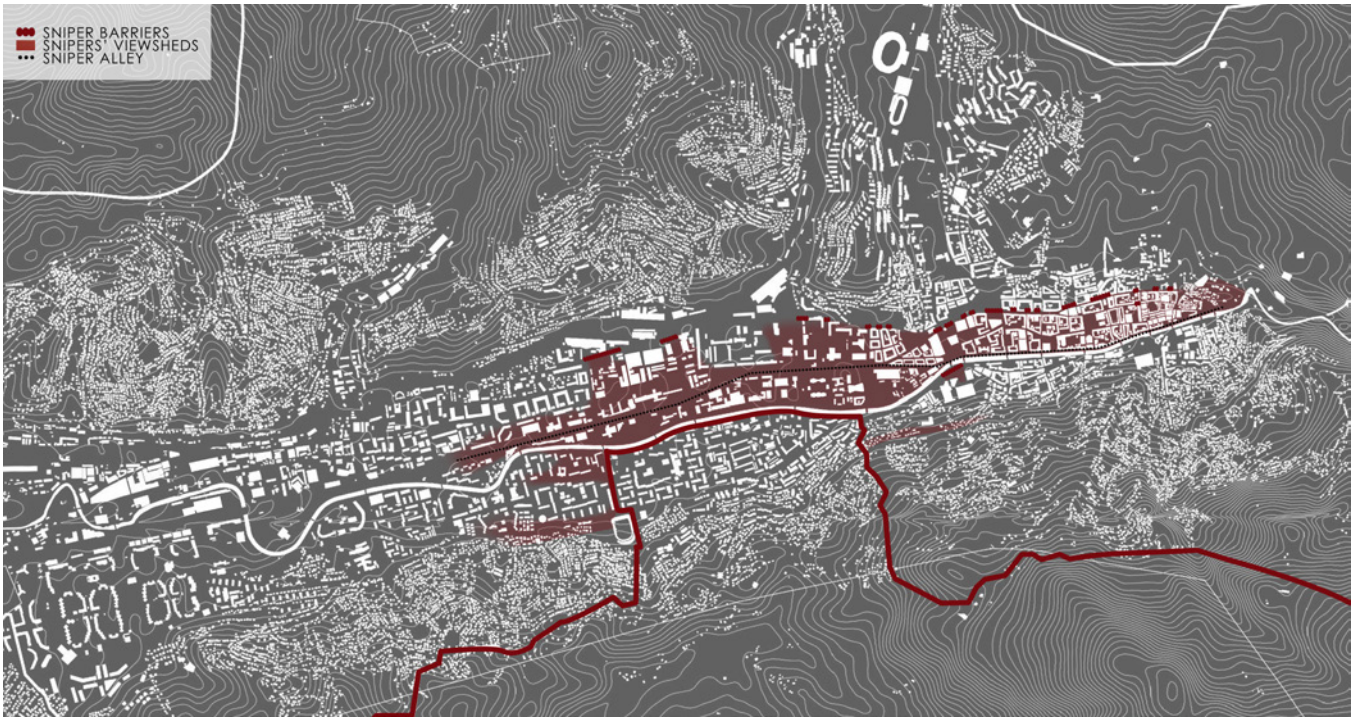
Figure 2. Sniper's viewsheds, sniper barriers and "sniper alley"; Map: Author.

Figure 3. Hard sniper-protection barriers; ©Milomir Kovačević Strašni.

Figure 4. Sandbag barricades; ©Kemal Hadžić.

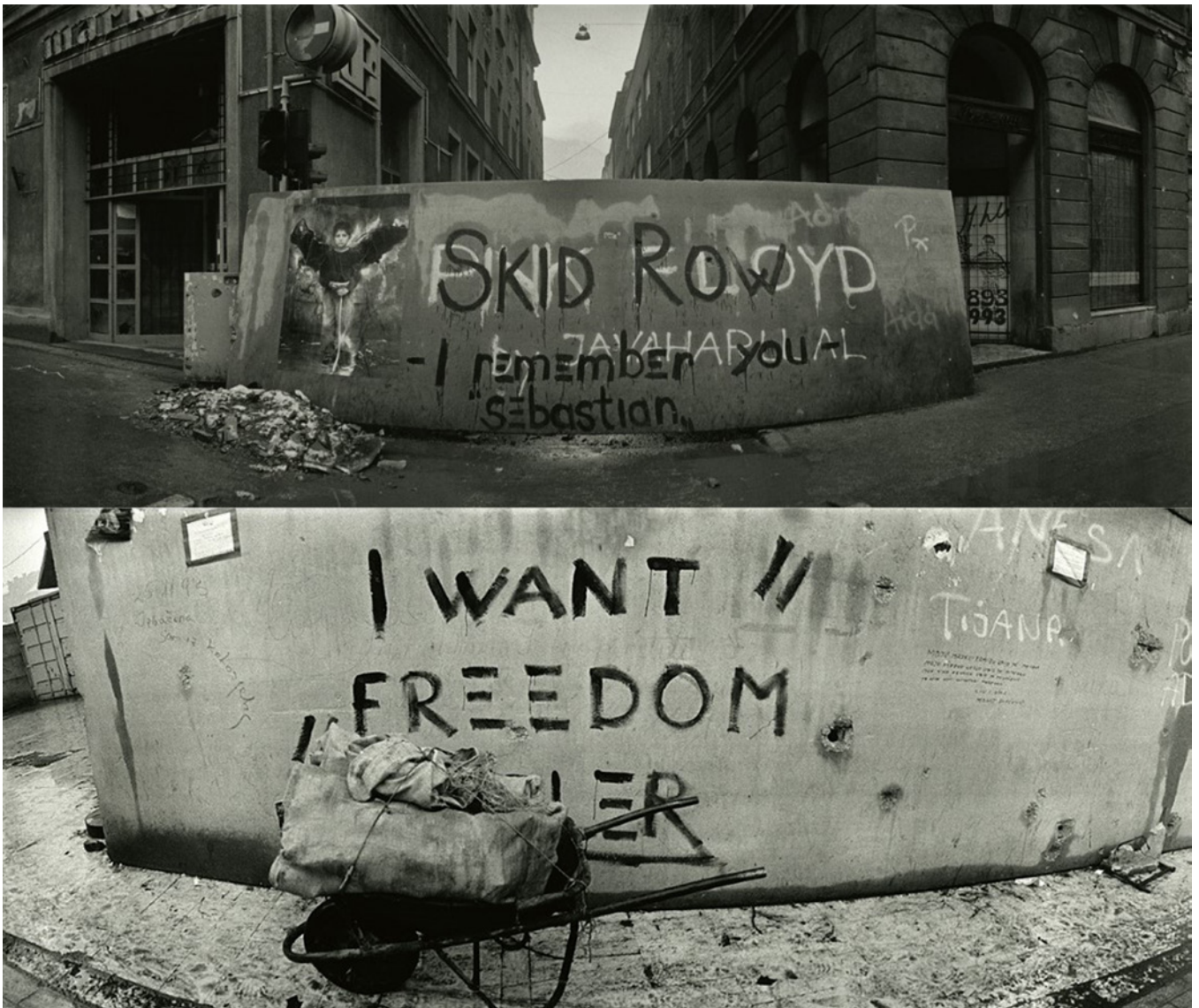Figure 5. Soft sniper-protection barriers; ©Milomir Kovačević Strašni.

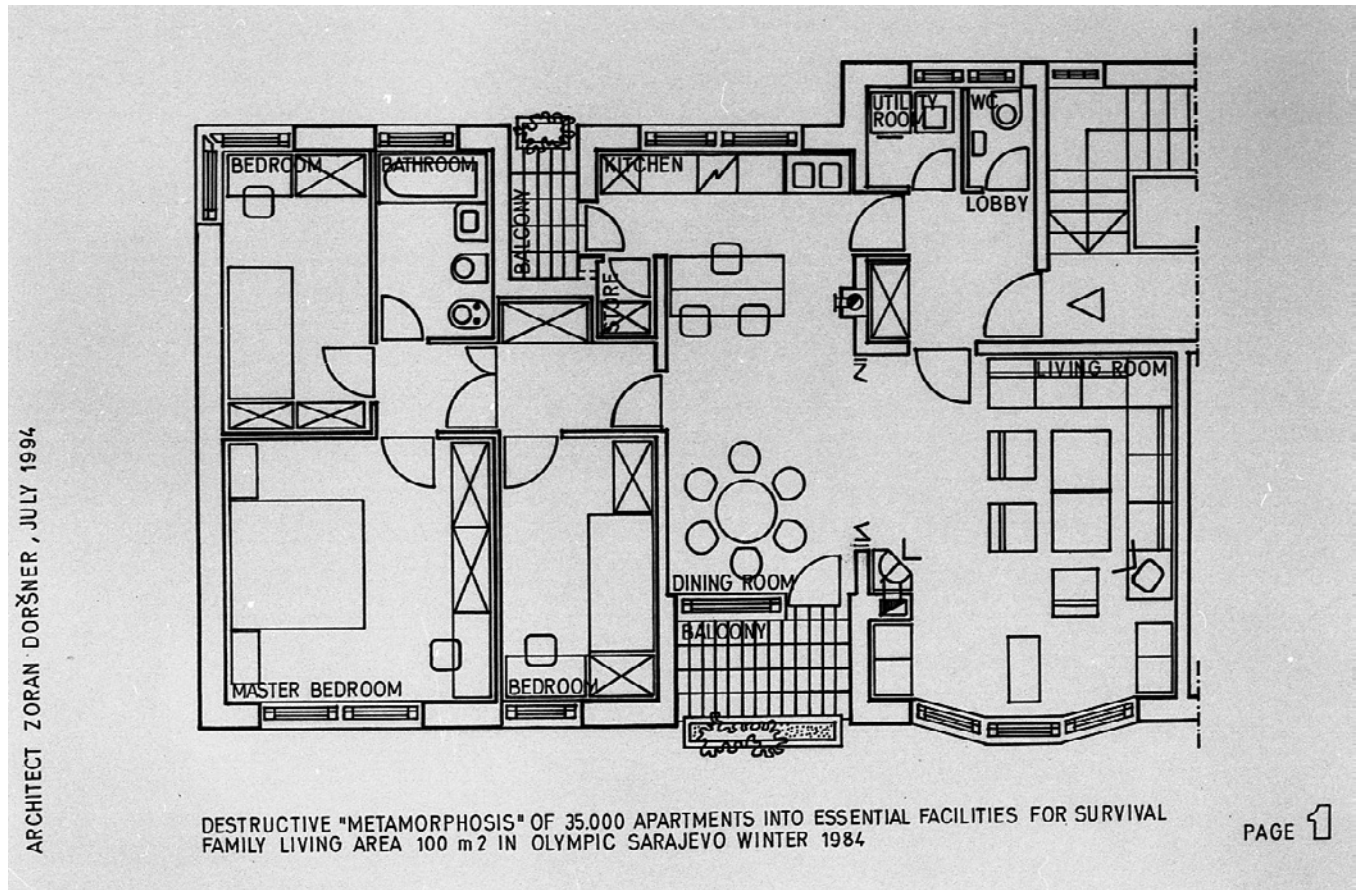Figure 6. Hard sniper-protection barriers covered in graffiti; ©Milomir Kovačević Strašni.

Figure 7. A typical Sarajevan pre-war apartment floorplan; Drawing: Zoran Doršner.
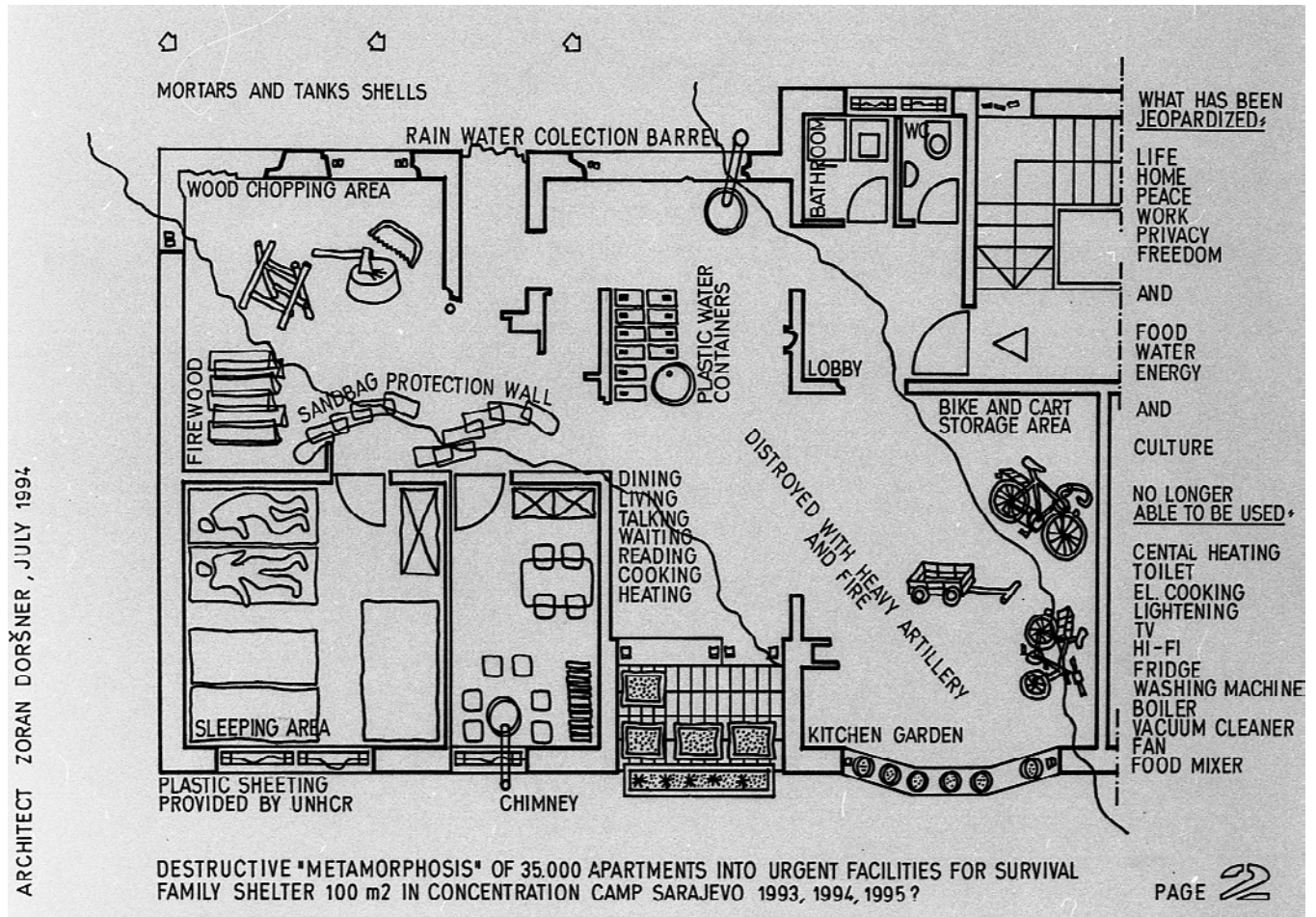
Figure 8. A typical Sarajevan apartment floorplan wartime transformation; Drawing: Zoran Doršner.
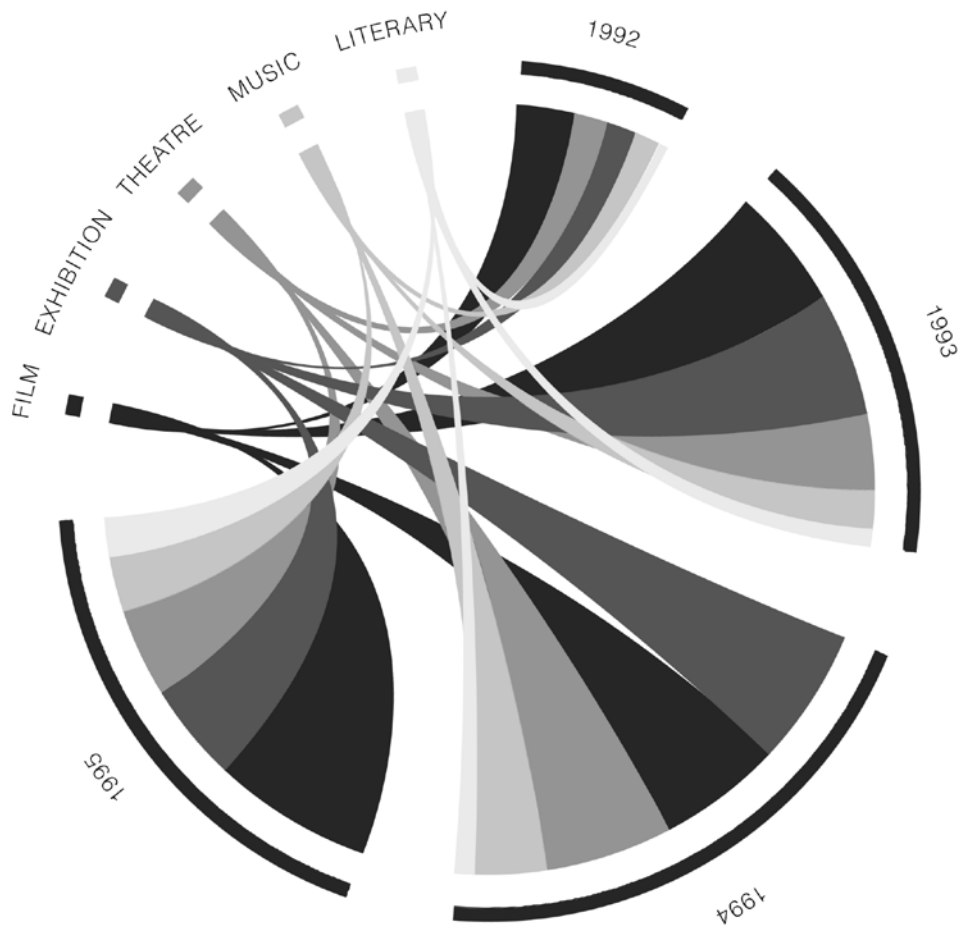
Figure 9. Cultural events through siege years; Diagram: Author.

Figure 10. Locations of cultural events held during siege; Map: Author.

Notes

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About the Authors:

Anisa Glumčević is a master student at the Department of Architecture at the Burch International University in Sarajevo. Under the supervision of her thesis advisor, Lejla Odobašić Novo, she has been investigating the cultural resistance within the siege of Sarajevo (1992-1995) and its urban and architectural implications.

Lejla Odobašić Novo is a Bosnian-Canadian architect and holds a professional licence by the Ontario Association of Architects. She is a faculty member at the International Burch University Department of Architecture in Sarajevo where she obtained her Doctorate degree in 2017. She holds Bachelor (2009) and

Master (2011) degrees from the University of Waterloo, where she has also taught (both in Canada and Rome) prior to returning to her hometown of Sarajevo. Lejla is also the Architecture Program Director of Kuma International Centre for Contemporary Art in Post-Conflict Society and is the co-editor with Claudia Zini of Kuma's first publication "Unfolding Sarajevo".