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FAKULTETA ZA DRUŽBENE VEDE

Milorad Kapetanović

Obcestna arhitektura v Bosni in Hercegovini med

potrošništvom in vernakularnostjo

Roadside Architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina Between

Consumerism and Vernacularity

Doktorska disertacija

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Summary: **Roadside Architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina between Consumerism and Vernacularity**

The proliferation of informally built space in Bosnia and Herzegovina is often quickly connected to post-war reconstruction and postsocialist transition. Local experts criticise informal construction, considering it strictly in terms of legality and accusing it of having a barbaric effect on the urban fabric of cities and towns, negatively affecting public infrastructure and leading to spatial disorder and environmental devastation. What this criticism does not openly articulate (but often heavily implies) is the anti-modern character of individual informal construction and the undesired aesthetics which informal houses introduce to the landscape.

This doctoral dissertation aims to shift the debate on informal construction beyond facile criticism. It sets two objectives: to explore how the contemporary theoretical framework was generated and evolved in the particular historical context of socialist modernisation, and to introduce alternative approaches to the research of informal construction through defining and analysing informal construction as contemporary vernacular. The critique levelled against individual informal construction mainly targets the legality while ignoring the social contexts that produced it. It is based on the attitudes of functionalist urban planning defined during the golden age of socialist modernism. Even in this period, urban sociologists (Vujović 1986; M. Živković 1981; Čaldarević 1987) questioned the strictly legalistic approach but the perspective nevertheless dominates the debate. Furthermore, a strict functionalist perspective views the regulation of construction as ahistoric finished process within modernisation – to have functional urban planning and regulated construction means to be modern and civilised. The consequence of this perspective is that any appearance of informal construction as an unregulated activity is automatically considered as a threat to the modern order and responded to with criticism, riducule or ignorance. As reality of postsocialist and post-war BiH is dominated by the informal construction, the end result of this attitude is that the research disciplines involved in the topic systematically overlook a largese portion of the subject, because it is informal, generated outside of professional standards and practices. The dissertation solves this theoretical problem by involving research on informal (and formal) vernacular construction, cultural geography and cultural studies (roadside Americana) as an alternative to the 'illegal construction' critique. This dissertation is attempt to communicate between locally produced knowledge of informal construction and explorations in the similar contexts of the US through engaging in debates on architecture and urban planning as a tool of modernisation and urbanisation, the views of Yugoslav sociology on individual construction; ordinary architecture as vernacular or material culture; formal-informal relations; culture and style and cultural hegemonies; postmodern geographies, landscape and mobility.

The question the research explores is: What does the proliferation of construction and its visual expression tell about changes in wider society in BiH? I focus on the specific niche of informally built space; roadside architecture characterised by intense decoration and forms. I am interested in seeing how the advanced proliferation of informal construction (compared to its presence in late socialism) affected the understanding of the house as idea and a project. In what way do postsocialist informal models diverge from the core model of 'kuća na dvije vode' (simple box volume with gable roof)? Furthermore, examining elaborations on the structure and decoration of the houses, I am interested in exploring the aesthetics houses project and how they redefine their close environments and the landscape. Finally, I am interested in how the changes houses are bringing are perceived according to the gaze of travellers passing by, and the particular functions the houses' extraordinary styles may have.

The primary sources for the analysis are photographs. I produced the majority of photographs through continuous visits along the two most frequent routes in the country and ten particular locations on each. During two and half years, in twelve fieldwork journeys, I drove these roads, followed the traffic and recorded the broader context related to the buildings (the buildings' structures, decorations, advertising and cars parked around them). As the resreach questions were evolving, I discovered and included photographs and videos of other visitors to the buildings. Photographs were used to draw a basic model of the house, (current prevalent typology) and then by using semiotic analysis to identify and interpret signatures and images houses were representing. To support the interpretations, I used comments and discussions on social media, photography and video platforms.

The main part of the research departs from the historic relationship between socialist modernism as a style of Yugoslav socialist modernisation and urbanisation and the emergence of individual informal construction in the 1960s. It follows the discourses produced in the scientific literature by architects, early urban planners and sociologists, and Yugoslav intellectuals. The research seeks to identify discontent in housing distribution and the role of development (socialist modernisation) in legitimising of class differentiation between the modernisers and the modernised. My argument is that early individual informal construction is evidence of class differentiation in socialist Yugoslavia and that both discourses on unfinished socialist modernisation and 'illegal construction' serve in legitimising this differentiation. Furthermore, despite the change of elites and ideologies in the postsocialist period, the categories of modernisation (development), urbanisation, and housing distribution related to it remain structured by cultural hegemonies established in the socialist period.

Drawing on the empirical material (photographs of roadside and informal construction) and secondary literature, I analyse the more prevalent models in family housing - *kuća na dvije vode* (K2V) and *kuća na četiri vode* (K4V); their origins and emergence, and their postsocialist transformation. The size and style of informal construction (and roadside construction in particular) is a response to growing insecurity of postsocialist transition. I critically approach the media discourse on public campaigns against individual informal construction, (state-run legalisation campaigns and public debates), observing how public discourse easily slips from functionalist to aesthetic arguments. Drawing upon debates on cultural hegemonies, style and culture (R. Williams 1983b; Hebdige 1991), and Jansen's work on post-Yugoslav discourses on distinctions and modernisation (2005), I see criticism of the individual informal construction as way to dislocate the culpability for urban planning failures to socially marginal groups (Roma, gastarbajteri, refugees, peasants) – members of postsocialist working class. Moving away from legalistic debates about informal construction I examine how the styles of houses transform the landscapes in four roadside objects; photographs, videos made during the fieldwork research and internet materials (photographs, videos and comments) created by individual travellers. Establishing that these buildings imitate buildings more ambitious than a simple family home (castles, churches and skyscrapers) I identify dominant images of hope, prosperity and wealth as consumerist iconography which buildings employ as a display of fortune (the performance of distinctions) and as an engagement with the mobile gaze of drivers (open signature). House façades use the informality of the roadside to develop postmodern vernacular expressions, post-tourist attractions.

Keywords: *informal housing, socialist modernism, landscape, post-tourism, Bosnia and Herzegovina*.

Povzetek: Obcestna arhitektura v Bosni in Hercegovini med potrošništvom in vernakularnostjo

Proces širjenja neformalne gradnje je zgradil prostor Bosne in Hercegovine, ki se ga hitro povezuje s povojno prenovo ter postsocialistično tranzicijo. Tamkajšnji strokovnjaki so kritični do neformalne gradnje, saj jo vidijo izključno kot nelegalno in jo obtožujejo, da ima barbarski učinek na urbano strukturo mesta ter da negativno vpliva na javno infrastrukturo, kar pa posledično vodi do prostorskega neravnovesja in okoljskega razdejanja. To, kar kritika sicer ne izraža odkrito (temveč pogosto samo namiguje), pa so nesodobne značilnosti individualne neformalne gradnje ter nezaželene estetike, ki jo te neformalne hiše vpletejo v pokrajino.

Doktorska disertacija želi usmeriti razpravo o neformalni gradnji tako, da bi presegla okvirje preproste kritike. Postavi si dva cilja: raziskati, kako se danes tvori in razvija teoretični okvir v določenem zgodovinskem kontekstu socialističnega modernizma ter predstaviti alternativne pristope k raziskovanju neformalne gradnje s pomočjo definiranja in analiziranja neformalne gradnje kot sodobne vernakularne arhitekture. Kritika, ki nasprotuje individualni neformalni gradnji, se v glavnem osredotoča na njeno legalnost, prezre pa družbeni kontekst, ki jo je ustvaril. Osnovana je na odnosu funkcionalističnega urbanega načrtovanja, ki se je oblikoval v času zlate dobe socialističnega modernizma. Celo v tem obdobju so mestni sociologi dvomili v strogo pravniški pristop, vendar ta perspektiva pri razpravah prevladuje. Stroga funkcionalistična perspektiva vidi formalizacijo gradnje kot zgodovinsko končan proces v okvirih modernizacije, kjer funkcionalno urbano načrtovanje in nadzor gradnje pomeni biti sodoben in civiliziran. Posledica te perspektive je, da se vsakršni pojav nenadzorovane neformalne gradnje dojema kot grožnjo sodobnemu redu ter se nanjo odziva s kritiko, posmehom in nerazumevanjem. V postsocialistični in povojni realnosti v Bosni in Hercegovini prevladuje neformalna gradnja. Rezultat tega pa je, da discipline, ki izvedejo največ raziskav na to temo, sistematično spregledajo večji del te problematike, ki ni v skladu s standardi in praksami strokovnjakov. Raziskava temelji na strokovnih razpravah in z njihovo pomočjo predstavi pristope v kulturni geografiji in kulturnih študijah (obcestna ameriška folklora) kot alternativo kritikam nelegalne arhitekture. Osrednje razprave so arhitektura in urbano načrtovanje kot orodje modernizacije in urbanizacije, pogledi jugoslovanske sociologije na nelegalno gradnjo, klasična arhitektura kot vernakularna ali materialna kultura, formalni-neformalni odnosi, kultura in stil ter kulturne hegemonije, postmoderne geografije, pokrajina in mobilnost.

Vprašanje, zastavljeno v tej raziskavi, je sledeče: Kaj sporoča širjenje gradnje in njeno vizualno izražanje o spremembah v širši družbi? Osredotočil sem se na določeno nišo v neformalnih zgradbah in obcestni arhitekturi, za katero so značilne intenzivne dekoracije in oblike. Zanimalo me je, kakšen učinek je imela neformalna gradnja (v primerjavi s poznim socializmom) na razumevanje hiš kot ideje in projekta. Na kakšen način se postsocialistične neformalne zgradbe oddaljujejo od osrednjega modela K2V? Preučeval sem izpopolnjevanja struktur in dekoracij hiš, saj me je zanimalo, kako so te spremembe sprejete pri mimo vozečih popotnikih, še zlasti pa funkcije, ki jih morda imajo nenavadni stili hiš.

Primarni viri za analizo so fotografije. Sam sem napravil večino fotografij v času mojih večkratnih obiskov dveh najpogostejših poti v državi in desetih konkretnih lokacij na vsaki od omenjenih poti. V dveh letih in pol in v dvanajstih odpravah na terensko delo sem se vozil po teh cestah, sledil prometu in posnel širši kontekst, povezan s stavbami (njihove strukture, dekoracije, oglaševanje in avtomobile, parkirane okoli njih). Medtem, ko so se vprašanja raziskave razvijala, sem odkril fotografije in video posnetke drugih obiskovalcev teh zgradb,

ki so bodisi potovali bodisi živeli blizu njih in jih vključil v raziskavo. Fotografije sem uporabil z namenom, da bi orisal osnovni model hiš (trenutno prevladujočo tipologijo) in nato z uporabo semiotične analize določil ter interpretiral signature in podobe, ki so jih hiše predstavljale. Da bi podkrepil svoje interpretacije, sem vpletel komentarje ter razprave iz javnih medijev, pa tudi fotografije in video platforme.

Osrednji del raziskave ponuja vpogled v odnos socialističnega modernizma kot stila jugoslovanskega socialističnega modernizma in urbanizacije ter pojav nelegalnih gradenj v šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja. Iz tega sledi tudi diskurzom, ki so jih v strokovni literaturi uporabljali arhitekti, zgodnji urbani načrtovalci in sociologi ter jugoslovanski intelektualci. Raziskave stremi k prepoznavanju nezadovoljstva v razdelitvi bivališč in k prepoznavanju vloge razvoja (socialistična modernizacija) v legitimizaciji razrednih razlik med modernizatorji in moderniziranimi. Argument tukaj je, da je zgodnja nelegalna gradnja dokaz za razredno diferenciacijo v socialistični Jugoslaviji in da oba diskurza o nekončani socialistični modernizaciji ter nelegalni gradnji služita za legitimizacijo te diferenciacije. Kljub spremembam v eliti in ideologiji v postsocialističnem obdobju, ostajajo sestavni del kulturne hegemonije modernizacija (razvoj), urbanizacija in razdelitev bivališč, ki so se pojavile v socialističnem obdobju.

S pomočjo empiričnega materiala (fotografije obcestnih in neformalnih gradenj) in sekundarne literature analiziram prevladujoče modele družinskih stavb - *kuća na dvije vode*, K2V, in *kuća na četiri vode*, K4V – natančneje njihov izvor, pojav ter postsocialistično preobrazbo. Velikost in stil neformalne gradnje je odgovor na postsocialistično prehodnost in njeno nedoločenost. Raziskava s kritičnim pristopom preučuje diskurze medijev na javnih kampanjah proti nelegalni gradnji, (državna legalizacija kampanj in javnih razprav) in vprašanje, kako lahko javni diskurzi tako zlahka zaidejo od funkcionalističnih do estetskih argumentov. Če izhajamo iz razprav o kulturnih hegemonijah, stilu in kulturi (R. Williams 1983b; Hebdige 1991) ter Jansenovega dela o postjugoslovanskih diskurzih o razlikovanju in modernizaciji (2005), raziskava preučuje tudi diskurze o estetskem onesnaževanju in pojavu *urbicide* kot mitologiji, uporabljenih z namenom, da bi vzeli legitimnost (ambicioznim) članom delavskega razreda. Nadaljnje, analiziram empirični material, ki je bil zbran na štirih konkretnih obcestnih objektih: fotografije, video posnetke, ki so nastali med terenskim delom, ter material s spleta (fotografije, video posnetki in komentarji), ki so jih prispevali posamezni popotniki. Raziskava definira in analizira stile dekoracij na štirih objektih, da bi lahko izvedeli več o ikonah in pomenih, ki jih je včasih posredoval postsocialistični vernakularni stil. S predpostavko, da te stavbe imitirajo bolj drzno kot preproste družinske hiše (gradovi, cerkve in nebotičniki), pa to raziskava prepoznava prisotnost prevladujoče podobe upanja, uspeha in bogastva. Razumevanje teh motivov kot potrošniške ikonografije pripelje do trditve, da so stili na stavbah uporabljeni za prikazovanje bogastva (učinek razlikovanja) ter sodelujejo s pogledi voznikov (odprta signatura). Hišne fasade izkoriščajo neformalnost obcestnih stavb, da razvijejo postmoderne vernakularne izraze in post-turistično zanimivost.

Ključne besede: neformalna gradnja, socialistični modernizem, pokrajina, post-turizem, Bosna in Hercegovina

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1   INTRODUCING ROADSIDE ARCHITECTURE

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

There has been a proliferation of informal construction in the wider region of Eastern and Southeast Europe as a consequence of social transformation after the end of socialism, and Bosnia and Herzegovina has been no exception in this process. The country was an exception however, for the fact that the 1992-1995 war additionally destabilised the society leaving an overwhelming number of buildings destroyed. The war also provided the meta-narrative for any future analysis of Bosnian development models, narrowing possibilities to intellectually engage with the society outside of its inherent political difficulties which are many but still do not constitute the entire story. For example, the post-war construction in the late 1990s was conditioned not only by the rebuilding of those objects destroyed in the war. The new developments were directed by more personal priorities, local market needs and available construction practices and materials. They ignored the state by avoiding strict urban planning and inputs from contemporary professional architecture. The results are huge private houses and other objects with a rich visual language which media discourse and professionals often qualifies as naïve, ugly, tacky, bizarre, ridiculous or simply barbarian. The research aims to challenge these simplifications and to problematize the qualities that these houses introduce to the wider environment and explore how their visual language informs upon wider changes in Bosnian and Herzegovinian society.

The exceptionally high level of informal construction in Bosnia and Herzegovina (henceforth BiH) is disproportional to the small amount of research on the exact the size or prevalence of the phenomenon. The state is not only too weak to sanction this type of construction in the ways the Yugoslav state did, it is also effectively unable to undertake any large scale estimations or monitoring. In neighbouring Croatia, a country that was part of the joint socialist state that also experienced devastating conflict in the same period and underwent a process of post-war reconstruction, informal construction is monitored by several sectors. The most involved parties are the government[1] and academic researchers (Krtalić 2006; Britvić Vetma 2013; Gredelj 2015; Vresk 1997; Vresk 1998; Kapetanović and Katurić 2015), but they are to

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[1] Ministry of Construction and Physical Planning, Republic of Croatia offers detailed interactive report on legalisation process available on their website (Ministarstvo graditeljstva i prostornoga uređenja 2017).

some extent followed by the private sector.[2] Comparable numbers in BiH are sporadic and appear to be rather erratic.[3] As the issue of spatial planning was transferred from the national level to the two Entities, urban planning is locked in the law making process in Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (henceforth the Federation)[4] and waiting for a response from the local level in Republika Srpska (henceforth RS).[5] This fragmentation of governance enables situations whereby even the number of housing units destroyed in the war is impossible to report on with certainty.[6]

According to Nihad Čengić professor at the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Sarajevo, all post-war construction is illegal, or of conspicuous legality, whether through informal practices of small private housing, unplanned building extensions on existing objects, or due to the ignoring and bypassing of urban planning restrictions by investors (Čengić 2010). The problem of illegality is also ideological as it targets the proliferation of informality in private housing while ignoring the role of large developments.

In an informal lecture, Čengić (PLUS 2013) talks to a group of the young people gathered in Sarajevo theatre. He shows them a picture of informal settlement, Boljakov Potok, and the room bursts into laughter. The houses presented there are colourful and simple, and the

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[2] Private consulting firms are interested in legalisation process due to its impact on real estate markets, with example of Filipović Business Advisory ltd. involved in the topic through its newsletter (CREN – Croatian Real Estate Newsletter).

[3] Local governments within BiH are restraining from making any estimates, while media reports go from "hundred thousand" (Hasanbegović and Stanimirović 2012) to some more specific numbers of three hundred thousand for Sarajevo (Huterer 2014, 42), to 82000 objects in Republika Srpska according to Srebrenka Golić, the entity's Minister of Spatial Planning, Civil Engineering and Ecology (SRNA - Novinska Agencija Republike Srpske 2012).

[4] Formalization of space in most of the post-Yugoslav societies is framed through the process of 'legalisation', acquiring a set of permits from local governments and registering informal objects in the cadastre. In case of Bosnia and Herzegovina the process is fragmented through multiple levels of government. In principle it is regulated between the entity and local levels, but due to its interrupted implementation this remains obscure. In Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a larger entity in the country, this process was launched three times defining and putting the end on the construction without permits, with appropriate laws, local government decisions and campaigns in 2006, 2012 and 2015.

[5] In Republika Srpska, the legalisation process was repeated one time less, in 2012 and 2015, but it did not bring more positive results.

[6] Division of government which leads to fragmentation of responsibility is not only present in this case. Other important estimations, like a number of war destroyed and rebuilt objects is missing also remain unavailable due to different problems within the levels of government.

audience laughs in a combination of mild embarrassment and mockery. The laughter stops when the presentation moves to the illegal construction of one of the largest shopping malls in the city centre, the BBI Centre. Čengić explains to the audience that while the critique targets the small illegal constructions on the periphery, a more significant crime is the large capital developments that are being constructed without any public consultations and often at the cost of disappearing public space (ibid.).

Contrary to the lack of research by academia or the government(s), there is an abundance of media reports on the issue. The topic is particularly interesting for smaller sensationalist web-based media, which report on the problem of 'wild/illegal' construction and consequentially also targeting informal private housing while ignoring legality of the large developments (Šerić 2009; Arslanagić 2016; Hodžić 2015; Bljesak 2013; Fena 2010). Beyond this criticism, there are no deeper insights into the phenomenon nor into the context that produces it. There is a peculiar interest in informal construction among amateurs, photographers, bloggers and individual Facebook users which involve posting, commenting and sharing photos of the more extravagant informal constructions. Their activity is useful as it demonstrates that many other individuals also perceive it as strange as bizarre, and document the buildings' existence.

My interest in informal construction started in the early 2000s. During my undergraduate studies in philosophy and sociology at the University of Banja Luka, I participated in a long series of peace camps and human rights training for youth from divided communities. These events involved long bus journeys, shortened by the admiration and amusement of looking at commercial strips of Bijeljina, Doboj, Zenica, Sarajevo, Mostar and Western Herzegovina. Bright green, pink, orange, or peach facades, cheap garden ornaments, and Chinese roofs were just too entertaining for a post-teenage gaze. They were completely camp. What started as fun with ironic distance developed into a more interest, beyond legality and legitimacy of the buildings, and took a more philosophical turn: what does it all mean?

Informality in construction is not specific to Bosnia and Herzegovina, nor are local houses any more special than their counterparts in other locales with significant informal practices. Informality as a historical phenomenon is characteristic of the development of many larger cities in southern Europe well into the 20th century (Kreibich 1998; Patton and Sophoutis 1989). Its current proliferation in BiH runs parallel to similar developments in other post-Yugoslav countries (Vresk 1997; Vresk 1998; Voeckler 2011; Džokić et al. 2001), but also in

the wider postsocialist world (Tsenkova 2010). Moreover, while the examples of informal construction explored here attract the attention of the general public and the emergence of Balkanist discourses, the examples of informal architecture can be found in southern Europe, Spain, Italy, Greece, Cyprus or Turkey.

Informal construction in BiH, as in neighbouring countries, has a history that precedes the 1990s dissolution of Yugoslavia. It was an unplanned and undesired development, but an integral part of Yugoslav modernisation. The current case of BiH is particularly striking in terms of the scale and prevalence of informality that appears to be wider than in neighbouring states. But the situation in BiH is still comparable to that in neighbouring countries as the proliferation of informal construction can be traced to the discontents of housing distribution in socialism and the power vacuums that followed Yugoslav dissolution.

1.2 THE CONCEPTS USED: ILLEGAL, INFORMAL, VERNACULAR

Before engaging with the research questions of the dissertation, there is a need to clarify further the terms used in the text and theoretical background. This section explains the original concepts of the research and outlines the general interpretative framework used in analysing the materials. The main concepts used for understanding the phenomenon are 'architecture', 'construction', 'informal' and 'vernacular'. The two additional concepts: 'consumerism' and 'roadside' are employed to explore wider social contexts in which the phenomenon emerges and thrives.

Architecture is the first concept in approaching any form of construction. The problem with using this concept for understanding the buildings emerging along the roads however, is some limitations in its formal and professional conception. Not every construction is understood as architecture. Next to the representative architecture of historic city centres, shiny business headquarters or grand monuments – professional architecture, there is this other, unrepresentative construction of periphery, transition and DIY practices.

The local theoretical approaches engaged with this 'other' architecture, mainly through approaching it as illegal architecture. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s architects like Jahiel Finci (1972), Muhamed Kadić (1967; 1972; 1978) and sociologists (Taubman 1972; M. Živković 1968; M. Živković 1981; Bobić and Vujović 1985) wrote about the problem of

'illegal' construction/architecture, a proliferation of individual buildings outside of urban planning and construction regulation. The positions of the individual researchers differ with regard to the causes (rural migration, poverty) and context of the phenomenon (social pathology) (Tomić 1972) and regarding the increasing social inequality in socialist society (M. Živković 1968; M. Živković 1972), but their positions do not question the legitimacy and universal benefit of architecture and the significance of urban planning.

Postsocialist researchers have largely kept the perspectives set up by these debates, exploring varieties within the illegal perspective, like black or grey construction (Kos 1993), or 'unplanned' settlements (Gredelj 2015). Some authors even use the terms 'wild architecture' (Ratković 2009) or 'turbofolk architecture' (Jovanović Weiss and Safran 2006) to emphasise the barbarian character of its form and content.

Illegal construction as a perspective is not the only way in approaching this other construction. Chapter 4 demonstrates in more detail how a strictly 'illegal' perspective on the non-professional architecture delegitimises informal architecture and potentially ignores its social contexts. There are alternative approaches to the understanding of the construction and social complexities that produce it.

Le Normand suggests an alternative term, 'rogue construction', to avoid a value oriented understanding of the phenomenon that the term 'illegal construction' suggests (Le Normand 2014, 156–61). The wider term of simply 'construction' is an adequate solution for describing the phenomenon, as it involves both professional and non-professional practices and carries less value judgement. Chiefly for the type of construction that emerged in the socialist and postsocialist period, the term **informal construction** captures the wider complexity of the phenomenon. Sasha Tsenkova relates informal construction to an entire spectrum of situations relating to two major factors, 'informal nature of residency and non-compliance with land-use plans' (2010, 74–75; 2011, 71).

The shift from 'illegal architecture/construction' to 'informal construction' in approaching the phenomenon is necessary for opening wider social contexts and exploring dimensions that go beyond legality. Informal construction puts the emphasis back on the broader social and historical context, the discontents of early Yugoslav housing development and the ways in which it the proliferation of informal construction in mid and late socialism serves as the

foundation for postsocialist practices (discussed in detail in Chapter 3). Understanding the socialist and postsocialist proliferation of informal construction helps to delineate individual informal practices motivated by insecurity from large projects using the legal vacuum. The critiques produced by 'wild architecture' or 'turbofolk architecture' dismiss the aesthetics of informal construction. The research borrows the term vernacular construction, from American cultural studies and cultural geography to explore the complex visuals employed in houses decoration and the presentation and role of flamboyant expressions used in some of the buildings (discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5).

Some local researchers frequently use the concept of **vernacular architecture**, but mainly restrict it in ethnography and heritage studies (Nikolić and Šarančić Logo 2011) with a strong preservationist tendency. This practice follows the tradition of Aleksandar Freudenreich and his pioneering research or rural construction in Croatia (1962; 1972) The problem with such an application of vernacular architecture however, is that it creates a strict division of legitimate construction between informal rural traditional construction and contemporary formal (and mostly) urban architecture, excluding everything that does not fit the interest of these two niches.

A preservationist tendency defines the aim of the research as well as the subject of vernacular interest to less prevalent forms of housing, often with rich local or regional characteristics, but not frequently used in everyday life. The buildings studied do not serve to inform about contemporary life but about the past, with a nostalgic, romanticist subtext. In its most practical way, it can only act as a source of inspiration for contemporary professional architecture (Asquith and Vellinga 2006; Oliver 2006; Passanti 1997) but a strict definition of the vernacular renders a significant number of contemporary structures unexplored. The result of a subject division between rural vernacular and formal architecture is a lack of the research materials on common housing typologies (formal or informal), particularly concerning private housing for the working and lower-middle classes.

Cultural studies in the United States offer significantly wider understandings of vernacular architecture that go beyond preservationism and combines past and present, as well as urban and rural constructions (Asquith and Vellinga 2006; Oliver 2006). The turn towards the common architecture already started in the 1960s with the pioneering works of J. B. Jackson (1970) who was interested in the problems of ordinary landscapes, and the works of early

postmodern architects Venturi, Scott-Brown, and Izenour (1977). This focus on vernacular architecture involves all materials, shapes and forms involved in the buildings and building practices in contemporary housing, and not only the traditional one (Glassie 1975). Explanations for the compositions and visual representations houses produce are not explained by architectural theory or history but rather through weak references to the alleged culture and environment surrounding the structures, 'in anything available to the builders at the moment' (Venturi, Scott-Brown, and Izenour 1977, 92–93).

I found using this understanding of vernacular to be far more productive as it avoids locking non-professional architecture into the domain of the past. Obviously, the terms 'informal construction' and 'vernacular architecture', do not cover the same content. Individual informal construction is always vernacular, meaning it ignores professional architecture. Vernacular construction can be either informal or formal; it is defined by its purpose, 'built to meet needs' (Oliver 2006; Davey 1998). Considering informal construction as vernacular (not as an illegal form of construction) opens up the possibility of perceiving the buildings as visual texts, folk art that represents contemporary answers to questions of habitat, participating in the economy and the expression of personal style.

The vibrant decoration of the houses researched in this dissertation does not lie in their quirkiness alone (originality for the sake of originality) but is an attempt to interact with traffic and perform distinctions in the landscape. The constructions chosen for the research are approached as individual examples of contemporary material culture. These built spaces are primarily a product of human activity in physical space, assemblages of different elements, smaller objects employed to create an image through decoration. This dissertation explores these dynamics by researching the function, structures and imaging in the houses. In particular, the research explores the concept of **consumerism** (Campbell 1987) to understand relationships in which the smaller objects operate in the houses and the role they play in creating imaginings of prosperity, leisure and pleasure.

The research engages with consumerism to explore aesthetic dimensions in terms beyond the simple criticism of high and mass culture. Consumption has a major role in exploring cultures, communication, ideologies and hegemony due to differences of contexts in which commodities are produced and consumed, their physically obvious connections and the importance the users ascribe to the products. Targeting users and addressing their potential needs, commodities

always respond to specific ideological concerns – they do not have only practical but also symbolic functions (Miller 1987; Miller 1998). Choosing commodities is an expression of style; the need to project personal affections in material reality, and a way to declare an (aspired) social status in one's own community (Veblen 2012). Consumers resonate with more than the simple utility commodities offer; they read their needs and sensibilities from the products (Miller 2008). This function is important for post-war and postsocialist contexts of BiH where consuming became the dominant method of achieving normality for individuals and creating a sense of communication with the outside world.

The research framework employs the concept of the **roadside** to explore the spatial context of the buildings as objects and their relationship to wider environments. The roadside enables an understanding of the new dynamics brought by the interaction of buildings and the traffic. Roadside is not an entirely arbitrary category; it is a form of landscape. Originating in cultural geography, landscapes are used as units of analysis to understand changes in space that occur on a larger scale (Cresswell 2003). Roadside avoids the dualisms of urban and rural, past and present and can be an alternative in avoiding methodological nationalism, by seeing spaces defined by traffic, rather than borders.

'Roadside' enables a perspective shift to bottom-up questions. Dislocated from the city centres, Bosnian roadsides have a weak presence of the state and institutions of urban planning, and enable visual communication aiming at the traffic. Houses on the roadside are deeply embedded in the economy of the road with imaging in decorations aiming towards the traffic. The roadside provides the research framework with the opportunity to question changes in understandings of space and its constructions and how these changes affect contemporary vernacular language.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main question guiding the dissertation is:

- How does the proliferation of political and economic informality in post-war/postsocialist BiH challenge dominant cultural hegemonies of modernisers (*urbanites*) and the modernised (*peasant-workers*)?

The post-Yugoslav proliferation of informality is an important touchstone for architecture and urban planning professionals and scholars who perceive informality as a negative phenomenon which enables criminal activities and disrupts state policies. Public critics often explain informal housing in terms of a 'loss of values' and arguments pertaining to 'barbarity against civilisation'. These professionals identify individual products of informality and use them to explain the unfinished Yugoslav modernisation project (which is not necessarily socialist). A critical perspective on informality often creates an environment where hybrid cultural forms that thrive within it are dismissed. Hybrid cultural forms that thrive in informality are then read as symptomatic of the lack of order. These forms tend to be marginal and orally mediated, existing outside of institutional settings.

I am interested in using the proliferation of informality to study roadside construction as a hybrid cultural form. Informality produces a framework in which such forms flourish, and following the disruption it creates. I explore informal construction and controversies surrounding it to gain more insight in the ways in which Bosnian cultural hegemonies operate. Housing is a convenient delineator of class relationships in society, as it serves in generating economic and displaying cultural capital. Informal construction, a target of professional and public critique, can serve well in articulating class relations.

Starting from informal construction and its cultural capital, the dissertation explores three additional dimensions:

1. The origin and role of informal housing in Yugoslav socialism; how is informal construction related to the wider social dynamics of modernisation, urbanisation and housing production?

2. How does the proliferation of individual, informal construction transform the idea of house typology (the vernacular home)? How does this practice affect the structure, modelling and decoration styles of houses? What is the iconic language of style used? How does criticism of these houses and styles inform upon cultural hegemonies in Bosnian society (aesthetic pollution, *urbicide*)?

3. What changes and social transformations in the material reality of space do the roadside façades articulate? How do the iconographies employed in them construct new visual identities through a transformation of the landscape? In what way do they respond to the dominant political and social ideologies (ethnonationalism, consumerism) and in

what way are they related to wider translocal processes (such as the rise of mobility, the demise of authenticity, ephemera, non-places)?

1.4 SCIENTIFIC CONTRIBUTION

Informal construction in the socialist Yugoslav and postsocialist Bosnian and Herzegovinian context provides a rich subject for cultural history and tells a story of a society in its attempts to develop, its failures and tribulations told from a physically marginal perspective. On a disciplinary level, the research aims to contribute a growing field of Balkan studies and neighbouring the fields of culture studies, cultural anthropology, cultural geography and visual culture contribute by addressing ongoing debates on the region (un)finished modernisation and postsocialist transition, working class culture in (post)socialist society and the emergence of mobility and consumer culture in the semi-periphery.

The main aim of the dissertation is to provide alternative perspective on illegal construction and produce a critical approach to the roadside construction as material culture. Under material culture I understand a collection of commodities to which people constitute meaning, connections, and which assist them in creating relationships to wider issues (Miller 1987). The dissertation seeks to provide more insight into the dynamics of informality by explaining the class background of informal construction and the changes on vernacular typologies in the postsocialist period. The dissertation goes beyond 'barbarian against civilisation' to answer these questions and explores the qualities alleged barbarians bring to the space.

Following Jansen's account of existing cultural hegemonies between the modern urbanites and unmodern peasant workers (2005), the dissertation engages further in this debate by providing insight in cultural phenomena related to the worker peasant population. The aim of this is to demonstrate how the working class, understood not as a category but a historical process of personal relations (Thompson 1966), conveys a culture outside of written cultural forms (Ong 1982). The dissertation aims to demonstrate how working class culture responds to wider informalisation (social insecurity, privatisation, and weak governmental support). With roadside construction emerge decorations portraying hope, prosperity and individual wealth. Furthermore, the dissertation demonstrates how roadside construction, as a particular niche of informal construction, engages in stimulating, vibrant processes that are occurring in the

society but remain unexplored (such as the rise of car-oriented mobility and new technologies of creating and sharing images).

By focusing on informal construction and consumerism the dissertation does not aim to justify illegal practices or advocate against urban planning. The dissertation draws upon contributions from architectural theory, and history, urban planning and urban history, especially the literature focusing on socialist modernism. The purpose of this engagement is to understand how professional architecture and urban planning approached informal construction but the dissertation does not engage with professional debates in these fields outside the focus of interest in informal construction.

1.5 DISSERTATION STRUCTURE

The dissertation consists of the following sections: (1) introduction, (2) the theoretical chapter with methodology and sources, (3) the analysis of historical context and informal construction proliferation, (4) the analysis of the prevalent vernacular typologies, public discourse and cultural capital of informal construction (5) the analysis of postsocialist landscapes the houses produce and mobility as primary force driving this development and (6) conclusion, the bibliography and list of sources, abstract in the Slovenian language and the biography of the author.

Chapter 2, *The other architecture – literature review, concepts and methods* offers closer insight into more recent understandings of the phenomenon, engaging with the academic debates that the research builds upon and offering approaches in cultural geography and cultural studies (roadside Americana) as an alternative to the illegal architecture critique. The central debates presented in this section are: architecture and urban planning as a tool of modernisation and urbanisation, the views of Yugoslav sociology on illegal construction; the ordinary architecture as vernacular or material culture; formal-informal relationships; culture and style and cultural hegemonies; postmodern geographies, landscape and motilities. The section on methodology includes description and explanations of possibilities to read house as a text, levels of the analysis and research methods. The section also reflects on the materials studied, the criteria for cases selected, sources, research phases, procedures in data collection, data analysis and research ethics.

Chapter 3, *Criminalising informal construction and space formalisation of socialist modernism* provides further insight into the relationship between socialist modernism as a style of Yugoslav socialist modernisation and urbanisation and emergence of illegal construction in the 1960s as a consequence of these processes. The chapter follows the ideological frames in which Yugoslav modernisers, the socialist new middle class, embraced modernist architecture and criticized illegal construction. It follows the discourses produced in scientific literature by architects, early urban planners and sociologists and Yugoslav intellectuals. Intersecting these two sets of sources, socialist modernism as a golden age of Yugoslav modernisation and illegal construction (modernisation's uncomfortable failure) the chapter seeks to identify discontent in housing distribution, and the role of development (socialist modernisation) in legitimising of class differentiation between the 'modernisers' and the 'modernised'. The argument here is that early illegal construction is evidence of class differentiation in socialist Yugoslavia and that both discourses on unfinished socialist modernisation and illegal construction serve to legitimise this differentiation. Furthermore, despite the change of elites and ideologies in the postsocialist period, the categories of modernisation (development), urbanisation, and housing distribution related to it, remain structured by cultural hegemonies established in the socialist period.

Chapter 4, *Individual informal construction as contemporary vernacular architecture* presents the prevalent typology in individual housing, problematises the public campaigns against illegal construction and controversies surrounding the flamboyant styles of the more elaborate façades. Drawing on empirical material (photographs of roadside and informal construction) and secondary literature, the chapter provides an analysis of the most prevalent models in family housing – *kuća na dvije vode* (K2V), and *kuća na četiri vode* (K4V) – their origins, emergence and postsocialist transformation. The main argument is that the size and style of informal construction (and roadside construction in particular) is a response to the growing insecurity of postsocialist transition. Furthermore, the chapter critically explores media discourse on public campaigns against illegal construction, (state run legalisation campaigns and public debates) and how public discourse easily slips from functionalist to aesthetic arguments. Drawing upon debates on cultural hegemonies, style and culture (R. Williams 1983b; Hebdige 1991), and Jansen's work on post-Yugoslav discourses on distinction and modernisation (2005), the chapter examines discourses on aesthetic pollution and *urbicide* as a mythology used to delegitimise aspiring members of the working class. The argument in this

chapter is that while informal construction is a widespread practice involving a wide spectrum of individual and corporate actors, public critique targets the individual informal construction and externalises the culpability for the failure of urban planning towards socially marginal groups (Roma, gastarbajteri, refugees, peasants) – members of postsocialist working class.

Chapter 6, *Postsocialist landscape: A Castle by the Road*, narrows the focus on roadside constructions and the ways in which their style structures the landscapes. The theoretical debates here leave the level of the house and expand to visual communication in space through engaging with the concepts of landscape mobility. The chapter further examines empirical material collected regarding four particular roadside objects: photographs, videos made during the fieldwork research and internet materials (photographs, videos and comments) created by individual travellers. The chapter defines and analyses styles employed in the decoration of the four objects to learn about icons and meanings used to convey postsocialist vernacular style. Establishing that these buildings imitate buildings more ambitious than a simple family home (castles, churches and skyscrapers) the chapter identifies dominant images of hope, prosperity and wealth. Understanding these motifs as consumerist iconography, the argument here is that built spaces employ this style as display of wealth (the performance of distinctions) and as an engagement with the mobile gaze of drivers (open signature). House façades use the informality of the roadside to develop postmodern vernacular expressions, post-tourist attractions.

The dissertation concludes with final remarks summing up the main arguments and the analysis of data in support of the argument. The conclusion follows with the complete list of sources, the appendix with a short presentation of houses included in the study and primary analysis of them and biography of the author.

2 THE OTHER ARCHITECTURE – LITERATURE REVIEW, CONCEPTS AND METHODS

Informal construction in BiH is widely present and criticised, yet a largely under-researched, scientifically marginal phenomenon. The lack of interest is partially understandable as individual informal construction is a result of non-professional practice and so is not architecture in a professional sense. In exploring the proliferation of informal housing, the theoretical framework needs to employ other disciplines that do not necessarily deal with houses as a primary research topic but which do engage with material culture, space and postsocialist transformation. (Post)Yugoslav understanding of houses and housing, in academic research is mainly defined through architecture and urban planning (and to some extent, ethnology) which tend to delegitimise non-professional forms of contemporary construction. The local architecture and urban planning produced mostly criticism often based on the fact that the informal houses frequently do not follow construction regulations and ignore existing architectural conventions.

Houses as dwellings are material culture, a product of the human endeavour to provide shelter and organise livelihoods. Houses as homes are material and affective spaces (Miller 2001; Miller 1998). They are primary objects as well as contexts of many consumer practices (Buchli 2013, 119–20). Houses are powerful even though they are not always a successful mean of engaging in the market and fuelling social mobility. They nevertheless are a tool to represent personal aspirations and inscribe ideology reflected in style. The proliferation of informality in the post-Yugoslav region is a consequence of the shift in the ways of creating and providing shelter is imagined and regulated. Engaging the informal houses through the field of Balkan studies has the primary purpose of opening houses' representative levels, to approach them as media texts.

The theoretical framework reflects on the local production of knowledge about construction, housing and urban planning and the clear bias that followed this knowledge production in unfinished modernism and turbo-urbanism paradigms and the relation to a local history of modernisation and the formalisation of space. Seeking alternatives to locally produced knowledge, the theoretical framework turns to experiences in the United States, finding three

useful theoretical clusters. These include an early postmodernist critique of architectural moves by Venturi, Scott-Brown and Izenour (1977), explorations of vernacular form by Henri Glassie (Glassie 1975; Glassie 2000) and experimenting with a landscape as a way of engaging material reality on a larger scale by Jackson (1970; 1984). In addition to these approaches the theoretical framework also engages contributions from postsocialist material cultural studies to explore the idea of transformation and addresses the role of informality in it and the mobility paradigm to discuss more the force that moves the proliferation of informal housing.

Sporadic reflections of some experts and urban planners tend to reflect upon the rise of informal construction by producing the discourse of Balkanism. The most famous example of this is also probably one of the most thoughtful considerations, the exhibition and accompanying publication *Balkanology* (Voeckler 2011). Emphasising the postssocialist lack of planning and lack of supervision in construction, *Balkanology* relates the phenomenon of informal construction to the Balkans, dislocating it outside of an ordered, imaginary Europe. The proliferation of informal construction is a wider European and global phenomenon that transcends the dynamics of the Balkans, Eastern Europe, or even the Global South. Balkan studies serve as a good entry point for the topic enabling one to pose the question as to how current and past researchers produced informal constructions in the region as a subject of knowledge. As later chapters will show, it is the local researchers who started with the practice of rendering informal construction as 'barbaric Balkan' in attempts to modernise though a form of self-orientalising discourse.

2.1.1   Post-Yugoslav architecture and urban planning

The problems with Balkanising discourses relates to the construction of knowledge and process of modernisation. The architecture and urban planning that developed during mid and late socialist period set up frames of understanding regarding housing. Contemporary post-Yugoslav academic contributions on the topic of house and housing locate themselves in several social sciences (sociology, anthropology and cultural geography) but they rely heavily on contributions developed by architecture and early modern urban planning.

The problem is that architecture and urban planning are also the disciplines involved in both training the professionals and producing the subject of knowledge. This results in a normative

approach to the subject of study. The introductory chapter mentions the delineation between illegal and informal construction, generated through the historical development of strictly formal perspective of architecture on formal construction as legitimate knowledge subject. This problem translates to current knowledge production.

The breakup of Yugoslavia and the wars that followed produced an increase in the destruction of socialist (largely modernist) heritage and the proliferation of informal practices, in both individual private and public construction. Researchers of architecture and urban planning tend to read the coincidence of these two processes as part of the same process and establish direct causality between the two; informal construction is thus claimed to be part of the larger process that interrupted socialist modernism.[7]

In mixed contributions of architecture and urban planning, there are two paradigms in the research that relate to the proliferation of informal housing, the 'unfinished modernisation' paradigm and 'turbo-urbanism'. The unfinished modernisation paradigm (Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012) returns the research focus back on the socialist modernism, its largest projects and contributions, and mentions informal housing only marginally. Turbo-urbanism and turbo-architecture is a smaller group of efforts in researching post-Yugoslav urban planning and architecture, (Jovanović Weiss and Safran 2006; Vöckler 2008) focused on criticising the postsocialist lack of formalism, weak, corrupt institutions and uncontrolled informal developments. Both of the paradigms understand the proliferation of informality as a postsocialist process, without exploring the historical dynamics that produced it. They mostly differ in research focus on the period exploring, dividing the interest into Yugoslav (unfinished modernisations) and post-Yugoslav periods (turbo-architecture). For example, Chapter 3 demonstrates how illegal or informal construction proliferated during the socialist period, and was more related to the urbanisation process, low access to the housing market and complicated relationship with the socialist state than the disruptive tendencies of the builders.

Architects and researchers Vladimir Kulić and Maroje Mrduljaš coined the name 'unfinished modernisation' to describe a wide range of research contributions dealing with the constitution, framing and contributions of socialist modernism in Yugoslavia, individual histories of the

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[7] In an interview with Dea Vidović Maroje Mrduljaš explains that 'balkanisation' is a process of informal construction emergence and abandonment of socialist modernist architecture (Vidović 2008)

particular projects and reflections on its current decay and abandonment. The name was originally used for the research project, *Unfinished Modernisations – Between Utopia and Pragmatism (2010–2012)* followed by the publication with the same title (Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012). Their concept loosely draws upon Jurgen Habermas's idea of incomplete modernity (Habermas 1981), by conceiving of the Yugoslav project as incomplete and ruptured.

In parts where it deals with socialist heritage 'unfinished modernisation' is a useful framework to understand recent history. This is the best exemplified with a particular interest in modernist monuments, their symbolic importance during the Yugoslav period and later destruction and negligence that followed state breakdown and war (Kempenaers and Neutelings 2010; Burghardt and Kirn 2014; Kirn 2012; Horvatinčić 2015). Even more importantly, 'unfinished modernisation' is a productive means to understand how Yugoslavs used modernism as stylistic resistance to Stalin after Yugoslavia was expelled from Comintern in 1948 and its wider universalistic professional and aesthetic value, as well as its contributions to the development of large urban agglomerations like New Belgrade (Blagojević 2015; Le Normand 2014; Kulić 2013). In the particular case of BiH, unfinished modernisation is a fruitful concept to understand the urban development of socialist BiH, or particular cities, like Ugljen Ademović and Turkušić do in explaining the development of Sarajevo (2012; 2012). Researchers like Stevanović identified the problem of the lack of appreciation for the modernist legacy because of its being recognized as interchangeable with the socialist, Yugoslav legacy (2014, 95).

The problem with unfinished modernisations is that it directly extends to turbo-urbanism or turbo-architecture (the logic being that the failure of modernist planning and unsuccessful restructuration of the postsocialist state relates to the emergence of individual construction and a proliferation of hybrid vernacular forms). Authors like Srdjan Jovanović Weiss and Kai Voeckler developed the concepts of turbo-architecture in a study of Belgrade (Jovanović Weiss and Safran 2006) and turbo-urbanism in relation to a study of Prishtina (Voeckler 2011; Vöckler 2008) where they connect these phenomena. In particular, Vöckler's exhibition *Balkanology. New Architecture and Urban Phenomena in Southeast Europe*, is successful in using the proliferation of informal housing in the construction of orientalist discourses about the western Balkans, as a site of failed modernisation.

Balkanology reproduces local views on informal construction and the proliferation of private housing. The term 'turbo' draws on Jovanović Weiss's turbo-architecture and originates in popular hybrid pop-folk music genre, pejoratively named turbofolk (Baker 2006; Archer 2012). According to Srdjan Jovanović Weiss, turbo-architecture is a specific fusion of neo-traditional approaches to design and modern technologies of materialisation. After the fall of the socialist state and its mechanisms of construction control illegal housing takes root in urban areas becoming a specific indicator of postsocialist transition (Topalovic 2011; Voeckler 2011). Turbo-urbanism and turbo-architecture make a simple connection between rising informality and other working class cultural phenomena, interpreting them as both cause and effect of postsocialist transition. This limitation in a simplistic way explains one cultural product through invoking another one, reducing social analysis to aesthetic critique and sometimes substituting analysis with mockery. A poignant example of this approach is Ivan Ratković's publication *Wild Architecture*, designed as coffee table book which ridicules informal construction (Ratković 2009).

In BiH authors rarely pay attention to informal construction. Stevanović reports on the overwhelming expansion of new buildings (Stevanović 2014, 91) drawing on Hans Ibelings's interest in the topic. Ibelings, in an attempt to criticise the scholarly interest in Balkanology as 'disaster tourism', creates an even more orientalising perspective about informality.

> In many countries in southern Europe (and the Balkans have a reputation to maintain in this respect), there exists alongside the formal, official architecture a parallel universe of mostly semi-legal, informal architecture. Every now and then, this informal architecture produces an exuberant cheerfulness, but often it results in buildings that are quite simply depressing. This parallel universe, which has come to be known as 'turbofolk' and 'Balkanology', has recently attracted more than its fair share of international attention, and more even than the official architecture. (Ibelings 2010, 11)

The problem here is that informal construction is obviously not a subject of interest for formal architecture. Urban planning has a complicated relationship towards this type of construction as it approaches in a correctional manner but its perspectives are not separate from architecture.

I argue that the perspectives offered in Balkanology, turbo-urbanism and turbo-architecture produce the subject of knowledge in Balkanist discourse. This is done through the self-orientalising images of local researchers and perpetuated in orientalising perspectives of outsiders where illegal construction and space disorder are presented a symptom of the Balkans' inability to modernise. To understand this balkanising perspective, I draw on Maria Todorova's response to Edward Said's *Orientalism* (2003). As Said articulated a discourse of an essentialised Western self to which it subjects the Oriental other, Todorova (2009) repositioned the Balkans a particular version of this notion, as the other within the self, alluding to the geographically peripheral position of the region within European continent, a core centre of modernity. Milica Bakić-Hayden and Robert Hayden have further recognised variations of orientalising discourses (1992), hierarchical relationships towards the centres of modernisation; Nesting Orientalisms (Bakic-Hayden 1995).

With these concepts, I read architectural critique of Balkanology and turbo-urbanism/turbo-architecture as Balkanist discourse; a strategy of self-othering in Serbian and post-Yugoslav knowledge production. Such critique is not an engagement in professional debate on sophisticated qualities in urban planning (for which this research does not have capacity). I am interested rather, in how this specific failure responds to larger narratives of barbaric invasion in postsocialism (Živković 2002; Živković 2011). I am focused on the ways in which Balkanist discourses of architectural and urban planning critique are manifested in promoting historically limited concepts of functionalist urban planning as of universal benefit and integral parts of modernisation and how its discontents and failures are then ascribed not to the limits of the concepts, but to the cultural environment of Balkans and its inability to modernise. Here I follow Živković, but also Jansen (2005) and Dimova (2013) in exploring how modernisation and postsocialist transition serve as resonant themes in organising class distinctions.

More importantly, the perspectives on informal construction as an element of Balkan inability or modernise are not new. They articulate a Balkanist tendency, which already existed in the concept of illegal construction as a failure of modernisation. Illegal construction dates back to socialist period and emergence of socialist modernism. Here, the contributions from Kulić (2009) and Le Normand are crucial for understanding how Yugoslav socialist modernism formed a perspective in organising space and conveying style in formal architecture. As a dominant way of understanding architecture and urban planning in socialist Yugoslavia, Yugoslav modernism heavily influenced society's perspective on housing by producing the

concept of illegal construction, which criminalised contemporary non-professional (architectural) building practices.

In questions of planning and building, the modernists were giving full authority in the decision-making process to the experts, themselves (Le Normand 2012; Le Normand 2014) and were expecting the state to regulate planning and construction. The professional critique acknowledged the need to order space not only for pragmatic but also ethical reasons; it meant success in development. Therefore, architectural critiques heavily concentrated against disruptive processes which articulated the concept of illegal construction (Finci 1972; Taubman 1972; Đumrukčić 1972).

The growing urban population in Yugoslavia could not be accommodated in socially owned housing (Živković 1968) and systems of distributions of housing systematically favoured socialist managerial and technocratic strata (ibid.), while the poor population was forced to find solutions in squatting, re-appropriating and building illegal housing (Vujović 1986). The critique of illegal construction originally targeted the non-elites, urban poor, and rural to urban migrants (Saveljić 1988; Kadić 1972).

Urban planning is a basic feature of modernisation and modernity, which is why criminalising illegal construction did not meet resistance. Many authors defend the practitioners of illegal construction (M. Živković 1972; M. Živković and Bakić 1977; Čaldarević 1989; Vujović 1986; Kamarić 1972) but they do not challenge the necessity of urban planning or use different terminology.

As the social background of illegal builders' changes through late socialism, the debate shifts towards the critics. Until the early 1980's private housing was seen as unnecessary and luxurious and this view was also applied to the private housing of urban working class and underclass population often built without permits. Illegal construction was consequently not considered as an indicator of rising inequalities in the society but a social menace; a subversive and degenerate phenomena which was to be dealt with harshly. Even though the phenomena become much more complex in the 1980s and in the postsocialist period, the most dominant way of seeing cheap vernacular housing was as socially harmful. A greater participation of the upper strata in socialist society in informal construction practices weakens the argument of the social necessity of poor individuals involved in informal construction. It further strengthens

the critique of illegal construction and reinforces urban planning as organising space but in practices weakens its applicability, while leaving the culpability on inhabitants of informal settlements. Illegal construction remains the dominant way of seeing the phenomenon but the dissertation will use the concept of informal construction offered by Tsenkova (2009B, 2010).

The particular role of modernism and class bias became prominent with expansion of informal construction. Generally defined as construction lacking appropriate formal planning, support and authorisation, informal construction is largely comprised of housing (Tsenkova 2008; Tsenkova 2009b), though not restricted to it. With the state and later the society investing in large social housing projects preferring the new middle class, informal housing emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, mainly as a solution for precarious workers that did not qualify for organised state or social housing measures. Early informal housing efforts were mainly modest projects with simple solutions based on contemporary interpretations of traditional vernacular architecture.

In most Yugoslav cases, ownership of land is legal. In some cases, parts of the house are legal and in accordance with building regulations, while redevelopments are illegal (Tsenkova 2010). In the typology of the informal settlements in Southeast Europe, Tsenkova recognises this type of informal construction as illegal subdivisions (Tsenkova 2010, 74–75). The payment of communal taxes, which defines legality, is case-sensitive – sometimes it reflects that "deficit of stateness": the lack of general belief in the state as problem solver (Allen 2006, 9). In general, even after paying communal taxes, municipalities are not obliged to provide infrastructure for the objects, therefore in some cases, a lack of respect for taxation is simply pragmatic for the builder (Klempić 2004, 182). Due to this complex matrix of legality and the relationship of informal builders towards it, we can no longer speak about illegal construction. This term, favoured by the media, neither reflects nor encompasses this complexity. However, ideologically it was rarely acknowledged as the official form of construction, and zones for individual housing construction were only marginally recognised in urban plans (Bežovan and Dakić 1990). This along with extensive urbanisation and a housing shortage allowed for a plethora of informal construction in the Yugoslav period.

The concepts of illegal construction, and *Balkanology* as its follow-up, raise the question of architectural critiques' applicability in understanding the wider context of the phenomenon. If understood in simple terms of human endeavour and material culture, professional architecture is focused on the innovative elements in construction, construction as a formal culture (whether as art, the high culture of elite architecture or mass culture of communal developments). The question is how to understand and explore the other architecture, the informal construction as a 'do-it-yourself' cultural activity.

Three clusters of theories are useful in approaching informal construction in this way: US American vernacular architecture and contemporary landscape studies, material culture studies, and the mobility paradigm.

2.2 THEORIES OF ORDINARY HOUSE

The interest in ordinary houses in the US emerged in the 1960s in from three almost separate disciplines, early postmodern architecture and design, led by Robert Venturi and Denise Scott-Brown, studies of folklore and material culture, by Henry Glassie, and development of landscape in cultural geography, in the work of J. B. Jackson and later John A. Jakle. These researchers move away from strict formalism or traditional constructions and turn to the study of ordinary forms, as either commercial or informal architecture.

Roadside architecture

The largest turn towards the study of ordinary construction was made by pioneers of early postmodern architecture. In 1968, a group of professors and students from the Yale School of Architecture, led by Robert Venturi and Denise Scott-Brown, organised a field project in the commercial strip of Las Vegas. Their study, later published as *Learning from Las Vegas* (Venturi, Scott-Brown, and Izenour 1977) became a pioneering work in the democratic understanding of architecture and influenced a growing postmodernist movement in the field. The contribution of learning from Las Vegas in understanding informal construction was to shift the focus from state of the art elite architecture to ordinary constructions of the commercial

strip, something that would be considered as too banal to be studied by then and providing insight into the relationship between construction and the image its decoration conveys.

The study did not focus on the Las Vegas city centre (infamous for its growing entertainment industry) but on its outskirts; the commercial strips filled with buildings of modest dimensions and forms and lavish decorations. The study showed that these buildings were responding to changing dynamics of visual communication introduced by cars. Conceiving of the strip as a vast communication system, Venturi, Scott-Brown and Izenour named this 'the architecture of persuasion' (ibid., 8–13). Learning from Las Vegas offered a famous typology of sign and form relationship named 'duck' and 'decorated shed' that explains this change (Figure 2.1).

The two typologies exemplify the shift in architectural form and sign they represent. In the image left (named after the duck-shaped drive-thru restaurant 'Long Island Duckling') architectural form is a sign – a duck. All modernist architecture, prevalent at the time, conveyed an iconic image within the architectural form similar to the duck. In the second picture, named the decorated shed, the iconic image separates from the architectural form, essentially becoming a box with a sign applied to it. Due to the importance of frontal façade, the image is oriented to the sign in front, while the rest of the building is simple box volume. This typology of construction was prevalent on the Las Vegas commercial strip.

Figure 2.1 Roadside typologies of Las Vegas commercial strip
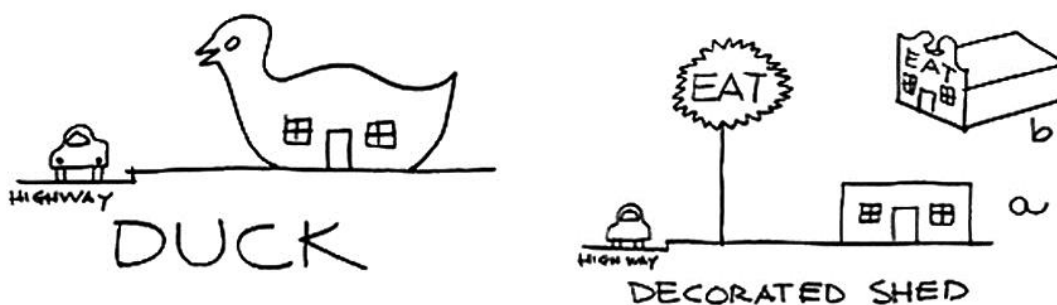
Source: Robert Venturi, Denise Scott-Brown and Steven Izenour *(1977, 87)*

This finding did not only present value in contemporary vernacular construction, which would be considered too ordinary, or too common to be studied, it provided a valuable insight into

changes that buildings are subjected to, as media or visaul formats. The decorated shed illustrates the change in which image, representation separates from the architectural form (house does not have to look like a house, the decoration is not bound to any particular shape or location) which became an epiphany of postmodern turn in the architecture under the slogan 'anything goes'.

The contribution from Venturi and Scott-Brown was considered as one of the foundations of the study of postmodern architecture (Jencks 2011, 43–44) and influenced the next generation of architects. *Learning from Las Vegas* is first and foremost a critique of modernist architecture, its homogenising form, and spread of the International Style architecture. Similar critiques were made by Italian architect and urban planner Aldo Rossi (1966) and American urban planning activist Jane Jacobs (1961). Both Rossi and Jacobs defied unilateral acceptance of modernist architecture and modern functionalist urban planning, citing it servility to capital and the destruction of local vernacular identities.

Learning from Las Vegas was translated and read in Yugoslavia (1988, 1990) but it was appreciated for its importance in postulating postmodernist architecture, while the book's turn towards the 'architecture of ordinary' was never acknowledged or elaborated on. In BiH, postmodernism was not understood as schism against modernism of the International Style but rather as a licence to ignore modernist rejection of ornamentation and combine its form with traditional ornamentation presented in the architecture of Zlatko Ugljen (Ugljen Ademović and Turkušić 2012). It is not very practical to think about visuals of contemporary informal buildings in BiH as postmodernist eclecticism in the architecture, as they are informal, non-architecture. However, the contribution of *Learning from Las Vegas* opened the interest in commercial, ordinary built spaces and the road.

Other authors followed the research of the 'ordinary' by focusing on individual elements of roadside architecture and life, such as dining, lodging, traffic and transit and construction supporting these functions. Among the first, there is a work of architects Paul Hirshorn and Steven Izenour (Venturi's former teaching assistant) on the architectural history of the fast food chain *White Towers* (Hirshorn and Izenour 2007), followed by Richard Gutman's restaurants focused *American Diner: Then and Now* (Gutman 2000). Studies focusing on the roadside dining culture were joined by studies on motels, gas stations and memorabilia, such as *American on the Road: from Autocamp to Motel 1910-1945* (Belasco 1979) and carnivalesque

tourist encyclopaedias *Well-built Elephant* (Andrews 1984) and *The New Roadside America* (Kirby, Smith, and Wilkins 1992). The two authors opened theoretical research of cultural symbolism of the road. John Margolies organised five development stages of the roadside in nostalgic work *The End of the Road: Vanishing Highway Architecture in America* (Margolies 1981). Critically acclaimed Chester Liebs *Main street to Miracle Mile: American roadside architecture* (1985) engaged in a wider analysis of roadside objects studying motels, restaurants, drive-in theatres and supermarkets with a specific focus on the forms of buildings, images and signs.

In the mid-1990s John Hopkins University Press published a series of roadside monographs focusing on gas stations (Jakle and Sculle 1994), motels (Jakle, Sculle, and Rogers 2002) and fast food restaurants (Jakle and Sculle 2002). Exploring the 'gas, food, lodging' trilogy Jakle and Sculle follow the historical development of the American roadside and its cultural institutions, expanding the study focus to the wider landscape and its transformation as a direct consequence of the automobile revolution.

With pioneering works on the study of ordinary, roadside studies provided a glimpse into architecture changing under the influence of mobility. A significant body of this research is devoted to nostalgia and vanishing places as cultural landscapes of North America continue to transform. Therefore it is bound to its cultural and historical context. This type of research, inspired by early car-oriented architecture was not reciprocated in Europe, making the contributions from the US particularly valuable insights into the 'other' architecture and the architecture of mobility.

Related to the interest in the roadside architecture, Holly Everett (2002) focuses on memorial headstones and crosses in Texas exploring multiple roles for them in local and roadside culture including mourning, warning communication, access of less visible social groups and communicating between subcultures. Other authors have researched deeper aspects of the roadside and its implications such as consumerism in different grades of architecture and the nature of the vernacular in consumerism (Chase 1986). Raitz (Raitz 1998) deals with nature of the roadside, its indication of the mass consumer culture of the USA and its transformations in time and with changes in technology. Edensor (2001; 2004) sees automobiles and the roadside as constructors of the national identity in a bottom-up perspective, as opposed to classical top-down views such as that of Benedict Anderson (B. Anderson 2006). In contrast to Edensor,

Wood (A. Wood 2005) questions geographic dimensions of the roadside with the omnipresence of its specific structures such as motels, or dialectics of 'homogenised chains and idiosyncratic local'.

Vernacular house

Almost at the same time as early postmodern architecture, Henry Glassie, an ethnographer from Indiana University published the work *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artefacts* (1975). Glassie expanded the limits and contents of vernacular architecture by moving to the ordinary contemporary dwelling. He offers an understanding of a house as an artefact of material culture, which is possible to deconstruct. Through this process, the researcher can discover little histories hidden in the house and its surroundings and meanings that owners and dwellers inscribe within them. While his initial research is devoted to keeping these two concepts together in a nostalgic exploration of vanishing forms (Glassie 1991), in his later research, he separates vernacular and traditional exploring everything that is available and used in the dwelling. Glassie particularly focused on including contemporary vernacular in his studies of housing in Turkey and Bangladesh (Glassie 2000).

Paul Olivers' account of Kaluđerica makes the closest connection of the term 'vernacular' to informal construction in the (post)Yugoslav context. In an extensive study of contemporary vernacular forms around the globe, Oliver (2006)[8] includes the common typology of illegal settlements in Kaluđerica in the group. He does differentiate this type of construction from typologies prevalent in informal settlements of urban slums (also known as *bustees*, *favelas*, *gecekondus*, *bidonvilles* (ibid., 365) as the typology present here often involves a high quality of technical works. Oliver's account oposes that of Branislava Saveljić (1988) who saw Kaluđerica and its illegal construction as a favela and was criticised for self-orientalising/Balkanist discourse by Ana Džokić, Marc Neelen and Nebojša Mikić (2012).

Any objects, and houses in particular, are man-made, and their constructivity is evident from the knowledge that they were produced. Their omnipresence in everyday life renders them as natural, they become normalised and unquestioned. Design as democratic art is not only a

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[8] The article originally published in 1989.

product of mass culture and consumerism and a method of the consumer's enslavement by capitalist society but the very process in which individuals engage with material reality (Miller 1998; Miller 1987).

Vernacular architecture as popular design is attractive to the interplay of ideologies of people and realities of the material. In the specific cases of this study, the scales of space and time for the buildings are often much larger than for its makers, making an individual's actions less planned and intentional and more effective (Miller 2001). In the process of house making and decoration actions are often governed not by one idea of a competent, rational mind but the uneven sequence of interventions in the process.

In my understanding vernacular houses, as well as other forms of democratic design (different forms of DIY), lack formalism which stimulates its content to be more dynamic, acting as constantly slowly changing media. The result presented to the road serves as an opportunity to read and analyse both realities of physical (commodities, bodies, space and time) and social (ideologies, politics, everyday history, global processes). It is precisely this lack of formalism, liberated from the breakdown in planning and supervision that delivers other rationality to govern the process, the rationality of not what is planned or one would like, but the rationality of what is normal, custom and pragmatic. This rationality is much closer to ideology as it constantly refers to an unknown matrix of what is normal and it is self-correcting, while constantly representing personal values in the open space.

Vernacular construction in (post)Yugoslav research

The vernacular house exists as a theoretical concept in (post)Yugoslav research, referring exclusively to the rural typologies of pre-modern dwellings (Freudenreich 1962; Freudenreich 1972; Salopek 1974; Kadić 1967; Kadić 1978) and their inspiration in modern architecture (Grabrijan and Neidhardt 1957; Kurto 1998). Due to the emphasis on formal architecture, the idea of the ordinary was interpreted as traditional (e.g. pre-architectural). This tendency in research is dominant within local ethnography and to some extent in architecture.

The focus on traditional buildings is mainly motivated by the need for documenting and preservation of rural dwellings, as a reaction to rural to urban migration and the depopulation of villages in the second half of 20th century. These efforts date back to the pioneering work of

Špiro Soldo (1932) in the interwar years and they increased in the socialist period with the works of architects Aleksandar Freudenreich (1962; 1972) who provided description and drawings of rural typology 'kuća na dvije vode' (gable roofed house) and Davor Salopek (1974). In Bosnia and Herzegovina, rural buildings were explored by architect Muhamed Kadić (1967) who later connected rural influences with the rise of informal construction in Sarajevo (1972). Following the end of the war and decrease of institutional support vernacular architecture is only explored occasionally and are mainly directed towards locations that are recognised by the government as touristic opportunities, such as the mountain village Lukomir (Nikolić and Šarančić Logo 2011) or the medieval Herzegovinian town of Počitelj (Sanković-Simčić 2010).

The strong interest in traditional architecture is partially motivated by the inspiration modern Bosnian architects have drawn from the traditional. The works of early socialist modernists like Dušan Grabrijan and Juraj Neidhardt paid great attention to traditional Bosnian dwellings (1957, 166–67) seeing the almost dialectical organisation in Sarajevo's commercial and residential districts (ibid., 11). Strict modernists like Ivan Štraus criticised this reliance on Bosnian Oriental mannerism (1977, 26) but in the long term, traditional elements remained celebrated in works of later modernists like Nedžad Kurto and postmodernists like Zlatko Ugljen (Kurto 1998).

Contemporary ordinary buildings are in this way left out as they do not fall into the categories of formal or traditional architecture. The only sources I found that addressed ordinary house typologies were the catalogues advertising typical models of individual housing (Krnjajić and Derdžić 1973; Simčić 1966). Due to the complicated relationship between individual residence and socialist morality (discussed in detail in Chapter 3), architecture offices in former Yugoslavia mass produced housing plans for the individual homes, which were named model construction [*tipska gradnja*].

Landscape and roadscape

The concept of the landscape was originally developed in cultural geography (Merriman et al. 2008; Cresswell 2003) around two main ideas based on the relationship understanding of landscapes built around the picture (Sauer 1965) or the viewer (Lewis 1979). The original

understanding of landscape saw it as a composition of particular elements; material culture produced the people (Cresswell 2003, 269). Later perspectives framed the landscape as a cultural system in which the social is represented, experienced and reproduced (ibid., 271). These early tendencies constructed the landscape as a static material construct, which is studied by an uninvolved outsider. J. B. Jackson was one of the first theorists to employ the landscape in exploring the ordinary, through moving cars, roadside advertisements, industrial spaces and simple buildings (Jackson 1984, 21–27). His understanding also considered landscapes as constantly changing, with the observer as a part of it. Landscapes, therefore, could be used to observe and analyse the material changes on a greater scale. They provided a way to understand space as a text, where human activity constantly transforms the material.

As a unit of analysis, landscape serves to help understand material culture more dynamically. In the post-war context, houses as large units of material culture are being reassembled and transformed. In some extreme case, the objects are even moved and reassembled as ideological orders of how the house should look like, where should it be placed and what function it should fulfil are changing. With modifications, the meanings encoded in the bricks and concrete are consequently renegotiated. The landscape serves as a tool to understand these changes in meaning and presentation that are bigger than human scale. Actions of individuals in material reality leave traces and do not always have to match with their discourses. In that way, landscapes can feature what is what is transgressive, abject, or unspeakable (Buchli and Lucas 2001).

The increase in mobility of individuals with the development of transport systems changes the way landscapes are produced and experienced from moving vehicles. J.B Jackson developed the concept of the roadscape (1984; 1970) describing the transformation of landscapes in the 1960s USA during the rise of the automobile. Roadscape, the visuality of space from the moving car, captures these new optics. A signature employed on the roadside is organised towards the visual spectrum of the road. It is also determined by the velocity of cars moving 60 miles per hour favouring icons and indexes (signs with more direct relationship to the connoted) in the iconography (Jackson 1997, 149–50). Inside the moving the car, visual space of the outside is reduced to two and a half dimensions, consisting of the roadside objects with a perceptual wall behind. If this is related to Venturi, Scott-Brown and Izenour's model of 'the decorated shed' (Figure 2.1) it may explain why the icon of the building moves to the front to attract the attention of passing drivers.

2.2.1 Postsocialist Material Culture Studies

The material culture of Yugoslav socialist society left significant traces in the landscapes of the former state. Most of these landscapes are retreating in postsocialist transformation. As a tangible expression of such processes, landscapes are an accurate indicator of the non-linear direction of postsocialist transformation where a market economy and liberal democracy do not necessary lead towards progress but are rather a road to the unknown (Verdery 1996). The current interest in postsocialist landscape deals mainly with the destruction of the urban fabric and the increasingly revisionist politics of postsocialist regimes (Czepczyński 2008; Hirt 2008). The landscapes of privatisation, rural transformations and new mobilities are yet to be researched.

Studying the proliferation of informal construction in former Eastern Europe requires some sensitivity, mainly in regards to the breakdown of socialism and postsocialist economic transition. This is general premise of *Balkanology* (Vöckler 2008; Voeckler 2011) and turbo-urbanism (Jovanović Weiss and Safran 2006) studies as well but they consider the economic transition as the reason behind the new developments and use it to interpret informality as a failure of postsocialist transition that delivers between the two models (between socialist and capitalist modernity).

Scholars of postsocialism (Burawoy and Verdery 1999; Verdery 1996; Gilbert 2006) have demonstrated that transition cannot be understood in those terms. The transition paradigm is rather an ideological legitimization of the postsocialist economic transformation than an actual process. It promises Western capitalism as its end goal in order to legitimise the application of radical neoliberal policies ('reforms'). The actual economic trajectory of the postsocialist transition is the road to the unknown, and it does not guarantee failures or successes (or an outcome of capitalist liberal democracy). Andrew Gilbert also adds that in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the post-war paradigm is far more dominant than the postsocialist (Gilbert 2006). Moreover, as later chapters will show, the proliferation of informality is not a consequence of transitional gap but it is present in all contexts.

Caroline Humphry explores the development of new Russian villas, built in the suburbs of postsocialist Moscow that became a symbol of Russian *nouveau riche*. The houses are

modelled on the traditional vernacular cottages but supersized and expanded, so they are considered tacky but embody both modern and traditional. In the context of these houses, and former socialist societies consumerism is a method of acquiring a Western image for oneself. Acquiring the imaging is a mimicry of desired modernity. It does not mean reaching imagined condition, but a communication with a desire.

Victor Buchli focuses on architecture (Buchli 1999; Buchli and Lucas 2001; Buchli 2013) and its transformation in postsocialist context. For Buchli '[a]rchitecture is also the material cultural matrix which most other artefacts of material culture are associated. Hence our understanding of societies is almost invariably concentrated through an architectural ocular' (1999, 1). Buchli explicitly pays attention to what is abject and bizarre and uses it as an entrance point to learn about society through its contradictions and frictions.

The main question of postsocialist material culture studies is how social, cultural and ideological phenomena are articulated as material products of human activity. Without looking directly at the individuals, these researchers attempt to gauge the traces of changes in material products around people. The procedure might appear to be overcomplicating the issue as a turn to material traces is usually undertaken in settings where one is unable to contact direct interlocutors (such as distant past). In the context of recent past however, this procedure might prove useful in contexts which are heavily burden with a specific entity or paradigm, such as a major transition, trauma, or another event. The material turn was mostly accepted in contemporary archaeology (Buchli and Lucas 2001) and applied in studies of recent changes in (post)soviet cities' urban fabrics (Buchli and Humphrey 2006; Pelkmans 2003a). Postsocialist material culture research turns towards everyday life, consumption and commodities to understand and interpret the societies and changes that are occurring in them.

2.2.2   The mobility paradigm

The end of socialism is not the only radical change necessary for understanding post-Yugoslav space transformation and the proliferation of informal construction. The spatial turn and the later emergence of the mobility paradigm are equally important in understanding transformations in postsocialist space. The spatial turn gained more attention with Edward Soja's work *Postmodern geographies* (1989) suggesting that both the perspective and the

experience of space through its very nature are constructed. Drawing on Lefebvre's Production of Space (1991) Soja defined real, imagined and the third space which is both real and imagined at the same time. The spatial turn initiated a debate on how spaces are perceived and produced in the same process.

The spatial turn is additionally complicated by technological involvement in social transformation. At the beginning of 20th century the invention of elevators redefined architecture. Technology enabling buildings to grow taller and human subjects to use the new space accumulated irreversibly changed city skylines. Similarly, the rise of mobility in the late 20th and early 21st century is redefining speed and the ways the world is integrating. As the interconnected world is rising, the process of globalisation appears to be more about mobility (Giddens 2000). Mobility in that way becomes not only the key concept for the understanding of phenomena that are concretely related to motion, such as tourism (C. M. Hall 2005) but a quality without which entire societies could not function (Kaufmann 2002). As material transformations are re-making the social, it is no longer possible to speak of the sociology of society but the sociology of mobility (Urry and Sheller 2004; Sheller and Urry 2006; Larsen, Urry, and Axhausen 2006).

Some of the mobility issues concerning the case of BiH are noticeable such as mobility as a core of European spatial visions (Jensen and Richardson 2004; Rumford 2008) or more physical instances of it that cannot be ignored such as pollution mobility. For a more sophisticated understanding of how mobility is affecting the society and the informal construction of the roadside, it is necessary to change static and sedentary understandings of society (Massey 2005). As I argue in the third chapter, that mobility evolved in a specific Bosnian frame is a key force behind the development of new informal construction discussed in the dissertation.

The landscapes are dynamic. Mobility drives this dynamism

Landscapes as units of analysis are introducing a perspective on a larger scale than a house. Landscapes are not static images but dynamic frames in which the material and social are constantly changing by reshuffling material registries. The constant dynamism is not reserved only for the roadscapes due to their immediate connection with the car, but any landscape which is constantly on the move. The mobility paradigm considers a society and its material realities

in constant motion. It goes beyond the sedentary, by viewing society as a network subject to constant shifts (Sheller and Urry 2006; Cresswell 2006; Cresswell 2010).

Mobility does not mean nomadism, that the future of life and society means a steady move towards traditional, anachronistic nomadism beyond the sovereignty of states. Quite to the contrary, omnipresent mobility does not have the same quality or extent for everyone, and there are different regimes of movement, freedom, border selectivity and economic relationships that differentiate mobility. The new mobility paradigm goes beyond nomadism, even the critical ones such as the nomadism concept offered by Braidotti (2011). As useful as nomadism is in articulating some politics, (e.g. sophisticated rejection of the national state), it does not address the reality of disproportionate access to mobility by different social groups and the lack of access for others.

The mobility paradigm responds to the increase in motion by focusing on the rise of transport systems, the movement of people, goods and information. The increase of movement is not introduced through equal access for everyone but it is rather highly segmented and differentiated (Adey 2004; Burrel 2008; Cresswell 2006). Cosmopolitan tastes in the global north are enabled with a particular mobility that routes commodities from the whole world towards northern centres, while in the global South, the correct taste is directed to the goods from the north often acquired through informal channels. The initial development of transport geography transferred the debates to wider sociological, political, philosophical and architectural and technological spaces, transforming sedentary perspectives on society and seeing it in constant motion.

Originally Sheller and Urry (2006) suggest six basic theoretical directions in studying mobility. The first foundation draws upon on the work of Georg Simmel (2001), in understanding how a need for precision with time affected the complex system of relationships. The second direction focuses on the systems of transportation that involve and are influenced by society (Pellegrino 2012). The third direction is working in the postmodern conception of spatiality and the ways in which space is constantly reconfigured (Thrift 1996). The fourth direction deals with emotional geographies, through which place and movement are perceived. The fifth direction explores the topologies of social networks and the sixth direction analyses complex systems that are neither ordered nor anarchic, such as the post-car system.

Sheller and Urry also suggest that the rise of motion enables new methodologies, such as mobile ethnographies involving the participation of movement patterns while conducting

ethnographic research, time-space diaries, studies of in-between or ephemeral places, transfer points, programmed consumer places, 'cyber-research' exploration of virtual mobilities, studies of experiences, private memories and feelings (Sheller and Urry 2006).

Mobility as a system, in-betweenness and the digital

Out of the six suggested theoretical directions, the conceptual framework draws from the two relevant for automobility; the postsocialist rise of the car system and the emergence of non-places, ephemeral places or the places in-between. Mobility constantly functions in its relationship towards modernity. The ways in which both socialist and postsocialist societies organise movement provides another perspective on the change, postsocialist transition and consequentially sheds new light on the emergence of informal architecture in it. Exploring mobility in a postsocialist context starts from the rise of the car and motor vehicles as the dominant type of transport that emerged with the collapse of large state transport companies and the infrastructure they serviced. Jakle saw the growth of automobiles in 1950s USA as the rise of freedom for the emerging post-war generation (2011). In the BiH postsocialist context personal automobiles emerged as a source of security and fill the void left by the disappearance of public transport services but at the same time, it is a method of joining the global increasing 'will to move'. Even though local researchers tend to focus on Bosnians and Herzegovinians *not* crossing the entity lines and neighbouring state borders which they often did in the former state, the average Bosnians and Herzegovians consume more petrol, own more cars and move more than they did thirty years ago.

The increased traffic and its transformation of the space leave not only material traces but also digital ones with growing accounts of travel (Cresswell 2006; Blunt and Dowling 2006; Hubbard 2006). These digital records provide the possibility of studying environments around traffic in more detail, in particular 'roadside' and ways to analyse roadside architecture as a material registry. As suggested in the earlier section about architecture, the buildings develop a visual expression to communicate with the moving gaze from vehicles. On the other hand, the moving gaze of drivers in traffic captures and shares these expressions presenting this new visuality. The radical transformation of architectural language is best documented in numerous online platforms for presenting and sharing photographs and video material supporting communication by recording travels and communicating this experience. Therefore exploring

mobility needs to involve dealing with new technologies of communication and dimensions of mobility enabled by the internet and digital space (Germann Molz 2004).

Carried by the individuals, styles move around, mainly mediated by the commodities, and it is often visible that this process changes directions. Objects in local usage change their functions as well as meaning, almost never convincingly copying the imagery of cosmopolitan world. In the free flow of detached iconography, the interesting questions are the mechanisms enabled it, crushing borders of visual environments and transgressing local cultural hegemonies, the questions of mobility, informality and disposable income, availability of commodities and rising interconnectedness.

2.2.3   What culture, whose culture?

From the above presented problems with the understanding of informal construction stems the research premise that the core concept for understanding the wider social context is not architecture but culture. Culture is an elusive concept, a mobile signifier (Barker 2002, 15) largely removed from its original context in life sciences, even if still actively used there (R. Williams 2001). The meaning of culture is stretched and overused, which is why here, I offer only a simple understanding to help develop other concepts used in the research. In those simplistic terms, culture could be understood as the finer end of civilisation, a particular way of life that reflects in symbolic and material production (R. Williams 1983b, 90). It describes the particularity of life, the features that makes the group unique, a distinctive way in which particular crowds organise and deal with life's challenges (such as communication, nutrition, shelter, reproduction).

Understanding culture through the dimensions of collectivity and style produced several controversies in the relatively short history of culture research. One of those controversies produced painful exploration of 'self' and 'other' reflected in studying and constructing national, European, Western, civilised, global, universal culture and using them against indigenous, primitive, oriental, minorities, or even socialist culture (S. Hall, Morley, and Chen 1996; S. Hall 1996). The second controversy dealt with an understanding of culture as a limited hierarchical quality which resulted in reifying class distinction (between elite, high, artistic, fine culture and mass, commercial, vulgar (non)culture) (Fiske 1989; R. Williams 1983b, 236).

45

With these problematic histories in mind, it is important to think of culture through its relations to a group and its style as a sensitive way to recognise and analyse new cultural developments.

Culture in practice: a subculture

Focusing on style opens up a means to analyse culture through its collection of distinctions by which an individual or a group differs itself from others. Originally style was defined by Dick Hebdige in the study of British youth cultures, particularly punk subculture (Hebdige 1991). My understandings of distinction stem from Bourdieu's original concept (Bourdieu 1984), and to its related concept of habitus. Considering that Hebdige's study precedes Bourdieu's, I see style as a performance of distinction, and have caution in relating these two concepts easily.

Subcultures are entities within a culture that are consolidated and performed around the active signification of difference and identity often revolting against society and its mainstream culture. A subculture does not have to be related solely to youth subcultures however. Subcultures can be formed through wider sections of class, sex or gender, ethnicity or space (Bennett and Kahn-Harris 2004). So does the style.

Style can be understood in even wider contexts, as a form of signifying its positions within a group or regarding the other groups. The distinction does not have to be necessarily disruptive or revolting, just relational. It does involve active reassembling commodities in bricolage as a mean of practising distinction. Hebdige (1991, 62–72) illustrates this practice with the example of skinheads using boots, jeans and suspenders for representing conservative, xenophobic ideology (i.e. reviving lost working class values through imaging of hardiness and masculinity). Informal architecture does not have to identify as a subculture (for reasons that will be explored in historical and analytical parts) but exploring its style could serve in the study of the relationship between their imaging and the representation it offers.

Sign

In a more traditional way, a sign as a fundamental element of culture, the basic denominator of what is articulated within a particular culture. Signs are a combination of a material signifier (a written or audio designation) and signified; they do not have the meaning because of a direct

relationship with objects (Barthes and Lavers 1972). Users ascribe meaning in the signs and depend on signs' relationships with objects in the material worlds which divides the signs into *icons*, *indexes* and *symbols*, depending on their complexity of meaning or the precise relationship with objects. Drawing on Lefebvre, Hebdige (1991, 17) claims that object and signs are continuously interchanged depending who uses and contextualises them.

> All aspects of culture possess a semiotic value, and the most taken-for-granted phenomena can function as signs: as elements in communication systems governed by semantic rules and codes which are not themselves directly apprehended in experience. (Hebdige 1991, 13).

There is no difference between objects and signs, contrary to popular understandings that objects are material (and hence are real while signs are constantly negotiatedand thus are artificial). Both signs and objects are constructed by local frameworks of thinking which simultaneously construct symbolic and material reality. Their meanings are given and negotiated due to the ideological framing in design, interventions in which the objects were moulded by later usage and how contexts between the users change. Depending on the level of the connotation, material objects can be signs, or sometimes interchanged, overt in fetishized commodities, such as popular Western consumer goods in non-Western contexts. Reading what is abject as well as ordinary, typical and humble opens the possibility to speak about the ideology that is producing and putting objects in this context.

Ideology

Signs that are being sent and received carry specific ideas. The set of ideas that is bound to the group, rather than the individuals, is called ideology. Ideology represents matrix by which signs are organised, recognised and interpreted. It is both set of conventions by which reassembling can be done, as well as the ideas which cease to work beyond consciousness (Althusser 1971). Ideology is primarily common sense (S. Hall 1977), a set of ideas and meaning, and consequentially practices. Ideas and meanings conveyed by an ideology seek to affirm the

optimal way to organise the society, relationships in the group, or how one should lead a prosperous life. They are rational and moral, shared and justified; they aim to be a system of universal truths.

Dominant ideas in society are always those of ruling class, even though they may be implemented or reified by anyone. Ideology does not have to be tied to social class or the market relations; it can involve all aspects of life. Ideology organises as the framework in reassembling commodities, for example, the ways in which objects become gendered, such as clothing items which are proscribed male or female. In concrete case of the research ideology may proscribe how spaces within a house which become public (yard, living room or saloon, terraces) or private (bedrooms, kitchen, storage), how the separate floors might serve work (ground), housing (first floor) and the future (unfinished second floor) and how this guides the design.

Myth

As suggested everything in culture is arbitrary because it is negotiated and signified by ideology. For an element of culture to become operable, it needs to be naturalised, which is how negotiated particular elements of culture are rendered given and universal. This process of naturalisation, Roland Barthes (Barthes and Lavers 1972) named as mythology. Anything that is in the culture becomes a myth. The connotation of the myth used by Barthes has little to do with Ancient Greek construction of the myth as fiction that explains life. Barthes redefines myth as a convention that presents itself to be natural. The ordinary is thus always mythological. What Barthes calls mythologies are hidden sets of rules, codes and conventions through which meanings particular to specific social groups are rendered universal and 'given' to the whole society. The starting point of these reflections was usually a feeling of impatience at the sight of the 'naturalness' with which newspaper, art and common sense constantly dress up a reality which, even though it is the one we live in, is undoubtedly determined by history. (Barthes and Lavers 1972, 10–11)

Barthes ascribes mythmaking to bourgeois society but this qualification should not remain limited only to those that the term 'bourgeois society' may include. Barthes reliance on bourgeois is reflective of the specific hegemony of French society at the time. One step in

avoiding this limitation is using a middle class instead of bourgeois, and extend the application of mythologies to any social context. As it will be later shown, societies that railed against bourgeois values, nourished socialist middle classes and produced corresponding mythologies are well exemplified in the case of socialist Yugoslavia. Speaking about mythology is inseparable from speaking about ideology and hegemony.

Hegemony

Ideologies constantly change and fluctuate following the change of power relations in a given society. Dick Hebdige identifies those ideologies that frame dominant discourses about reality, naming them dominant ideologies: 'They thus tend to represent, in however obscure and contradictory fashion, the interests of the dominant groups in society' (1991, 15). The understanding of dominant ideologies in the society has been criticised by Abercrombie Hill, and Turner (1980) who disputed the dominant ideology thesis, explaining that there is no dominant culture, and that class power is mainly economic and political. For them, the economic necessity was sufficient to explain the disproportion against working class political activity. The criticism offered by Abercrombie et al. does not account for the process of making and reinforcing dominant meaning, values and ideas that Gramsci named cultural hegemony (Gramsci, Hoare, and Smith 1971).

The dominant groups in society succeed in projecting their power, practising social authority and leadership across the entire society. The power of the hegemons appears natural and universal, almost ahistorical and is not only despised but accepted and reinforced by those who are overpowered. Hegemonic power is exercised exactly because of the consent of the dominated majority. It needs to be continuously reproduced and strengthened via reproducing ideology, regardless of the degree of heterogeneous cultures (and with them other ideologies) present in a society. Style, and especially good taste, often presented as a personal choice and a tool of individual expression, are instrumental elements of hegemony. Completely constructed and constantly reinvented, style and good taste are submitted and promoted to legitimise aesthetically a group that is in power.

Regardless of the extent to which a style is socially stratified and constructed, it is reified through the institutionalisation of artisanal activities reflected in the production of

'professional' and 'wild' form of a specific cultural activity. The following sections of the theoretical framework will present works that deal with particular examples of informal architecture and roadside buildings. I will also analyse them with regards to hegemony, mythologies and ideology related to the style of dominant building practices, architecture and urban planning.

2.2.4   Producing marginal and relativist knowledge

In the specific question of informal construction, the tradition of critical philosophy still largely influences understandings of culture as the elite end of art. In that light, the proliferation of informality, as non-artistic, commercial, DIY production can only be seen as something shameful, Balkanist, rather than a new development that is yet to demonstrate its impact on society. Shame and critical rejection of the phenomenon are exhibited by the absence of research about it, even if informal construction is a currently dominant form of individual building.

My intention is to avoid the dispute about the nature of art and quality these house present. They exist in physical reality and there is a need to reflect on them in a logical manner which is more sophisticated than plain mockery or rejection. Additionally, there is the persisting question about what this proliferation indicates. Moreover, since there is resistance this begs the question of why local researchers are so hostile towards them?

To avoid both of two difficulties with the problematic subject and critical culture understanding, I evoke more relativism in framing the research. In concrete terms, relativism means to be able to engage marginal subjects by informing the research with local understandings of it, but not limiting the research definition to it. Regarding cultural phenomena, it means to move beyond a critical understanding of culture and accept mass culture as a fact and to ask how different forms of culture are produced and consumed. This means to explore whether the alleged elements of mass culture, kitch and schund of informal construction, are produced by a corporation for the targeted market, or whether it a local manufacturer. Relativism means approaching practices of non-elite cultural production, such as imitation, simulation, fetishism, without value orientation and considering them as simply techniques of designing. It means to analyse informal construction as mass culture or non-elite culture produced in a specific class

context rather than presenting informality through its deficient professional value.

The strong constructivist approach does not see only social and personal aspects of life to be constructed but also a physical one. Not only our bodies (Butler 1990; Butler 1993) but also conditions of our environment, time (Levine 1997) and space (Foucault 1986; Lefebvre 1991; Soja 1989) are constructs of our perception and social relations to what we call realities. The realities that science describes and analyses are plural and perceptions. One cannot objectively extract and generalise them to abstract theory but only interpret. Science in this understanding is not a quest for objectivity and truth by a detached and rational researcher, based on dualisms of the separation of mind from body, nature from culture, reason from emotion and the public from the private (Holland 2007). If there is such thing as truth, it is bound up with images and performances. Lived life can never be fully understood as interpretation is an ongoing and incomplete process (Ezzy 2002, 24). Both the researcher and the researched are socially and historically conditioned by perspectives in the same way as human existence is conditioned and this influences interpretations which are being constructed as data. To have any possibility of gaining a wider understanding, interpretation can be led within pre-existing frameworks which give it referent value, but it is always incomplete, located between our perspectives and those of others (Ezzy 2002, 26–27).

The traditional semiotics of Barthes (1968) recommends all textual analysis to be in service of understanding hegemonies structuring social relationships and its politics. The analysis in the research is used to understand ideologies, but it will maintain a critical approach towards the theories of representation critique. Older representatives of representation critique (the early postmodernist critics), Edward Relph (1976), Jean Baudrillard (1989; 1994) and Frederic Jameson (1991) had a tendency to read the presence of corporate spaces or open referentiality in local architecture as placelessness, simulation or inauthentic and interpret this as a symptom of global capital's disruptive presence. Following this argument, the research will look into other contributions, seeking other explanations in representation politics, such as the affective function of the commodities (Miller 2008) and material culture.

I do agree that everything is political but creative and social life sometimes occurs without articulating its politics. Some things are done because they are pretty or feel right regardless what politics they have. Especially when involved in creative processes, individuals can act without clear intentions and homemaking is one of these creative processes. The products of

these efforts affect the viewers seeing them through public space, even when not intentional or conscious. It does not mean that the political should be ignored, but only that it comes in the second plan. Daily politics in BiH does not determine roadside expressions. The questions of houses visuals that are transforming the landscapes and the forces that move this transformation should go beyond the illegality of construction debate and open some new dimensions.

2.3 Methodology and approaches

The first section of the subchapter presents the analysis levels defining what aspects of the subject studied were followed, documented and analysed, and explaining the characteristics of the qualitative approach. The proceeding section describes the sources in the research, data collection (photographs) and practices of conduct during the fieldwork research. The section on semiotic analysis of visual materials discusses possible problems in the analysis and the benefits and obstacles of visual materials interpretation followed by the section presenting supporting materials. The subchapter ends with remarks on the ethics of the research, privacy protection, and the researcher's politics of the location.

2.3.1 Defining case study

Researching cultural phenomena in post-conflict society inevitably raises the question of methodological nationalism (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002). Contemporary research on BiH not only attributes considerable importance to the current political organisation of the country but it is often focused only on this aspect of life. Emphasising the current political and territorial divisions of the country, researchers often reify the importance of these divisions. This research does describe objective reality and while ethnonational divisions are perhaps important to most BiH citizens, its popularity in research obscures other realities. Radical fragmentation of territory and newly established borders often produced inequalities in the ways Bosnia and Herzegovina is researched and constructed as a subject of knowledge.

Roads

The choice of roads as an appropriate spatial frame for exploring the informal construction may appear provisional in a Bosnian context as there is no tradition of research or large, iconic roads. But roads, as spaces defined by mobility, are an easy method to dislocate research perspective to motion, instead of a traditional understanding of everyday life and the wider society as sedentary. If defined, they can go outside of territoriality and are not mainly defined by institutions (although they are certainly affected by them). Roads have a specific effect on the vernacular architecture. They stimulate it and accelerate alterations in structure and iconography characteristic for informal construction. Cultural research of the roads in the USA mainly follows iconic roads important for historical developments, such as the iconic Route 66, the Pacific Highway or a number of other routes (Jakle and Sculle 2011). While BiH does not have iconic roads of this scale I focus on two routes that are of significance.

The two routes are selected also have a peculiar history connected to the war and post-war division and are are currently being transformed into the first major highways in the country. Following the objective of focusing on alternative approaches to space as a manoeuvre in the deterritorialization of science, the routes were adopted and named them in a different manner East-West, South-North. As each of the routes serves one of the two BiH entities, it is important to notice that avoiding ethnic categories was not complete. Extending the routes to the outer state borders partially solved the problem (expanding the Koridor from the border crossing Rača (with Serbia) to the border crossing Izačić (with Croatia)). The roads connect different local communities and metaphorically transcend territorial divisions within the state. Additionally, the focus on the roads provides an opportunity to avoid other dichotomies important in the local perception of informal construction, particularly the urban versus rural bias which ascribes low cultural capital to houses in rural and semi-rural environments.

The chosen routes are organised by their physical orientation in the mapping system: North-South and East-West.Route **North-South** is imaginary line taken from the border crossing Brod (BiH)/Slavonski Brod (Croatia) in the north of the country and heads to the south until the border crossing with Croatia at Doljani. It is 369 kilometres long, and most of it is magistral roads (Class M) with a single lane in each direction. The route connects Croatia and Republika Srpska on the north with Zenica-Doboj Canton, Canton Sarajevo, Herzegovina-Neretva Canton and exits again to Croatia in the south. With cities on its way Brod, Derventa, Doboj, Maglaj, Žepče, Zenica, Visoko, Sarajevo, Konjic, Jabljanica, Mostar and Čapljina it connects more than

770,000 people. Colloquially the route is known as 'Koridor 5c' since it is about to be transformed into national highway A1 as a part of European Corridor 5 (E73, Budapest – Ploče). From the opening of the first leg (Sarajevo-Podlugovi) in 2007 until 2014 only 118 kilometres of the highway has been built (JP Autoceste Federacije 2014).

The route **East-West** stretches through the north of the country from the border crossing Rača (with Serbia) in the east to the border crossing Izačić (with Croatia) in the West. It connects Serbia with most of the northern territory of Republika Srpska, Brčko district and Unsko-Sanski Kanton with west Croatia. With cities of Bijeljina, Brčko, Šamac, Modriča, Derventa, Prnjavor, Banja Luka, Prijedor, Bosanski Novi/Novi Grad, Bosanska Krupa and Bihać it connects population of more than 750,000 people directly. Colloquially the largest part of the route was known as (Srpski) 'Koridor' due to strategic importance for Serb-held territories during the war and linking them to Serbia. Part of the road, from Modriča to Doboj is planned to be upgraded to motorway but from the beginning of the works in 2016 no road was yet opened for traffic.

2.3.2 Levels of the analysis

Dealing with the research question, I understood that to learn about the material nature of the houses one must reconsider more general issues about materiality. One approach would be to explore material existence and experience of it through discursive practices of house owners and inhabitants, people that participate in it. Such a focus on the discursive practices is procedure often applied in postsocialist material culture studies (Buchli and Lucas 2001; Pelkmans 2003b; Humphrey 2005).

As the research of illegal construction in BiH dated to the socialist period and when it framed in issues of legitimacy and legality I presumed that most of the interlocutors would retain this framework and thus the research would be led in such a direction. The ways to confront and deal with possible bias were possible but I was not confident that using interviews further would guide the research in other directions beyond questions of legalisation, housing markets, stigma and other problems related to the discontents of the illegal construction.

The main research topic was living material culture, and nature of its changes, embodied in the richness of its pallets and perspectives of vernacular architecture and visual methods showed

to be a better choice for exploring it. Media such as stills from later discovered videos were not only abundant, frequent and constantly growing in production, they also allowed more freedom relating to current social and cultural research in BiH. They were not free from questions regarding the questions regarding the contours of statehood and ethnopolitics but were surely an easier source from which to access the subject.

Ideology structures both the objects (through their design and usage) and our perceptions of them. It is the practice of experiencing the material objects in phisical reality and using them, that renders the objects as universal, normal or ordianry. This illusory stabilty of ordinary or universal nature of phyiscal objects is actually in dynamic relationship between producer, produced and users. This research aims to explore this second half of the relationship, the physical presentation of the material and users (drivers) interaction with it.

Material sources are not a primary choice in contexts that are textually and discursively rich for the availability of actors . They are more often employed in contexts where there is an inability to converse with the subjects that created material goods; archaeology. Focusing on exploring material qualities in contemporary contexts is a productive meams to explore constructs in which discourse does not dominate (Buchli and Lucas 2001, 10–12). Nevertheless, common, normal or as obvious it may seem, material reality is always constructed in a series of conscious moves. The immersion and interaction of human actors with material reality and particular objects make them appear to be universal and more common than they are. Human activities produce not only smaller objects, such as commodities, but also larger structures and entire landscapes.

How material is produced, experienced and practised remains an underexplored question in the BiH context. Exploring the materiality of the houses opens up the possibility to explore these realities and the ideological constructions that structures them. The quality of social production within the material reality is most obvious in those elements of material reality that are rendered abject, failed or ridiculous (ibid.).

In a strict constructivist framework, material artefacts, similar to our bodies as well as the wider spaces they occupy, are constructs of our perception and social relations to what we call realities. Analysed houses and spaces they construct will be seen as complex visual texts and visually analysed with semiotic analysis.

House - Artefact

The typical model of a family home, both formal and informal, fell into the disciplinary gap (between architecture, urban planning, art history and ethnology) and ended up ignored by academic research, largely for being too common. The local research dealt with describing typologies, mainly exploring pre-modern vernacular models, mostly abandoned in contemporary housing practices while sciences focused on contemporary constructions are concerned with larger, more ambitious projects, leaving only rare examples of typologies of modest housing design for professional architecture. Both of these interests based their research on the study of the structure, architectural brief or the individual elements that made the typology specific. In post-Yugoslav research in Bosnia and Herzegovina, even these tendencies ceased. Such typologies are relatively unhelpful for the understanding of contemporary vernacular architecture, as most of them describe the structure and function, with the express purpose of generalising knowledge and producing an imaginary ideal for a house model. The evolution that occurred in models explored in this research moved away from mentioned typologies, and the proposed typologies cannot explain it affirmatively.

Contemporary houses in Bosnia and Herzegovina, are often commodified, directly introduced into the local economy serving not only housing but often hosting other businesses. As their function mixes the ideas of private and public, the imaging employed in their form and decoration takes a larger role while practices of construction often remain informal. This situation delivers an abundance of structures, models, and styles, fragmenting the types and making typologies redundant. Objects in the contemporary vernacular architecture become more significant for imaging they can emit than the typologies they might represent. Additionally, most of the objects are inhabited and introduced into the economy before being fully completed and so project completion loses importance. Being unfinished projects renders the construction subject to constant interventions and repurposing in contrast to formal construction where houses are rarely transformed or alternated.

The houses are not only a display of taste, or a reference to the architectural canonical, but a result of human effort to create, and to some extent, a life work of their makers. Designers, builders, and tenants use houses actively, even if not always consciously, for representation. Due to their changing visual language, they are also dynamic media, texts that can be visually read and further help in understanding the wider social context.

56

Landscape - Space

The second level of the analysis will focus on wider spatial systems in which houses are a part of, the landscapes. Landscapes are material units larger than houses used to examine how imaging employed in the visuals of houses spills over into other objects that are in proximity Similar to vernacular architecture, landscapes change constantly and can also be seen as media. They are neither static nor completely chaotic units of space but dynamic frames for observing and understanding spaces on scales larger than those covered by architecture. Vernacular houses take an important role in these landscapes, not only due to their numbers but the radical intervention they propose. It is hard to enjoy pristine nature naively when one's gaze also catches an unfinished pink castle next to the road. Landscape in this research is introduced to observe the houses as material changes on a large, possibly collective scale.

The category of landscape, used in the research is borrowed from cultural geography and understood as a system of representation (Jackson 1984), lived practice (Cresswell 2003). The difference from the level of houses is that landscapes are not limited to one or few coherent authors with at least some degree of intention in building a representation but they are more open, a product of communication and negotiation. Landscapes can also be read as texts and can be used to explain communication between the individual artefacts in understanding local histories, the politics represented and ideologies that structure this imaging. In particular, the research landscapes are confined to those around roads, roadscapes.

The moving gaze

The third level of analysis pays attention to the relationship of the spectator and the spectated, moving the gaze from the road. If house and landscapes are as understood as dynamic media, their changes are a response to an external factor, the traffic. Intense visual expressions have developed for obvious reasons of increased traffic and the larger economic activity it brings. Constant motion means the moving gaze of those in the vehicles. The traffic did not only increase in its quantity but also its quality with a growing number of anonymous travellers and the velocity of the cars limiting visual perception. These changes set new ways in which houses can be perceived, reducing the available registry to a simpler signature, predominantly icons. A reductive signature is followed by the increasing intensity of stimulation, as flashier messages invite more people to stop.

This level takes into consideration the previous two levels of the analysis and focuses on the interdependence between houses, l andscapes and their viewers (as silent organiser of the space). The moving gaze is catalysing the change in form and structure of the houses, and the street perspective becomes dominant in the structural model of the house. This level of analysis focuses on the relationship between the clear, sharp messaging send from the houses, and that which was received by passers-by. The results of communication will be identified and collected through amateur photography websites. This level of the analysis serves to shed more light on the architectural development but also on ideological constructs in the visual language of the built spaces. As most of the viewers passing by the buildings are outsiders to the buildings, that might not understand the intimate complexities of the decorations; spaces representations' also communicate to the anonymous other, the wider world. The communication between the houses and the moving gaze is an opportunity to use personal media and to represent the most important message, how prosperity should be followed or achieved. Consequentially this message is always framed to be more socially acceptable, populistic, hoping to represent, find praise and attract traffic.

2.3.3   Sources and methods

A difficulty in collecting material on the houses was the gap between extensive public discourse and little to none research focused on the actual topic in BiH. There was a lot of discussion about them among ordinary people in public discourse, and mythology of illegal construction was quite vivid, with plenty of stories of how and when people managed to outsmart the state and build illegally. Given the more developed research that was undertaken in neighbouring coutries Serbia (Milić, Petovar, and Čolić 2004; Petovar 2005) and Croatia (Klempić 2004; Gredelj 2015; Britvić Vetma 2013) this provided the most valuable insights as to how illegal construction has been understood, produced and regulated.

The material presence of informality was not articulated discursively, except in the form of (superficial) criticism, which is why I recognised the visual documenting of physical presence to be the priority which was then followed by the analysis.

Photography

Photography was a practical way to document and demonstrate the presence of the phenomenon. Collecting photographs included continuous visits to the sites, photographing houses and their immediate surrounding. With repeat visits, new photographs would enable the monitoring of the houses and provide insight into construction changes, or how houses develop and how decoration alters.

Photographs needed to have the primary purpose of documenting rather than narrating or conveying particular aesthetics, such as editorial or art photography. As photography is essentially a printout of light reflections from the objects, I understood photographs as recordings of the material reality; a means to evidence the physical existence of houses. Photographs appears reliable and objective while their visual mediation makes them more efficient and universal tool in communication as they 'transcends the boundaries of language' (Shore 2013).

As with any other media, objectivity and universality are of course inherently subject to the bias of recording, editing, perception and interpretation. The research included several procedures to confront these potential problems. Photos needed to be as wide and inclusive as possible, recording more contexts and so details could be subsequently studied. Additionally, the introduction of videos for recording enabled extracting even more images. Finally, the research included the photographs of the construction by other authors, which led to the discovery of a whole new set sources; amateur photographers and video maker communities on web 2.0.

Numbers of online spectators and their contributions grew through the years along with developments in recording technology, their availability, and infrastructure for presentation. Most of the spectators were found and communicated through photography sharing web communities, which showed to be a significant repository for photographs. The shift from the creators to the passengers was important as it provided evidence that other individuals were recording changes in the visual appearance of the buildings. A variety of photographs enabled a multiplicity of perspectives on the houses' structures and their details, but also differences in the optics of photography creators. The analysis of these differences became a significant contribution in understanding how photographers view the houses.

Video

The original methodology included videos as an additional source for recording. The benefits of video included a larger span of perspectives and availability to change perspectives while recording as the gaze itself moves. Video could offer additional insights into the moving gaze itself.

Nothing in this research evolved so quickly and abundantly as video production. The change in the video occurred in technology, formats, and resolution, capturing objects and platforms for presenting the materials. At the beginning of the research in 2010, I owned no smartphone and had plans to purchase a high-resolution camera. Before the research proposal, I purchased Nokia N8 (with 12 MP camera) and frequently borrowed a small compact camera for fieldwork. In later stages of the research, a cheaper Samsung III Neo substituted the Nokia N8, having significantly worse resolution (8 MP camera) and zoom but higher processing power. Following the rise of driving videos on Youtube, I additionally purchased a cheap action camera (Denver ACT-5002 with 12 MP) that was permanently attached to rear-view mirror in the car recording everything on the road through the front windscreen. In the same period, many more people invested in superior equipment producing high-resolution videos of the roads in BiH and presented them in several platforms. Unlike photographers, which kept their materials in more intimate community-based platforms, videos are promoted through YouTube with open access.

The available videos focus mainly on the road and car or motorbike rides. There are no special videos presenting the houses (except for those presenting businesses contained in individual houses). Houses found their way in the videos as the background in GoPro motorcycling, in vlogs of travel bloggers, in the background for wedding videos and many others. This development provides an opportunity to see a development of the recording technology but also the other side of communication, perspectives of moving gaze, presentations and other spaces that involve the houses.

The dissertation uses four types of visual materials: drawings, photographs, video stills and website snapshots.

Drawings (Figures 2.1; 4.3, 4.4, 4.5) are used from secondary sources and represent housing typologies present in the Las Vegas commercial strip (2.1), regional vernacular architecture (traditional 4.3), (contemporary 4.5) and roof typologies necessary for the name (4.4).

Photographs (Figures 4.9-4.11, 4.13, 4.16, 4.20; 5.1-5.11, 5.13-5.15) were taken during the fieldwork or come from secondary sources (photography sharing platforms with sources cited). They document the variety and presence of contemporary vernacular typologies, 'kuća na dvije vode' [gable roofed house] and 'kuća na četiri vode' [pyramid roofed house]. All buildings presented on the photographs in Chapter 4 serve as a residence or mixed functions, as both residential and commercial spaces. The exception is a building presented on photographs 4.20, 5.5, 5.6 and 5.13b, which serves only as a motel and a hotel.

Videos (Figures 4.1-4.2, 4.6-4.8, 4.12, 4,14, 4.15, 4.17; 5.12) were made based on the videos recorded during my visits to the roads or video sharing platforms (Figure 5.12). Video snapshots record the variety and presence of contemporary vernacular typologies, decorative styles and their presence on the roadside. All buildings presented in the video stills serve as residential or mixed functions.

Website snapshots (Figures 4.18, 4.19) were created to document the presence and reception of the contemporary vernacular architecture in digital space.

2.3.4 Fieldwork

Sampling. The obvious interest in the more extravagant examples of vernacular architecture and my personal position as semi-insider made it relatively easy to identify and select study cases. It was not as straightforward however to explain this procedure systematically and create a framework that would explore the phenomenon in more depth. Explaining an 'out of norm' condition related to post-war, vernacular and informal architecture, required the draft of an ideal, a typical example of the locally common house model from which studied examples differed drastically. This draft is presented in the section 4.2 about the typical Yugoslav working class housing model 'kuća na dvije vode' (provisionally named K2V).

Along these routes, a total of twenty houses were selected, ten on each route. The selection sample targeted those objects that had a form of the simple house in its original basis but then diverged from this model by drastically changing their appearance. Sampling was also required to encompass variety in the spatial and architectural terms (the houses' size, decoration, scale of the investment, their geographic, urban/rural and distribution on the routes). Regarding architectural form and decoration, the selected buildings show a variety in sizes, the degree of project implantation and complexity of form. In spatial terms, there is representative diversity

in the relationship between rural and urban and ethnic distribution (representing the three most dominant ethnic communities living in BiH) but there is a larger concertation of the buildings in the north, following the population distribution.[9]

The initial collection of twenty houses was useful in limiting and focusing the internet search but it soon revealed another important point. Not only were these buildings far from being non-places but online they provided rich visual and discursive traces, showing that someone's non-place is someone else's wonderland. Serving as points that perforate both physical and online space, houses provided the possibility to see how visual communication on the road is enabled and reproduced.

Driving around

The initial plan was to collect the data through fieldwork which would consist of visiting the sites, photographing them regularly and, after the original analysis of the sites, interviewing the owners. During the research, I diverged from that plan by expanding the research to explore the virtual presence of the houses on the internet.

The buildings are competing for the drivers' gaze and experiencing it meant much driving, taking the perspective of the roadside which gave a significant role to the car and the road in the research. The initial trips envisaged driving around and photographing the area followed by the visits to the houses. During those trips, the experience of driving came to be the principal force in the everyday activities. Not only passengers from far away but also the locals were mostly driving around. In these first journeys I made a couple of unplanned contacts, mainly with dwellers curious to know who was the person photographing their house was and why. In these situations, I would take the time to explain the research and used the opportunity to speak to them about their house. In all of the cases conversation was relaxed and civil and most inhabitants were happy to discuss their homes and were very accommodating.[10]

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[9] The southern region of Herzegovina is represented with only three houses, based on proportionality of population size, approximately 222,000 combined in Herzegovina-Neretva Canton (Kremić 2016, 10) through which the route North-South passes. The Herzegovina region is smaller than Bosnia with a population of approximately 450.000 (of a total population of 3.530.000 in BiH) (Kovačev 2016).

[10] The only case of hostility occurred when photographing the petrol station and house complex of the family Đukic and their company Đukic which takes up both sides of the road. After one of the workers asked me why am I photographing I was immediately requested to stop. After my explanation she instructed me that I am only

The initial conversations were the reason to abandon the interviews and focus completely on the visual analysis. I abandoned the interview method for two reasons. The first reason is that dwellers did not attribute that much of the importance to the visual language of the house. For example, the dwellers would try to avoid or shortly explain why there was frontal part of the structure finished. Secondly, the people I spoke with did not reflect about the physical aspects of the house as much as they were mostly talking about daily problems of the dormant economy, corrupted politicians and similar topics from daily politics.

Driving around raised the importance of the closer view of the photographs. The main idea of using photography as a tool for recording was to support the observation and to acquire as many perspectives of the house as possible. When it was possible, field trips involved other colleagues; researchers and photographers, and that would result in additional photographs being taken which could be later analysed providing another perspective.

Additionally, the fieldwork took much longer than it was scheduled. The original plan included approximately 6 to 10 visits to the sites during a period of the ten months. The first alterations came due to the financial circumstances, which significantly slowed down the research project. The outcome was that the researched period prolonged to 2.5 years with 12 different field trips. These changes enabled different perspectives on the houses, as the longer timespan showed more clearly the transformations the houses were subjected to and raised the question of the houses' life cycles. During the time, it became clear that not only were majority of the houses to some extend unfinished but will most likely remain like that while constantly changing.

The inability to visit sites when planned also opened up a search for alternative solutions, which turned the research towards sources available on the internet. These sources which showed to particularly fruitful in the case of securing third party photographs and verifications of the interpretations according to others. Finally, changes in the understanding of the houses' life cycles resulted in changes of my understanding of research period. Even though the collection ofg materials was completed in 2014 I never actually stopped going there and taking more photographs.

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allowed to photograph those premises where construction is completed and for the others I should contact the boss. After my remark that I am on public road and that the road is not owned by the family but by the state she concluded that that might be true but is still impolite. The conversation ended in me getting contact of the boss and her asking about the quality of life in Austria (My car plates are registered in Vienna). That was the only experience out of four in total where I was not invited to see the premises from the inside.

Driving on the web

Web-based photography and video sharing platforms followed the technological expansion and advancement of photography and video production. During the first explorations on the internet for the literature review and historical context, I discovered a relative abundance of critical articles in smaller media regarding the phenomenon of illegal architecture. Additionally, there were dozens of groups and blogs following ugly houses. None of those was focusing on BiH but they proved to be very useful in understanding the wider context of informality in Europe. Examples from BiH found their place in chain letter lists of ugly architecture in the region, (locally known as '*forwarduše*') ridiculing visual the appearance without any analysis.

One of the first places for the search was web forum, SkyScraperCity, where professionals and amateurs interested in civil engineering discussed infrastructure conditions in the country. Platforms like Panoramio, Google Earth and Flickr and smaller imitation websites developed completely focusing on photographs and more importantly provided space for discussion about the photographs and their content. A proliferation of videos started developing on youtube as the monetization the website expanded to the region resulting in many independent travellers and enthusiastic locals registering their trips in BiH and expanding the visual presence of the roadside. Web 2.0 served as a site for primary sources dispersed through disorganized archives but also as a useful resource for researching the wider physical and social context thanks to the discussions taking place under the photographs.

The platforms showed to be useful as they had materials accompanied with the smaller discussion under the photos about the character and quality of pictures. Second to photography platforms was exploring the mainstream social networks. As most buildings hosted some business and ethical standards limited search from using private photos no matter how available they were, this also proved to give some insight in the how built spaces are used in performance. The third step involved exploring formal sources portraying the objects, which were rare, and mostly blogs or internet columns, but nonetheless present.

2.3.5 Semiotic analysis

All photographs and videos were analysed based on the semiotics developed by Roland Barthes (1968; 1977). In simple terms, the semiotic analysis examines material through visual recognition in which signs are identified and categorised and later interpreted. Possible meanings are connoted in discovering their correlation with other signs in the composition and the wider environment. The signs are a basic element of human communication; they are covenanted but their meaning is constantly renegotiated. Analysing signs is based on the personal knowledge and interpretation of the researcher but the procedure is not fully flexible since construction, usage, and renegotiation of the signs provides human verification. The interpretation needs to follow the logic of the social context and communication that employ the signs.

The signs differ in their complexity and level of connotation to icons, indexes, symbols with icons being directly connoted and wide towards symbols with narrow indirect connotation (1968). Here, the road is of particular importance as the experience of driving in a motor vehicle determines perceptions and with it the production of signs, resulting in the communication to turn towards the signs more directly connected with signified, icons and indexes (1968, 53–55). The prevalence of icons and indexes in the (visual) expression does not make it necessarily simpler, or more banal nor easier to explain precisely. It does determine the more direct connection between connoted and denoted related to social context. In the same way, their interpretation is limited to direct connotations.

The main task of the analysis is then to determine the context in which signs function, through three directions. Primary, it means to identify and classify the specific employment of the sign in the representation, with precise determinations of their usage regarding the level of complexity, independent from their engagements in other contexts (icons which somewhere else serve as signs or symbols). The second direction explores sign position in the composition and in what level this position alters conventional meanings. The third direction is determined by the environment and explores whether a sign within the representation figures with the viewers. In a follow-up of the third direction, the analysis explores how the composition on the level of the whole structure serves to create an image, in the specific re-iconisation process, so the entire structure becomes an icon for itself in a wider sense, rendering the landscape.

Treating visual material as text, a system of meanings, opens wider questions of structure and context. The analysis will follow simple architectural levels of presentation to discover the

structure of visual texts and it will examine frontal decorations, structural elements, and composition. As many examples will show later, structural elements were mainly not fully completed or are slowly disintegrating which opens the question of the relationship between architectural structure and the sign. Besides reading the architectural levels, answering this question explores what else is there in the unfinished gaps, forgotten, hidden or ignored and disguised. Exploring this level should contribute to understanding how in informal construction the original plans are changing and negotiated during extensive project implementation so the appearance of buildings is a compromise between the original plans and practical priorities.

Opportunities and limitations of interpretation

Using semiotics as the main tool of analysis implies that one can only interpret reality rather than generalise it to abstract theory. It is a useful approach in recording those materials that are not in the prime focus of the interlocutors or media (i.e. the public circulation of everyday politics). Furthermore, semiotics is helpful for identifying and including those issues that subjects often find abject and which often remain unspoken. This method was mainly used to identify and analyse those elements of life in the design and imaging, taken for granted, as normal and ordinary. In the case of the material this research is dealing with, visual analysis proved to be a more practical solution in analysing the level of houses' completion, transforming architectural forms and the general lack of communication between different elements in the structures. Most importantly interpreting material and exploring the physically visible revealed many interesting contradictions in symbolic and ideological representations.

Using interpretation as the main approach in analysing the materials raises the question of validity and possibilities to generalise these finding into a wider social context. The main aim of this study is not to bring objective truths regarding society in general but to analyse existing social phenomena that remain unexplored. Additionally, further exploration of the social context relevant to the phenomenon should shed more light on deeper social and ideological problems related to (informal) housing in general.

One should be aware that some level of the inscription of the meaning by the researcher will always be present and rather than avoiding or ignoring this possibility one should recognise and articulate it through stating the politics of location of the researcher. The increasing validity

of the interpretation can be achieved by limiting it strictly to material results and ensuring verification of the analyses through external sources.

Another limitation is concerning the relationship of text and materiality. The advantages of semiotic analysis are the availability of methods to record and interpret data. It approaches material reality, artefacts, physical objects, houses and wider space as systems of representations and tries to decipher them based on common frames of reference. Using this approach does not fully explore the nature of subject examined. The material is not a mere projection of social structure behind it but is in a constant interplay between them.

Interpretations and verification

The research methodology included interviews only as a supporting source in checking the interpretations made in the analysis of the photographs and videos. The reason behind this decision is specific discursive gridlocks produced by troubled history of illegal constructions versus the fairly abstract questions the research is trying to answer. The initial plan was to use interviews with house owners and urban planners to achieve a better insight into the motivations and difficulties surrounding building of the houses. As the research was removing away from the problems of illegal construction these interviews seemed to be less helpful. After two pilot interviews, I made a decision to look for verification on internet forums where individual users discussed the quality and style of buildings.

2.3.6 Politics of location

I have a long and intimate relationship with the houses researched. Growing up in one of those simple vernacular models ('kuća na dvije vode') our family home had 'no façade' until the early 2000s. Once my parents managed to paint the façade white, some additional rooms and objects were built to the rear of the house and in the garden. My mother, a pastry chef in a local hotel, lost her job at the beginning of Bosnian war and started selling goods at the local market. The goods, often including petrol and other semi-legal commodities were available in Serbia where she often travelled, sometimes taking me with her. These trips were an early introduction to the East-West route (then known as the 'Serbian corridor', later 'corridor'). After moving out from the family home I left to university in the early 2000s, and found employment in the civil sector which involved travelling around the country extensively. The trips were usually

made by bus with most of the routes involving travel between Banja Luka, Doboj, Sarajevo and Mostar along the routes explored in this dissertation.

Surely these connections inevitably produced the false intimacy with the subject studied. In some cases, personal experience was helpful to identify particular elements or to look for direct explanations and stories. In a larger number of the cases, the personal experience left me in doubt with regards to my insider naivety in questioning the extent of matters I was taking for granted. A good example to illustrate this concern was the research focus on extraordinary houses which I as local easily recognised as unusual, but did not explain. To explain the extraordinary qualities of these buildings I had to introduce and clarify the parametres of a typical housing model prevalent in the region that served as the basis for understanding contemporary vernacular construction and comparison of other structures in the research.

Ethics

As I decided not to conduct interviews with the buildings' owners as a supporting method of data collection, there was a need to find another way of verifying semiotics. The verification came to be the moving gaze of passengers in passing cars and this changed the extent of the involvement of house owners and houses as material. The constructions were recorded only from the perspectives on and around the road which fell under the domain of public space. Consequently for this level of exposure, no consent from the owners was required.

As photography and observation were the main the main methods of data collection, a great concern was taken to identify and extract only public data. As artefacts, houses present semi-private data. Houses are primarily private property but the design of the buildings in the research was aiming to attract the public eye, which moved the position towards the public. Photographing was restricted to those house features which were clearly visible in public space (i.e. from the roadside) as well as data available on Google maps and on pictures from the public domain on social media.

During the visits Austrian licence plates on my car made it impossible to move around without being noticed and different people would usually engage me in conversation. In those conversations, I would politely explain to them the research and its objectives and attempt to guage their opinions on the style or appearance of the house (but usually without success). Only

in one location, the town centre of Prnjavor, was I asked not to photograph the property, a request which I honoured.

Data management and representation

All data collected in the research were classified and stored in personal archives in a safe location. Visual data was consulted and used for purposes of writing a doctoral dissertation in codified version to illustrate the analysis and conclusions. As almost all of the visual information was available in the public realm and as such there was no need for full anonymity but it was still codified and presented without reference to the owners or other individuals involved (e.g. employees or subtenants). The data presented referred to the objects' wider location, property sizes and other marks that could be used to identify particular structures. The guiding criteria here was that data presented were those that were already available on google maps or had an alternative internet presence (websites or social media pages).

3   ILLEGAL CONSTRUCTION AND SOCIALIST MODERNISM

I heard about the concept of illegal construction for the first time as a teenager in the early 2000s. During a visit to Belgrade, an older cousin told me a story about 'our man'[11] who lived abroad and wanted to build a house there. Being 'one of us', this man did it completely on his own, ignoring the city's planning and building regulations. Local authorities immediately registered the misdeed and initiated legal proceedings against him. However, as the case occurred in a country where allegedly nobody built illegally for two hundred years or more, there simply was no legislation which could sanction this practice, so 'our man' and his house were left undisturbed.

In many later versions, the specific countries and details change, the illegal construction might take place in Sweden, Norway, Switzerland or Germany. In some versions, the state responded by building a highway over 'our man's' house, in another by sending him for a psychiatric evaluation, 'because informal construction in ordered societies is a clear sign of insanity'.[12] In the version retold by author and columnist Boris Dežulović (2007), seven hundred year old legislation in Switzerland had to be changed to legally sanction this 'savagery'.

The supporting element of the story, the one that never changes, is the man's identity. Narrators of the story see illegal construction as explicitly 'our' problem, a Yugoslav one, embarrassingly exposed to the more developed, richer European societies. Not only had the imaginary West forgotten about the existence of illegal construction but such barbarity allegedly paralyses it. Secondly, the commonality of 'our' man covers a wider post-Yugoslav identity framework indicating that the illegal construction is one of the undisputed elements of a shared history.

The problem with 'our' man and contemporary informal construction in BiH is not its existence. Informal construction was constitutive of Yugoslav industrial growth (Finci 1972)

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[11] 'Our man' [*naš čovjek*] in the story that I heard, or those told by Dežulović and forum users is flexibly identified as 'our' meaning Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and/or Yugoslav. The phrase dates to early media reports about Yugoslav diaspora in Western Europe – our people abroad [*naši ljudi u iseljenju*].

[12] Croatian website forum.hr offers a wide collection of story versions under the section: "Trash kultura: Lovačke priče i urbane legende" [Trash culture: Tall tales and urban legends] (http://www.forum.hr/showthread.php?t=426974&page=18, last accessed on 28th February 2017).

and diversified throughout the late socialist period (M. Živković 1981). Contemporary informal construction is a continuation of this practice. Different forms of informal construction existed in the region even before the socialist period (Vuksanović-Macura 2012a; Kahle 2006) and in varying forms, it can be found in many other contexts, regardless of the country's political or economic system, and income level.[13] The current phenomenon of informal construction is not solely post-war; it is indicative of both post-war and postsocialist transformations.

What makes the (post)Yugoslav experience of informal construction specific however, is the entanglement between how society produced the phenomenon as a *material* category and how local research produced it as a *research* category. On the one hand, the Yugoslav socialist modernisation project assumed a strict formalist direction, informed by modernist (functionalist) urban planning and architecture which identified modernisation with space formalisation. On the other hand, development produced inequalities, leaving blue collar workers disadvanteged in distribution schemes and resulting in their engagement in individual informal construction. Both critics (Finci 1972; Kadić 1967; Taubman 1972) and defenders (Đumrukčić 1972; M. Živković 1972) of informal construction assumed a strict formalist perspective. I argue that (socialist) modernism produced illegal construction as single perspective, reducing the importance of the social context and obscuring a class dimension.

3.1 THE HYBRID SOLUTION OF SOCIALIST MODERNISM

The reason behind illegal construction is in the historical understanding of urban planning in Yugoslavia which is heavily informed by modernism. Informal construction is present in many other historical and spatial contexts; such construction is universal while urban planning is not. The formalisation of space through the regulation of construction is limited to recent history, tightly connected to the modern state. The development and progress of modern urban planning are limited to the second half of 19th and 20th century North America and Western Europe (P. Hall 2014). Recent research on Yugoslav socialist modernism, motivated by its much needed rehabilitation and revitalisation, uses the hybridity explanation (Burghardt and Kirn 2014;

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[13] A large proportion of the research on informal housing is directed towards the 'developing' world, but informal construction must not be understood as specific problem of low and mid income societies. It is rather a wider set of understandings and practices in which society and local communities agree on the level of formality in individual construction. In its lighter forms, informal construction can be found in high income societies as well, particularly those that did not institutionally include community approval, as it is case with Belgium, or the European south (Kenny and Kertzer 1983).

Kulić, Mrduljaš, and Thaler 2012; Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012), whereby Yugoslav socialist modernism was the result of its non-aligned position between the two Cold War blocks. This explanation is certainly valid and informative but fails to cover in detail the internal social contradictions that this choice legitimized. My argument is that beside stylistically framing socialist modernisation, the architecture and urban planning of socialist modernisation was also a means for an emerging class of socialist modernisers to secure their position and encourage rising appetites for consumer goods in 'the kitchen wars' (Oldenziel and Zachmann 2009) between the Cold War blocks. The first part of the chapter explains the historical context of urban planning, with a focus on its main formulation, the introduction of modernist architecture and urban planning as ideologically acceptable American presence within non-aligned Yugoslavia.

A formal understanding of space, the idea that everything built should be in some form of order with its surroundings, has a very short history in global or even European terms. In local terms, they are mainly connected to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and imperial developments of Vienna and later in the provincial capitals of Ljubljana, Zagreb or Sarajevo. Austro-Hungarian renovation projects, such as reconstruction of Vienna's inner city belt *Ringstrasse*[14] served as the template for early Yugoslav urban developments. But this planning practice and the laws defining it was particular, restricted to central urban zones. It proceed integrated planning on the broad level of the city. The origins of urban planning as a profession can be traced back only to the late 19th and early 20th century British Empire and the United States, mainly to the enthusiasts of Ebenezer Howard and the garden city movement (Beevers 1988). The UK delivered the first urban planning law at state level in 1909 (*Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909*). The law was inspired by the utopian ideas of the garden city movement but it was primarily set up for practical reasons, to regulate low quality, working class housing known as 'back to back' houses. The beginning of the 20th century is also the period when the first university departments for landscape architecture and urban planning opened (at the University of Liverpool in 1909, at Harvard University in 1929) but urban planning became a profession separated from the study of architecture only after the Second World War (P. Hall 2014, 387).

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[14] For detailed accounts on Viennese urbanism and city planning see (Mollik, Reining, and Wurzer 1980).

Social housing experiments inspired early British and American urban planning. Before the establishment of regulation laws and urban planning as a profession, there was a wider array of experiments in organising space. Progressive industrialists were interested in improving the working population's living conditions and creating healthier and consequentially more efficient environments for industrial systems (as Godin's housing system *Familistère* in Guise, France, Cadbury's village Bourneville in the UK, or George Pullman's neighbourhood Pullmans in Chicago, USA). With the consolidation of urban planning as a scientific discipline and political practice, these experiences contributed a mixture of results ranging from socialist (improving workers' living conditions) to taylorist (efficiency oriented) and fordist (a systematic approach to production).[15] Despite the differences in these approaches, their common effect was the establishment of urban planning as a modern discipline, within the logic of industrial capitalism, whereby professionals assume the capacity to plan and think about space management and development legitimised by the rationality of scientific truth.

Swiss-French theorist and architect Le Corbusier formulated the new discipline. Le Corbusier gained influence through his series of projects planning the development of cities (*Contemporary City* 1922, *Plan Voisin* for Paris in 1925). He presented his original views in the project *The Radiant City* (1924-1933) and publication *Towards an Architecture* (known as *Towards a New Architecture* (Le Corbusier, Cohen, and Goodman 2007)). Moving away from the garden city, Le Corbusier proposed a radical redistribution of people in the city by ignoring their socio-economic status and prioritising their economic needs. The redistribution required the demolition of the old chaotic city fabric and its rebuilding a through new, uniform, simplistic and functional architecture (Le Corbusier 1929, 178). The new architecture consisted of five distinctive elements: The Free Plans, the Pilotis, the Roof Terrace, The Ribbon Windows and The Free Façade. It was to be organised in symmetric and harmonic sectors, depending on the function, interchanging throughout the city (ibid.). In 1928, together with his students, Le Corbusier founded the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (*Congrès Internationaux d'architecture moderne,* CIAM), an organisation which served as a platform for defining and promoting the principles of this architecture and urban planning. The organisation acted through international conferences until 1959. Its most famous outcome was a document

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[15] For critical approaches on Taylorism and Fordism see Doray (1988) and Yanarella and Reid (1996).

known as the Athens Charter which became a foundational guide in functionalist urban planning.

The emergence of urban planning as a scientific discipline and its institutionalisation through law and the institutions of the state, represent an effort of modern society (and more importantly the modern state) to formalise space and thus gain control over it through the prescription of order and the oversight of development. The industrialist aesthetics of modernist movements and the popularity of functionalist urban planning significantly contributed in rendering this experience as universal. However, the process of space formalisation followed the same uneven patterns of core and periphery, as with other modes of development. There was a high level of interest in urban planning in old European and North American cities (primarily because the concept emerged there) but old European cities adopted the modernist's concepts with weighty reservations. Neither Paris nor any other European city was intentionally demolished to build *the Radiant City*. The idea of radical transformation was much more entertained for spaces that were considered to be undeveloped. The Athens Charter was thus fervently applied in the construction of Brasilia, Brazil (Oskar Niemeyer), Chandigarh, India (Le Corbusier) and some booming industrial socialist cities, including New Belgrade (*Novi Beograd*).

3.1.1   Importing modernism

Socialist Yugoslavia was the first state framework with the capacity to attempt a larger formalisation of space and consequentially regulate construction in BiH. Prior to socialist Yugoslavia, BiH was the site of some experiments in urban planning but without systematic efforts. During the emergence of the first urban planning centres and associations in the UK, the United States and Central Europe, BiH was a site of major interventions as Austro-Hungarian administration replaced the Ottomans after occupation in 1878 and later annexed it in 1908-1909. The new government subjected the territory to a modernisation processes, which included several formalisation practices (naming and numbering houses, detailed territory mapping, organising cadastres for purpose of taxation). Urban planning was mainly focused on developments in the city centres. [16] The practices continued with the next switch in

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[16] A good example of this practice is Sarajevo central district Marjin Dvor developed as relocation away from the old Ottoman centre, Baščaršija (Ugljen-Ademović and Turkušić 2012).

administration after the territory became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians (after 1931 the Kingdom of Yugoslavia). Regarding construction and its regulation, both Austro-Hungarian[17] and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia administrations delivered some notable works in architecture, such as the Austro-Hungarian employment of Pseudo-Moorish style, or the Kingdom of Yugoslavia's reconstruction of Banja Luka in neo-historicist styles. As much valued, these efforts remained focused on the realm of urban centres, occupied with positioning their presence in the new territories.

Bosnian cities before World War Two were mixtures of centrally located regulated patches of land and unregulated construction surrounding them. Next to the Austro-Hungarian and later Yugoslav formal architectures which could be qualified as historicist styles, there was a variety of vernacular practices influenced by Ottoman, religious and traditional rural architecture. In later research on Sarajevo urban dwelling forms, Grabrijan and Neidhardt (1957) report on the existence of *čaršija* (centrally located market districts, economic centres of the city) and *mahalas,* peripheral residential areas organised in organic clusters.

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia enacted its first state-level law regulating construction in 1931 (*Građevinski Zakon, Službene Novine Kraljevine Jugoslavije, Br. 133,* 1931). Therefore, there are no reports about the existence of illegal construction but there are reports on poor conditions and unhygienic neighbourhoods in Zagreb (Kahle 2006, 121) and Belgrade (Vuksanović-Macura 2012b), and one can deduce that similar neighbourhoods existed in Bosnian cities. Modernism defined by Le Corbusier gained popularity relatively early among Yugoslav architects and had a vital presence in urban centres of the newly constituted Yugoslav Kingdom like Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade. Before World War Two, it was just one of the available styles to be practised and no particular movement was recognised or favoured by the state. This eclecticism is particularly visible in the Yugoslav pavilion at the world exhibition in Paris in 1937, where modernism was featured alongside the works from other movements but did not receive any particular attention (Blagojević 2012, 113). The concept of urban planning gained some traction, particularly by the early modernist Ernst Weissman, but it remained concentrated on the city centres.

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[17] The Austro-Hungarian administration was particularly interested in reconstructing Bosnian oriental identity through the use of pseudo-Moorish historicist styles, for example Sarajevo City Hall, the Faculty of Islamic Studies and the Old Gymnasium in Mostar.

SFRY was the first state governing the territory of BiH that introduced a modernist understanding of spatial management and development. The post-war period demanded rapid reconstruction and radically agile economic development. This dynamism required a new knowledge of space and the new role of professionals (builders, architectes and emerging urban planners) in construction. Based on the Soviet model, Yugoslavia had formulated development through five-year plans which sought to accelerate growth. The plans defined growth initially by focusing on developing heavy industry (1947-1952) and later by expanding to consumption and industrial agriculture (1957-1961) (Duda 2005, 44). The logics behind urban planning was to secure controlled growth led by planning it. In a way five year plans were rational decision making informed by scientific knowledge similar to the functionalist urban planning. Due to Tito's break with Stalin in 1948, five-year plans continued in less precise fashion, as socialist self-management replaced central planning in the 1950s.

The assiduous vision of the socialist project involved a radical change in the understanding of the role of experts in economic development. Immediately after the war, architects took an active part in the reconstruction of the country. The state deployed architects to the undeveloped south and east of the country (namely Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia). The initial plans recognised the rapid construction of public housing as a priority but this priority lost momentum in parallel to the abandonment of central planning. The turn to self-management endowed architects with some independence but kept the framework of systematic development based on rational principles.

Early post-war projects followed the style of social realism, together with other socialist countries but the split with Stalin created a void in the ways socialist revolution and society were to be presented. Contrary to socialist realism, modernism with its mechanistic aesthetics and industrial forms was appropriate for the portrayal of the rapidly emerging new project of Yugoslav industrial growth. The style of social realism focused on the motifs of the struggle of the oppressed, revolution, and glorified labour, while modernism was more abstract, artistic and promised a future of happiness where technology would solve the needs of humanity. The modernist architects were not only at an advantage to stylistically describe and convey this vision but they established themselves as the leaders of transformation combining revolutionary ethics and industrial aesthetics (Kulić, Mrduljaš, and Thaler 2012; Burghardt and Kirn 2014). Socialist modernism emerged as a hybrid solution delivering the needs of both socialist oriented development and industrial and consumerist production. The void left in the

political space had to be adjusted within the framework of dominant ideology. It is interesting that suddenly free to choose anything style possible, Yugoslav architects quickly turned towards modernism, considering that that was the style of bourgeois, industrial capitalism of the West.

In practical terms, the socialist modernist architecture simply took over the high modernist aesthetics of Le Corbusier's (open plans, use of concrete and other artificial materials in construction, avoidance of details and ornamentation, insistence on open spaces). In urban planning, this meant participation in CIAM and implementation of the Athens Charter as a foundational document in the planning and developments of the new cities.

The re-establishment of modernism was possible due to the strong connections of Yugoslav modernists with European centres, first and foremost with Le Corbusier. In the Interwar period, a significant number of Yugoslav architects worked in his Parisian studio (Juraj Neidhardt, Ernest Weissmann, Edvard Ravikar, Milorad Pantović). Most of the pre-war modernists were vocal anti-fascists and communists engaged in partisan resistance (Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012, 9).

An official Yugoslav delegation first participated in CIAM IV, where Ernest Weissmann held a prominent position in CIRPAC (the *Comité International pour la résolution des problèmes de l'architecture contemporaine* - International Committee for the Resolution of Problems in Contemporary Architecture), CIAM's executive body. CIRPAC was the main team behind the Athens Charter and its following report 'Town Building in Creation' (Gold 1997, 71; Mumford 1960, 117–18). After 1948. CIAM became highly regarded in local professional circles, and the organisation of CIAM X in Dubrovnik was considered a great honour for Yugoslav architecture (Kulić 2009, 197). The Athens Charter was adopted as the foundation for the development of New Belgrade (Le Normand 2008, 252) and served as inspiration for the later development of Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo master plans, as well as general spatial and developmental plans for the individual republics.

3.1.2   The American desire

Focusing on the political context of Tito's split with Stalin, and substantial theoretical contribution of Le Corbusier, it is easy to overlook simple motivations of popularity and importance of the trends in creative professions. Modernism was favored because it was trendy. As much Yugoslav elite professionals were involved in the mainstream movement (and philosophy) around Le Corbusier, local socialist modernism remained peripheral in comparison to the centres in Western Europe. The remarks of present-day professionals illustrate well the peripheral position of Yugoslav architecture, complaining not about the lack of theoretical guidelines but rather about the lack of magazines[18] to help them keep up with the trends and incorporate them into their local projects.

The ideologically questionable character of modernism was even more complicated regarding the other, much larger and more productive centre of modernist architecture, the United States. Initially, after 1948, there was some resistance to modernism due to the view that even the high modernism of Le Corbusier was seen as bourgeois and anti-revolutionary. This sentiment was quickly abandoned after several exhibitions presenting modernist art (*Le Corbusier's retrospective* 1952-1953 organised by the Boston Institute of Art and *Contemporary Art of the United States of America* in 1956 organised by Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in 1956) sparked a veritable Le Corbusier fever[19]. *Le Corbusier's retrospective* coincidently opened in 1948 in the United States, and after touring the Americas arrived in Europe in 1952 to be symbolically featured in Berlin and Yugoslavia. Originally planned for Belgrade only, the organisers extended the tour to Zagreb, Ljubljana, Split, Sarajevo and Skopje (Kulić 2009, 200).

Yugoslav architects refer directly to the European inspirations, but the presence of American style modernism remains interesting. There are no particularly vocal references to the architecture of the International Style, or even theoretical insights of its father Mies van der

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[18] Ljupko Ćurčić, a brutalist architect who worked in 1960s cites as one of the biggest problems inability of local professionals to remain in flow with currents, for what he blames unavailability of the professional magazines the only available one were *l'Architecute d'Aujourd'hui* and *Japan Architect* (Alfirević 2015, 71).
[19] Kulić cites (2009, 200) newspaper articles explaining that Yugoslavian ambassador in Paris delivered press clipping about the success of the exhibition to Le Corbousier himself, while in the same time Bogdan Bogdanović criticised the superficial relationship of the audience.

Rohe[20] but the individual works do nonetheless feature some stylistic and cultural references[21]. The usage of glass covered curtain-walls on buildings, characteristic for business centres of Chicago and New York become instantly popular, referred to as an 'American façade', even though the Free Façade was a concept already offered by Le Corbusier. A poignant example is the construction of the Headquarters of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (Mihajlo Janković and Dušan Milenković, c. 1960.). The building was one of the first buildings in the capital of Belgrade with an 'American façade', as the investor, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia had requested. After opening, the new facility's windows transformed the skyline of the emerging New Belgrade giving it a typical feature of the International Style business centre. To eliminate potential criticism, its office lights and windows were illuminated in the night to project the slogan '*Živio Tito!* (Long live Tito!)' (Kulić 2016), with 'American facades' becoming common features in Yugoslav cities (Kulić, Mrduljaš, and Thaler 2012, 39).

Modernism, in a less socialist form, was a language of corporate architecture (the International Style), and consumer goods of home design (Greenberg 1984) and household appliances. It was an another exhibition on USA style supermarkets hosted in 1957 in Zagreb that presented the modern kitchen to Yugoslav consumers (Hamilton 2009; Jakovina 2003). Hamilton (2009, 152) argues that the exhibition failed to steer the Yugoslav consumers towards supermarkets as a primary means of purchasing food, but it enabled the transfer of food distribution systems. Still, it is plausible to claim that the exhibition succeeded in something much smaller; enabling a demonstration of modernist products for interested Yugoslavs.

The corporate serving ethics of the International style would be easy to criticise from leftist positions but this critique remained absent. The silent presence, in which American architecture was desired for and referred to, demonstrated how modernism was not only revolutionary but also highly indulgent. Modernism was not only the language of cutting edge architecture but of consumerism and abundance. It was easy to favour it; the difficulty was to ensure it could be morally acceptable. Once the potentially compromising movement became conveyed as a stylistic expression of socialist revolution, ideological objections faded. The shyness with the

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[20] Works of Mies van der Rohe, were featured in another important exhibition from the same period (Kulić 2009) but they did not create nearly the same excitement as Le Corbusier did, nor did the explicit bourgeois character of those works produce any criticism.
[21] Ljupko Ćurčić states that Yugoslav architects have chosen brutalism over the international style, not because of its ethics, but due to the cheapness of materials and construction (Alfirević 2015, 73).

initial introduction of American style modernism vanished in the construction of tourist architecture where the presence of foreign investment was open and welcomed. A good example of this type of ventures is the Haludovo Palace Complex on Krk, Croatia, built in 1972 as a joint venture of local Yugoslav company, Brodokomerc and Bob Guccione, the Founder of soft-core porn magazine, Penthouse (Beyer, Hagemann, and Zinganel 2013). The import and construction of (socialist) modernism served an emerging class of modernisers, by establishing a mediated way for following trends and acquiring Western-style goods in the formats of high culture.

3.1.3 The movement contradictions

The movement, however, served to establish a stylistic framework for legitimising class delineation along the housing lines. Its ideological implication produced several interesting contradictions, notably the movement never managed to produce postmodernist critique in urban planning. From the late 1960s, criticisms of the functionalist urban planning accumulated, citing modernists servitude to the large capital interests and against the urban poor (Jacobs 1961) and monoculture in architectural diversity (Venturi 2011). The works of Venturi, Scott-Brown (1977) and Jane Jacobs (1961) and Aldo Rossi (1966) which articulate these arguments were translated in Yugoslavia, and widely cited, but externalised as the problems of the West. Socialist Yugoslavia had a different relationship between state, society and economy; concretely its urban developments were in social ownership, which provided an excuse to dispel possible criticisms in the local context.[22]

In the Yugoslav case, everyone was modernist, regardless or not whether they considered themselves to be. In the limited emerging architectural scene of post-war Yugoslavia, it is not surprising that individual architects could not afford to ascribe to a specific style but had to experiment with a wider set of them. Using specific styles was seen as a current set of circumstances, rather than a professional and aesthetic or philosophical choice. Perhaps the most prominent example of this is the work of Bogdan Bogdanović. Parallel with his

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[22] The specificity of the Yugoslav case created amusing situations whereby Jane Jacobs, a prominent critic of functionalist planning in the Western context praised it in the case of Yugoslavia, using the example of Split 3, a large communal housing development which soon after became notorious for its infrastructural problems and low quality.

disillusionment with Yugoslav state, Bogdanović turned to the exploration of new age mythologies. This exploration is visible in the anti-modern, the almost surrealist forms of Mostar's and Štip's Partisan Cemeteries, Dudik Memorial Park in Vukovar, or the Shrine to the fallen freedom fighters in Vlasotnice) but the works are still included in the contingent.

Socialist modernism in BiH was never anti-traditional. The local professionals were not eager to purge the old urban fabric and completely reconstruct Bosnian towns. They were far more moderate than Le Corbusier when it came to the local heritage. Some of the most famous Bosnian architects and authorities on urban development, Juraj Neidhardt[23] and his student Zlatko Ugljen, had a deep appreciation for traditional Bosnian vernacular houses and devoted their work translating its spaces into modernist frames.

Focusing on Yugoslavia's role in the Cold war and the role of architecture in this relationship is valuable but it dislocates centre-periphery relationship. Yugoslav socialist modernists did not refer to the Soviet architects or looked their inspiration in some other contexts outside of the West. It was not inter-polar; it was oriented towards the Western countries as a centre of architecture. After Yugoslav companies began designing and construction ventures in the Middle East and North Africa, the Yugoslav position moved from periphery to the semi-periphery. The unproblematized focus on the West as a source of modernisation is best exemplified in insisting on importing Western concepts even when their contributions made no outstanding results.[24] Modernism, mediated through the archtiecture and other forms of high culture was seen as something desirable to consume.

Hybridity as explanations hinders the questioning of fundamental problems of modernism and the socialist society. Who were actors of socialist modernist development and what was their social (class) background? Replacing the bourgeois, industrialist or capitalist character of modernism with socialism did not deliver equal prosperity for everyone. As a matter a fact it created classes of modernisers, those more familiar with recipes, rituals and styles of modernisation and those that were to be modernised, lacking these features. This problematic

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[23] The space for this compromise was made by the fact that Bosnian house was considered as non-Western and not burdened with difficult histories of Parisian housing, and that it contained rather modest decoration and furniture, features which Le Corbusier appreciated in oriental housing.

[24] Brigite Le Normand cites the somewhat problematic cooperation of Belgrade City and the Wayne University in Detroit during the design of Belgrade's 1972 Master Plan and analyses discursive strategies in presenting limited assistance of the Wayne University experts was presented in grandiose terms (2014, 213–42).

position of socialist modernism, which combined economic development, social mobility and the culture of modernity, became visible in the role modernist urban planning had in creating and criminalising 'illegal construction'.

The critical approach to socialist modernism is not intended to constitute a rejection of socialist heritage, as per the politics of ethnonationalism. Socialist modernism is the first systematic attempt to formalise and order space and its implementation which delivered remarkable results. The violent break-up of Yugoslavia has been followed by a period of continued destruction and negligence of socialist modernist heritage.[25] The legacy of socialism was not attacked only as a remnant of suddenly problematic Yugoslavism, receding in the face of thriving ethno-nationalist forces but also as grey, dull and outmoded. In recent years, there is a revival of interest in the contributions of socialist modernism and unfinished modernisations paradigm (Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012), mentioned in theoretical framework and the work of

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[25] In February 1992. Vojin Bakić's *Monument to the revolutionary victory of the people of Slavonia* in Kamensko was detonated, allegedly by the 123rd Brigade of the Croatian Army (Maković 2013, 216), while the News of Croatian Radio Television cinically reported that the monument was blown down by strong wind. Several other of his monuments suffered the same fate (monuments in Bjelovar, Čazma and Zagreb-Dotrščina), while his other famous work *Monument to the uprising people of Banija and Kordun* (1981) on Petrova Gora is remains in poor condition after destruction in the early 1990s (Maković 2013, 214). In BiH, the majority of monuments survived the war 1992-1995, to be demolished afterwards, such as *Monument to the battle on Neretva* on Makljen (Boško Kućanski 1978) destroyed in 2000, *Partisans' necropolis* in Mostar (Bogdan Bogdanović 1965) and *Monument to the fallen people of Krajina* (Antun Avgustinčić, 1961) which are decaying due to active negligence.

other the scholars[26] artists,[27] activists[28] and general public[29] is a remarkable way to correct the injustices done to this heritage.

However, despite the change of the elites and shifts within the society, the categories for understanding urban planning, space and construction set up by socialist modernism remain the dominant perspectives. This is particularly visible in critical discourse against illegal construction despite the involvement large tracts of the population in the practice. The following section demonstrates how frameworks set up by socialist modernist urban planning defined and criminalised informal construction.

3.2 CRIMINALISING INFORMAL CONSTRUCTION

In this section, I focus on how reporting and campaigning against illegal construction began in the 1960s. Space was now seen as a social resource that should be developed, and as a result of this process, regular reporting on urban construction emerged parallel to the advancement of city master development plans. This coincided with the increasing reports on housing shortages in during the 1960s (Živković 1968). These problems produced wide social segregation to which professionals in architecture and urban planning rarely responded, beyond calling for legislation of illegally built objects and more regulation. While Yugoslav socialist modernists claimed to produce an architecture for every (wo)man, authentic self-produced

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[26] For specific question see on Yugoslav socialist modernism (Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012), its role in the international relations (Sekulić 2012), urban planning and its failures (Džokić et al. 2001), grand scale of Yugoslav commemorative culture (Kirn 2012; Pavlaković 2008).

[27] Jan Kemernaers's collection of photographs featuring 26 socialist monuments, later published in the book *Spomeniks* motivated significant enthusiasm on social media which culminated in Ivo Goldstein, Croatian Ambassador by UNESCO promising to campaign for these monuments to become part of post-Yugoslav UNESCO protected heritage (*Večernji List* 2012). The promise, which encountered divided reactions, was never included in the official proposal.

[28] Revival of commemoration is followed by effort to restore and preserve the monument such as it is case with the monuments of Tjentište (Ranko Radović 1974), and Partisan Necropolis (Bogdan Bogdanović 1965). Detailed reports on the restoration activities of the latter site can be found on the campaigning blog (http://herojisaneretve.blogger.ba/ [Accessed 16.03.2014, last accessed on 28th February 2017.

[29] For illustration in July 2016, Facebook page *Socialist Modernism* (administrated by Romania based BACU – Art and Urban Research Bureau) had more than 22,000 fans, while Facebook group *Brutalism Appreciation Society* counts more than 40,000 international contributing members and dozens of daily contributions.

housing forms by and for the lower working class population were systematically ignored and viewed as illegitimate.

Pre-socialist slums

An expansion of informal construction following rapid urban growth already occurred in the interwar period As interwar Belgrade and Zagreb were growing, they developed informal neighbourhoods. The most famous examples in Belgrade include Jatagan mala (Vuksanović-Macura 2010) and Pistolj mala (Vuksanović-Macura 2012a). In the same period in Zagreb, there was an informal suburb along the strip towards Dugo Selo (Kahle 2006). At this time, imminent lack of land ownership, building permits or regulations was not categorised as illegal. There was a construction code dating from 1931, which regulated and articulated different situations regarding the level and engagement of informality but most of its concerns were directed towards construction practices and neighbourhood sanitation. The same law also directed complex ways as to how to bring the informal constructions into the formal system via acquiring permits after construction had started. Belgrade city engaged several times in the demolition of neighbourhoods mentioned above but without any further solutions for the population inhabiting the neighbourhoods (Vuksanović-Macura 2012b, 38).

I was not able to find accurate data for Sarajevo or other cities in BiH in the interwar period, but it is plausible to assume that the larger cities followed similar patterns to towns in Croatia and Serbia (in that informal settlement simply continued to exist and even flourish after the initial consolidation of urban planning). Systemic urban planning in BiH was only introduced after World War Two. Considering this, it makes sense to reverse the question of how illegal construction appeared and ask instead, when, how, and by whom did it develop and promote the understanding that space should be formally organised and regulated, rendering its unregulated features illegal?

3.2.1   Urbanism and planned development

After World War Two Yugoslav architects and urban planners developed far more ambitious urban plans. One of the first and most famous urban developments was Belgrade's first master plan from 1950, coordinated by modernist architect Nikola Dobrovic. The plan was a nearly

literal application of the Athens Charter, particularly in its vision of the future New Belgrade, which 'bore a striking resemblance to Le Corbusier's Radiant City' (Le Normand 2014, 63). It strongly influenced master plans in other Yugoslav cities, Sarajevo's master plan from 1965 and Zagreb's master plan from 1971. The development of city master plans followed with planning on the level of the federal republics (Serbia 1970, Croatia 1971 and BiH 1981), which was supposed to deliver planning guidelines for smaller communities.

The slow establishment of the system for space regulation (city and republic master plans and construction inspections) is the reason why illegal construction emerged only in the 1960s. It is true that this is a period of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation but informal construction practices predate this period, leading to conclusion that the newly established systems of individual construction and supervision simply recognizes what is already common practice. Some construction supervision existed before this period but this is time when spatial orgnaisation or urban poor, city slums, becomes a subject of systematic interst by supervision offices. This premise is important for the understanding of illegal construciton through class, than rural-urban migration, although not separated from it.

Concrete sources on the extent of informal construction in socialist BiH are extremely patchy. One of the rare scholarly documents tackling the topic are proceedings from a *Symposium on the illegal construction and its effects on functional and spatial developments of the cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Finci 1972). In the introduction to the collection Finci provides some general information about the extent and development of informal construction ascribing it to rapid industrial development and rural-to-urban migration. His claims contradict with those of Zlata Vuksanović-Macura for interwar Belgrade and Darko Kahle for Zagreb, both who point to evidence of significant informal construction *prior* to socialist industrialisation. The empirical data that Finci relies on is based on surveys from the Standing Conference of the Yugoslav Cities, which are mainly municipal reports on informal construction activities.

Once the concept of 'illegal' construction was articulated, modernist architects become more interested in the phenomenon. As master developers of urban space, they were motivated to develop housing serving socialist ideology and troubled by the increase of uncontrolled, unplanned construction and campaigned for the authorities to react. In contrast to the apparent abundance of the illegal construction, most of the professional architects (Finci 1972; Kadić

1972; Đumrukčić 1972) uses rural to urban migration to explain the problem. The volume of the rural population migrating to cities is considered as substantial evidence.

It is difficult to establish is this was the case as the main collectors of data regarding the frequency of informal construction were local municipalities, which collected data in unsystematic ways and reported the numbers to the the Standing Conference of Yugoslav Cities, which served as the basis for researchers like Jahiel Finci to combine migration figures and illegal construction and make conclusions about the culpability of rural migrants (Finci 1972, 15). The population of illegal builders was more complicated however. Legal bodies, like construction companies and the urban population also participated in the practice.

Illegal construction includes wide sets of broken norms and regulations, but in wider social campaigning there are no politicians or legal experts publicly condemning illegal housing, at least not in the same way. The reason for this absence is the commitment of the socialist state in providing for the basic needs of all of its citizens. In Yugoslavia of the 1950s and 1960s, there is legal framework supporting community developments and dissimulating private housing construction. Community owned housing was the highly prioritised goal of early five-year development goals. Private residential construction was an expensive, slow and legally painful process. Kamarić (1972) cites a story from Croatia, where an individual need to go through 14 different procedural steps and wait for 352 days to acquire all needed documents to start building. To start building and acquire needed permits along the way was much more efficient practice (ibid.). The absences of politicians from early illegal construction campaigning are speaking about the complexity of the situation.

More importantly, professionals give themselves rather broad authority in the decision about this matter, without any consideration of the actual inhabitants. The illegal character is an important point that prevented a wider professional debate on the matter. There were vocal arguments sympathetic to the context and realities of illegal construction (M. Živković and Bakić 1977; Bobić and Vujović 1985; Čaldarević 1987) but little debate about other dimensions of the phenomenon between the experts. Instead of attacking the individual who undertook illegal construction, sociologists tended to emphasise the crisis in housing. They reported upon rising gaps between specific groups in Yugoslav society which was reflected in housing. Miroslav Živković even referred to 'second class citizens' who contributed more to society

than others but were more precarious and thus sought after alternative solutions to their housing difficulties.

> Illegal construction is an ambiguous phenomenon. Legally, it is an expression of indiscipline citizens who resort to illegal construction without prior permission. Regarding urban planning, it is an obstacle to the realisation of the urban development, an element that reduces the aesthetic appearance of the city. Sociologically, illegal construction is self-initiative of second class citizens in solving the housing problems with their own resources because they did not get an apartment from the society and they are without the chance of getting one, although they financed the apartments which society donated to the first class citizens. Illegal construction is empirical prove the existence exploited, and exploiters and the illegal settlements are one of the forms of segregation, embryos of the reservations which force of social development forms legally (1972, 26).

Engaging with the problem only from the perspective of urban planning and housing permits avoided the question of social class. Politically, Yugoslav socialist society insisted on proletarian revolution and classless society. This position reflected the strong anti-bourgeois propaganda which questioned bourgeois ethics in particular things, such as Le Corbusier's architecture. This strategy of publicly criticising bourgeois elements in society was very effective in eliminating the discussion about class relationships in socialism. If more analytically useful term 'middle class replaces' the term 'bourgeois', it is easy to draw some characteristics of Yugoslav socialist class relations. In the socialist context, it is necessary not to think about the middle class as those who own means of the production (bourgeois in the classical sense).

The inadequate supply of housing for the working class after World War Two pushed individuals towards semi-formal and informal housing solutions. Urban planning of socialist modernism, originally hostile towards private housing concepts, rendered this type of housing as illegal and pathologised it inviting the state to react against it.

The lack of will primarily manifested in the fact that we defend our urban areas by various measures from someone, about whom I previously spoke. The measures of defence consist of a construction program in which individual housing construction takes a back seat, then of urban development plans in which space for individual housing construction, as a rule, is not provided, nor the minimum systematic infrastructure, minimal loans, then of very difficult, lengthy and complicated procedures in preparation of technical documentation for construction, and of other regulatory and administrative measures in order to reduce the volume of individual housing construction. The truth is that on the other hand, there is a constant increase in the volume of individual housing construction, especially in urban agglomerations so that our measures of defence actually often stimulate illegal housing construction (Đumrukčić 1972, 107).

As the state seized the means of production in the proletarian revolution, in order to explore the socialist middle class, it is necessary to look towards who controls the state, or in the case of self-management, smaller collective bodies who control the means of productions (Đilas 1957). In this way, Yugoslav socialist society produced wide demography of politicians, managers, different experts and state clients from which a socialist middle class was created out of. Observing the relationship between the profession, salary and housing, Živković's 'first class citizens' clearly figured as a socialist new middle class.

3.2.2   Problems in housing

Growing inequality in housing supply started already by the early 1950s but it worsened in the late 1960s. The housing crisis was often easily explained by the high pressure of rural to urban migration (Kadić 1972), and served as explanation for consequential private production, often illegal (Džankić 1972). These explanations deflected attention from other problems that were equally relevant in the crises such as insufficient and decreasing communal production and segregated allocation of the newly built units. The state's involvement in housing production

became more focused with the increased attention devoted to improving living standard in the 1950s, in technical terms from Second five-year plan. At the 1954 meeting of the Standing Conference of Yugoslav Cities in Sarajevo, Jahiel Finci, estimated that Yugoslav society needed to produce some 1.35 million homes to reach the European average of one apartment per four inhabitants.[30]

Ten years later, Yugoslavia was still struggling at the bottom of the European housing production average. In 1965 provision of housing was delegated from the governments to the individual labour organisations (self-managing companies) when Federal Parliament adopted the 'Regulation of further development of housing stock'. This change firmly decreased the production of socially owned units in comparison to private, independent development, which only increased inequality. In the period that followed, even the largest and most successful companies were not able to produce enough units to secure housing for their workers. The decrease in housing production could be hypothetically explained with the relative saturation of specific groups in the society with housing, which enabled the focus to shift to improving their quality of life in other ways (Le Normand 2012). Connected to the insufficient production, the second problem in housing construction was the distribution of available units. There usual model for their distribution prioritised qualifications, work experience, social needs and contribution to the People's Liberation Struggle during World War Two. The distribution did not differentiate between the white and blue collar workers, generally shifting the preference toward the higher qualified workers.

Following the end of the war and the Yugoslav break with Stalin in 1948, workers found themselves increasingly excluded from the decision-making positions, in politics, but also in their decentralised labour organisations (Žvan 1971). Yugoslavia's statistics did not recognise the difference between blue and white collars in the same group of workers (Živković 1972, 28–29). Even though there is no specific class of the owner of the means of production, there are significant differences between 'working people'. In 1970, 53 per cent of working people earned wages below the national average, all of whom were blue collar workers (ibid., 28). Blue collar workers were additionally unable to obtain bank loans, due to their low income, while the distribution of communally owned apartments strongly favoured white collar

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[30] Finci 1953, cited in Le Normand (2014, 85).

workers. According to the statistical data cited by Miroslav Živković two-thirds of newly built apartments in Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo and Novi Sad were distributed to white collar workers, while blue collar population represented two-thirds of the labour force in those cities (M. Živković 1972, 29). Some companies provided credit for those workers that did not secure their housing for the purchase of privately built units. Again, this credit was also based upon their wages effectively excluding most blue collar worker from this option. Thus many decided to undertake indepdendent house construction rather than buying expensive, unaffordable apartments.

3.2.3   Types of illegal construction in socialist Yugoslavia

The informal construction in Yugoslavia was not heterogeneous, and the more it developed, the more it became stratified, following lines of class stratification in the state. The illegal private construction can be used to delineate class differentiation in Yugoslav socialism of the 1960s and 1970s. There are two broad tendencies in illegal construction, one undertaken by blue-collar workers in city suburbs, industrial areas with low supervision of the building inspections. The second type of illegal construction was preferred by the emerging new middle class which focuses on building holiday homes in protected areas (Taylor 2010).

When engaging in illegal construction, poor people occupied, rather than buy land, focusing on former industrial or agricultural spaces. The majority of informal housing settlements were focused on the city outskirts. Building houses often involved support from their labour organisation in providing some material, equipment, labour and securing sick leave or holidays to enable construction time. The construction went in phases depending on the disposable income and available materials. The exception were the cases of neighbourhoods with functional sanctioning, mainly demolition where basic construction was done in the rapid timeline to avoid demolition (Zagreb's neighbourhood Kozari Bok or Borča and Kaluđerica neighbourhoods in Belgrade). While many of the illegal housing owners were of a rural background, rather than with their geography, they emerged thanks to the lack of access to the public housing. Branko Milanović even concluded that Yugoslav geography of inequality was shifting from village to the urban poor (Milanović 1990, 314).

Drafting on other types of illegal construction, Živković speaks about the emergence of a new middle class in Yugoslavia. This socialist new middle class consisted of bankers, export traders, retailers, large and mid-sized managers, large and mid-sized party and state bureaucracy, celebrities in the entertainment industry, different experts, early entrepreneurs in the service sector (M. Živković 1968). Members of the new middle class (Đilas 1957) receive a significantly larger proportion of income, than their participation in labour, and they were also often able to access additional sources of revenue (political engagements, consultancies, entrepreneurship). Milan Kangrga insists that the new middle-class actively transformed Yugoslav society into a consumer society (Kangrga 1972).

The new middle class also engaged in illegal construction, building their weekend and country houses and second homes. Illegal buildings of the new middle class were more prone to appear in protected areas, nature reserves, or recreational zones (M. Živković 1972, 29). They engage in this activity, bearing in mind that their connections in the society will be robust enough to protect their houses from legal sanctions. None of the architects and urban planners who engaged in a critique of illegal construction in the 1960s mentions this form of illegal construction.

The shimmers of the housing crisis in the 1950s and 1960s were only amplifying, with the situation reaching a peak in 1980s. Unequal social housing distribution became such a prevalent topic that in the early 1980s trade union initiated a campaign 'You have a house return the flat!' attempting to convince individuals to return their socially owned flats if they also owned house (the results of which were predictably rather limited) (Archer 2013). The result was informal construction moving beyond city outskirts towards the centres and involving much more different demographics of class, geographical and cultural background.

3.2.4   Weak responses of the state

The government responses were mostly small isolated and incoherent. Dating back to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the harshest way of dealing with informal construction were demolitions, which were undertaken, at least in Belgrade and Zagreb for the needs of constructing planned objects on sites. Even though post-war construction was easy to target as it was rendered illegal, demolitions were absent. The responsibility for the demolitions was in

local government, the municipalities. The legal framework did make it difficult for individual construction to start but once it did, it left significant space for builders to negotiate the legality of their project. In different municipalities, illegal construction was taking different dynamics. These dynamics involved building just outside of the city premises so the municipal government would not have jurisdiction or resources to sanction, or individuals might deliberately build on publicly owned land so that the communal owner would have to allocate the land rights to the illegal builders. Other strategies involved illegally building objects of modest dimensions to qualify for social housing as compensation or rapidly building so the authorities would be less willing undertake the demolition.

3.3   CONCLUSION

Socialist urban planning, informed by socialist modernism remains the main framework for understanding informal housing in contemporary BiH. The breakdown of the former state and its urban planning institutions serves as a facile explanation for the contemporary growth of informal construction, as a part of larger proliferation of informality in economy and governance (Bojičić-Dželilović 2013). Some critics of contemporary informal construction acknowledge the existence of 'illegal construction' during socialism but consider its extent to have been insignificant.[31] This chapter has sought to demonstrate that informal construction existed in Bosnia and Herzegovina long before the war of the 1990s and during the socialist Yugoslav state. The chapter also has shown that it was an articulation of socialist modernism and its projects of space regulation that constructed informal building as an illegal practice.

The first part of the chapter demonstrates that it is not informal construction but urban planning that is of limited historical duration. In local terms of BiH as a part of SFRY, urban planning was developed under the influence of socialist modernism. This experience served not only to implement the project of modernisation through urbanisation but to establish cultural hegemony between the modernisers and the modernised. Socialist Modernism served the

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[31] These small interventions are in fact related to individual housing appearing in suburban area, and with the history from late 1960s (Taubman 1972), but coming in force significantly after 1995, with growing number of refugees who were looking for safe place and place of opportunities. The numerous small interventions are in nature illegal housing that is accommodating imprecise number of inhabitants but estimation is that almost a quarter of total population lives in illegally constructed buildings (Čengić 2010, 91).

emerging strata of modernisers to acquire popular style and architecture of the West while keeping the legitimacy of socialist revolution.

Informal construction existed throughout the history of modern BiH. Furthermore, recent reports and criticism of proliferation are not isolated incidents; the compaints about informal constructionn and reports about it appear cyclically. They indicate the level of urban planning and government attempts to regulate construction rather than the real volume of individually constructed buildings. Informal construction as an 'illegal', exclusively criminal activity is historically related to the development of systemic space regulation with the establishment of city master plans and consequential reporting on the construction. The problem with this perspective is that criminalises informal builders while obscuring the context that produces them. Secondary, it puts excessive trust in the capabilities of urban planning and space regulation, which demonstrates to be inadequate to solve the problems of basis of top-down planning. Reporting on informal construction strictly as illegal serves as strategy of othering where informal builders are portrayed in 'barbarity versus civilisation' discourse. The next chapter deals with these discourses within public campaigns against illegal construction. In both a socialist and post-war context, informal building practices go far beyond individual houses. As this type of construction had not been qualified as illegal, it is evident that the level of formality plays a crucial role in illegal construction. 'Illegal' construction is a barbaric act that it is destroying public infrastructure and the landscape.

Similar to the 'our man abroad' the people involving in illegal construction are imagined as the 'other' within. During the industrial growth of socialist period, these 'barbarians' were mostly rural migrant moving to the cities looking for a job. In a postsocialist and more importantly post-war context, they are often refugees (Čengić 2010, 91), settled in the cities to serve nationalist politics. In the story of 'our' man abroad, the other within are *gastarbajteri*, Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav labour migrants to Western Europe, often provisionally blamed for informal construction at home. 'Our man' is a story of embarrassment and externalisation. The act of 'our man' abroad is not his individual act but rather the embarrassing exposure of how housing functions in the native society. The story does not speak about Germany, Sweden or Switzerland; it only uses the foreign gaze, social contexts understood as culturally superior, to present 'our' collective problem and produce embarrassment.

With a prominent role in legitimising rather distinct visions of how society should develop space, socialist modernists failed to address the inequalities its views were producing; it often served the elites that were employing it, e.g. the modernisers. In later stages of Yugoslav socialism, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, private housing became more acceptable, and a certain level of informality became tolerated, mainly due to inadequate sanctioning. Even though informal construction is a dominant form of individual construction in contemporary BiH, Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Croatia, it is still looked down upon in a rather complex way. Its proliferation is attributed to the 'winners of transition' and corruption in new democratic governments, while the silent majority of working class individuals that lives in these types of dwelling is ignored. The following chapter deals with the basic model of this construction and its postsocialist developments.

4 INFORMAL CONSTRUCTION AS CONTEMPORARY VERNACULAR TYPOLOGY[32]

Informal construction in the post-Yugoslav context of Bosnia and Herzegovina emerged as the dominant construction practice in individual housing indicative of the collapse of functionalist urban planning (Kos 1993; Vujović 1986). Despite its omnipresence, local policy and media discourse are critical towards the phenomenon, referring to it strictly through the discourses of 'illegal' construction. Critics hold 'illegal' construction responsible for the illegal occupation of state-owned land, land misappropriation, disruption of urban planning and building regulations (Fena 2010; Huterer 2014; Kukić 2016), adverse effect on the environment, erosion and air pollution (Drušković 2016). While several of the initial arguments are formal and functional, many criticisms quickly transform to the aesthetic and implicitly moral nature of the phenomenon. The most vocal arguments against informal construction accuse it of denigrating public space or 'aesthetic pollution', *concretization* process [33] and radical connections to the militant planned destruction of the city, *urbicide*.

The combination of functional and aesthetic problems surrounding informal construction halts debates about its wider social and cultural context. The simple dismissal of informal construction as illegal, ugly or immoral does not exhaust its presence. Contemporary informal construction practices expanded far from the physical and social fringes of modernist Yugoslav cities, once bound to the individual informal construction of the working classes. Informal construction today constitutes a diverse spectrum of practices and relationships that involve the formal construction industry, architecture and urban planning professions and local and federal governments.

Roadside constructions, built with the mixed function of housing and traffic service businesses, emerge in informal construction practices and semi-professional techniques. The roadside

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[32] This chapter was published in partial form as Kapetanović, Mišo, and Ivana Katurić. "The Informal Housing of Privatnici and the Question of Class Two Stories From The Post-Yugoslav Roadside."*Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest* 46(04) (2015), 61–91.

[33] A popular media term used to describe the destruction of traditional Mediterranean landscapes by intensive construction in Croatia (Žanić 2004, 84), replicated to any form of construction in Bosnian cities (Fena 2014).

structures occupy a marginal part of the total informal construction, but they are highly visible due to their rich, lavish style, independent from professional architecture. The volumes of individual informal construction and diversion of roadside iconography indicate that there is more in the postwar proliferation to be explored. Confronted with the current physical and visual presence of individual informal construction, one should wonder which concrete social changes do these structures reflect? How are they connected to the larger 'transitional' processes of postsocialism, and how do their existence and appearance as well as public resistance against them reflect class movements in post-Yugoslav societies?

The chapter focuses on connections between contemporary individual informal housing, the criticism confronted by them and the roadside buildings' visual style. Engaging with the roadside as a particular example of informal construction involves a prior articulation of contemporary housing models and their historical and recent social context. The first part of this chapter thus provides a description and analysis of the original model 'kuća na dvije vode' to show how it relates to contemporary examples of vernacular housing. The chapter further demonstrates how the specific contexts of postsocialist transitional insecurity shapes houses dimensions and in many cases, the houses' visuals. The second part of the chapter deals with public hostility towards informal construction produced by the campaigns against informal housing, legalisation and public engagements of professionals and intellectuals, framed through the discourses on *ruglo* [mockery] and *urbicide*. The chapter discusses aesthetical argument in the light of bad taste and concrete articulation of distinction through the articulation of culture. Instead of kitsch, and the dismissal it implies, the chapter takes the roadside iconography and offers a theory of who is building these houses.

4.1   ROAD TO (NO)WHERE: WAR, PRIVATISATION AND INSECURITY

The research presented here uses the wider term informal construction and critically approaches the term illegal construction. In most of contemporary postsocialist contexts, including former Yugoslavia, informal construction involves a broader set of conditions regulated outside of formal procedures. The two most important conditions are 'the informal nature of residency and non-compliance with land-use plans (Payne and Majale 2004, 7–20). The media, policymakers and academia favour the term illegal construction, but the term neither reflects nor encompasses the complexity of situations. Sole lack of permits and non-

payment of public taxes, which defines legality, is case-sensitive. Rather than an adequate definition of informal construction, the term reflects a 'deficit of stateness' – the lack of general belief in the state as a problem solver (Allen 2006: 9). Informal construction may involve wider issues: a lack of secure ownership or land rights, city bylaws violations, inadequate access to essential public services, inadequate building structures, illegal subdivisions and extensions, poverty, social exclusion and unhealthy or hazardous living conditions (Tsenkova 2010, 74).

Due to early socialist society's commitment to public housing and the considerable prestige of living in modern apartments, zones for individual housing construction only formally appeared in urban plans from the early 1980s (Bežovan and Dakić 1990). Combined with the extensive urbanisation and housing shortages that the commitment of the authorities to collective housing did not manage to resolve, informal construction emerged as a cheap, alternative solution for individual housing problems.

The research on informal construction in both in East and South European housing systems shows that individual housing is just one type of informal construction and that the complexity of the origins and the development of informal construction are path dependent (Maloutas 1990; Tsenkova 2009a). Bosnian postsocialism was significantly laggard and determined by the civil war and its legacy. The economic transition model accompanying the reconciliation process was implemented without much public debate. The Dayton peace agreement and the quota systems of political participation left plenty of space for political deadlock and power struggles of the ethno-nationalist elites which effectively produced a fragmented state and the limited consolidation of state government. Ironically, the dominant ethno-nationalist politics failed to produce a national capitalist model, or its corresponding ideological framework, as it is a case of 'enthusiastic' Croatian national capitalism (Bićanić and Franičević 2005). Measures that defined the evolution of Bosnian state towards neoliberal capitalism were simply framed as benevolent depoliticised 'reforms' (Jansen 2007b, 22; Jansen 2007a).

International institutions present in BiH pushed privatisation of state and socially owned companies with the IMF making loans conditional upon this process (Jansen 2015, 144). The result was a 'primitive accumulation' of capital by the post-war ruling classes who appropriated public resources, transforming the material base and state institutions (ibid., 204). It is important to stress that initial privatisations met no public resistance, led by the promise of immediate growth and development. The process in general was evaluated as highly unsuccessful, even by the proponents. Transparency international was widely citing corruption,

nepotism and problems with jurisdiction (Divjak and Martinović 2009, 36). Many individual privatisations proved to be failures necessitating government intervention renationalise and reprivatize the companies, which left companies in legal logjams, not allowed to be liquidated or restructured, vulnerable to pillage. The privatisation process left many workers in fictional employment, alternating between periods of enforced unpaid leaves, employment on minimum wage and salaries being late for record periods of time, ending in around 60,000 lost jobs in RS and incomplete data for the Federation (Šunj 2013). Fused with the post-Dayton fragmentation of governance, privatisation resulted in a vicious circle of state populism, crony capitalism, clientelism and informal economy (Bojičić-Dželilović 2013). This effectively meant even less trust in collective endeavours and compliance with state policies.

Many informal settlements that initially formed during socialism to support the migration of the industrial labour force from the countryside to the city, expanded in the post-war period. Next to these informal settlements, the post-war entity governments encouraged the formation of refugee settlements on the outskirts of the larger cities and towns. Refugee settlements were a part of early post-war housing provision measures, and post-war continuation of segregation politics referred to as 'ethnic engineering' (Tuathail and Dahlman 2006; Jansen 2007b, 21). The entity and local governments actively participated in the construction[34] by allocating state-owned land and providing basic construction materials. The measures actively discouraged individuals' return to the pre-war residences, and continued the wartime policy of fostering ethnically divided entities (Jansen 2007b, 21; Tuathail and Dahlman 2006). The practice was forbidden in 1999 by the decision of the High Representative, who recognised the policy as a continuation of ethnic cleansing (R. C. Williams 2005, 498).

The end result was governments' ceasing of support for refugee settlements' and distancing themselves from the newly constructed settlements leaving them largely unregulated and underdeveloped. The informal character and lack of infrastructure did not stop new migrants to the cities from considering these neighbourhoods as suitable locations for a cheap house or

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[34] The policy was championed by Republika Srpska government to prevent the return of non-Serb population to this entity and discourage the return of Serb IDPs to Federation(Tuathail and Dahlman 2006). Weather as reciprocation or retaliation to the RS policy, individual cantons within the Federation responded with support to ethnic Bosniaks or Croat IDPs, depending on the community. As the policies in Federation were made by lower level government, they were less registered, but the material evidence of the policies is present in informal refugee settlements (Sarajevo Construction 2013; Čengić 2010, 91).

the construction of one. The former 'refugee' neighbourhoods today are an easy target of the informal construction critique due to their low level of public infrastructure (Fena 2014).

The inhabitants of informal settlements found themselves in the insecurity of post-war reconstruction fuelled by complicated privatisations and power struggles within the state(s). Investing in a house, by building a new one or extending the existing home came to be viewed as a secure investment by many Bosnians. This evolution is a major difference from the socialist period. Informal construction in socialism was a tool to secure a home in the relatively unfair housing distribution system. In the postsocialist period, informal house expansions and subsequent engagements in grey economies sprung up as a solution in times of hardship mitigating the loss of purchasing power or due to general financial and social insecurity (Kesteloot and Meert 1999; Mingione 1983; Mingione 1991).

4.2 THE CONTEMPORARY VERNACULAR MODEL

This sub-chapter deals with a model that I found to be prevalent in pre-war and post-war individual home construction. The model also serves as a basis in informal objects that combine individual housing and expand to encompass business. The model is widely present in residential neighbourhoods, city outskirts (Figure 4.1) and rural areas. Due to its vernacular and informal background, it is hard to speak about the model without being prescriptive. My attempts to identify the model through literature proved to be harder than expected, as its presence remains undocumented. For this reason, the subchapter provides model's description, the name(s), model's background and present varieties.

The models main distinction is the roof covering the box shaped volume. The volume develops from a rectangle base to a ground floor and can continue with additional floors. Older models, constructed prior to 1980 usually have only a ground floor and an additional floor in exceptional cases. More recent models, dating from the 1980s onward include several floors, corresponding with the change in perspective that conceives of a private home as an investment. The volume opens with standardised windows and balconies to the street side and at the back of the house. The main doors are commonly on the side (Figure 4.2). The distinctive roof has to surfaces, symmetrical and typically split orienting front to back. Many houses diverge from the original model with the roof orientated sided to side, an asymmetrically

oriented roof, and sometimes additional components and extensions. It is necessary to keep in mind that in practice, the model almost always includes additional features or diversion from this description. The section on prevalent styles in this chapter illustrates the variations in the model.

Figure 4.1 Four houses in a row on the main junction in Maglaj

Source: Author's video.

The main reason for focusing on the model's roof is that the most common name that builders and tenants use related to it. Most of the owners I had the opportunity to communicate with referred to the model as 'kuća na dvije vode' (henceforth K2V) (Figure 4.2). On national websites for classified ads PIK.ba, this is a dominant feature under 'houses' category.[35] The name was used widely in BiH and Serbia. In other regions of post-Yugoslav space, such as in Dalmatia the same model is called 'dvoslivna kuća' (Z. Živković 2015, 23) which indicates

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[35] http://www.olx.ba/pretraga?kategorija=24&vrsta=&od=&do=&kanton=&kvadrata_min=&kvadrata_max=, last accessed on 28th February 2017.

that there is a variety of the terms of the typology. Both of the names use different phrasing to indicate the same feature; the way in which the roof is constructed to lead down falling rain.

Figure 4.2 K2V modelled houses close to Brčko (top) and Hadžići (bottom)

Source: Author's videos..

My attempts to inquire about terms for the house among professional architects resulted with an array of colloquial terms: 'a family home', 'the red one', 'a monopoly toy house', the Kumrovec type. None of these names was categorised or systematically analysed. A rare source that mentions a similar typology is a study of the traditional vernacular architecture of the Croatian countryside (Freudenreich 1972). Freudenreich also offers a substantially larger group of roof typologies and names in use (*dvostrešni* (technical use), *čemer* = zabatni zid, kućna lastavica, na lastavicu, oštri, somić, šanta, šop, začelek, zadel) (1972, 295). These particular names are not in circulation in contemporary individual construction in BiH. Freudenreich refers to the all collection of similar models as 'peasant houses' (*seljačka kuća*) (Figure 4.3). In the research of traditional vernacular construction in BiH, Nikolić and Šarančić Logo cite the proliferation of K2V modelled houses in the highlands as an invasive typology unadjusted to the local conditions (Nikolić and Šarančić Logo 2011, 63). If drawings of Freudenreichs are compared with the following standard K2V models (Figure 4.5 right) is plausible to assume that current K2V model originates in vernacular peasant housing.

Figure 4.3 Aleksandar Freudenreich's drawings of traditional peasant houses in Kordun and Moslavina, Croatia.

Source: Freudenreich (1972, 34)

An adequate translation in English would be a gable roofed house. 'Kuća na dvije vode' is more general term as its literal translation indicates the two surfaces that guide falling rain (Figure 4.3). The term 'gabled' refers to a triangular portion of a wall defined by intersecting roof pitches. The result of this difference is that Bosnian term 'kuća na dvije vode' (henceforth K2V) covers a variety of typologies common in English sources (Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4 Variety of two sided roof models a.) gable roof, b.) box gable roof c. Jerkinhead, d.) Dutch gable, e.) gambrel roof.
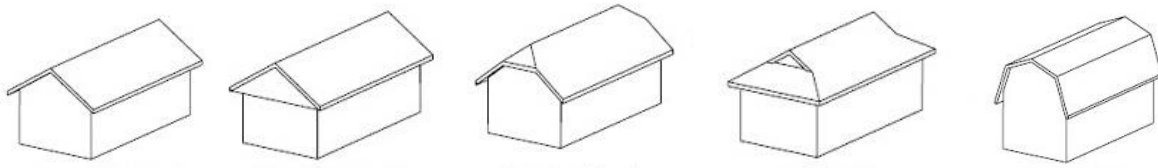
The emphasis in the Bosnian term is on the number two (roof surfaces), to separate it from the hip roofed house[36] (four-surface-roofed house - 'kuća na četiri vode', 'četvoroslivna kuća') (Figure 4.5). Sanković-Šimčić explains the differentiation between the two roof typologies in the case of traditional vernacular constructions in the medieval town of Počitelj. She argues that traditional two-sided roofs are bound to Mediterranean typologies, while four-sided roofs are typical for Ottoman vernacular style (2010, 151–52). This explanation is indicative of a belief that the difference between the two models is ethnonational; between Bosniaks and non-Bosniaks.

The four-side roofed model, pyramid or hip roofed house (henceforth K4V) in BiH is an older typology prevalent in pre-modern/pre-industrial cities and rural areas. The model evolved with the development of Bosnian Ottoman towns, and early socialist modernist architects, Dušan Grabrijan and Juraj Neidhart praised models organisation in Sarajevo residential areas mahala's (Grabrijan and Neidhardt 1957). The model is present in the older construction of both mixed urban centres and rural areas with a majority Bosniak population.

The contemporary two-sided model largely resembles rural vernacular construction, similar to the models described by Freudenreich and present in rural areas of BiH with a Christian population. This difference offers grounds for a popular perception that associates the K4V type with Ottoman heritage and the Bosniak (Muslim) community and two-sided model to non-Muslims (Croatian or Serbian ethnonational communities). While K4V models may serve as a feature of a performed Bosniak identity, and individually is recognised as 'Bosniak' as

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[36] Sanković-Simčić uses two-gabled and four-gabled roofs to describe same typologies (2010, 152). Keeping in mind the difference between a gable and a roof, explained in paragraph above, I would disagree with this translation, 'four-gabled roof' would be cross-gabled house, which is not a common typology locally.

indicated by internet sources,[37] the two-sided models are not bound to Christians only and are practised by all ethnonational groups. The belief is also present in Croatia where the K4V roof is not a common typology, and K4V models are called simply 'Bosnian houses' but it is not prevalent in other post-Yugoslav societies with strong Ottoman heritage. In Serbia, there are architecture firms which advertise the four-side roofed houses as *Serbian style* (Zakić 2010).

Figure 4.5 Illustration of four sided and two-sided typologies in a catalogue of 'typical construction'.
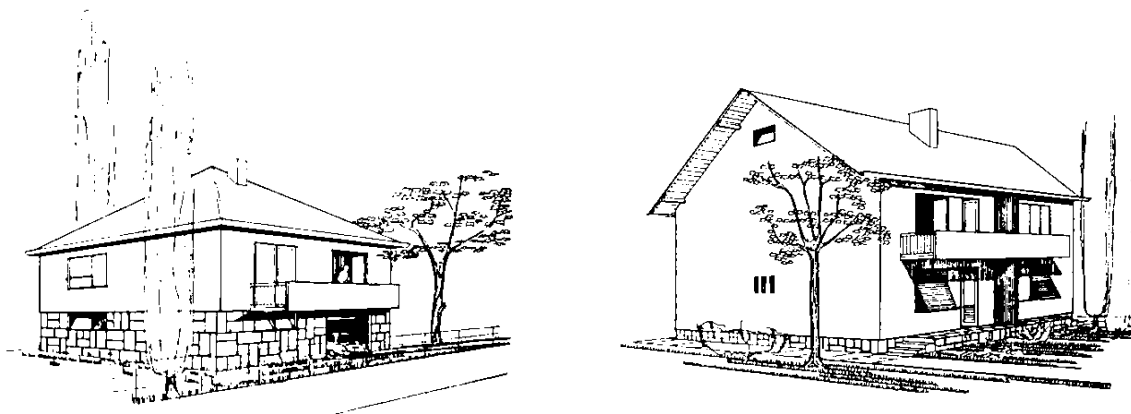
Foursided K4V (left) and two sided K2V (right). Source: Simčić (1966)

The modern K2V model became popular with rural-urban migration during the industrialisation. This was in the first place a neccessity for migrants who had difficulty in securing social housing. The reason behind its wide popularity was its quick and easy construction. The model was easily adaptable to different terrains and easy to construct by amateur builders, concentrating away from the city centres to industrial areas, informal suburbs, town peripheries, and in the countryside (Figure 4.6). The difference between K2V and K4V is the somewhat simpler construction of the K2V roof, and this likely makes the model more prevalent. The simplicity was a must due to a legal loophole which obstructed the

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[37] A belief that K4V models are a part of Bosniak (Muslim) identity and heritage is registered and discussed more directly on anonymous internet forums (Forum.hr, Topic: "Kuća na 4 vode [4-side roofed house]" (http://www.forum.hr/showthread.php?t=108023, last accessed on 28th February 2017); Forum Klix.ba, Topic: "Šta mislite o ovim kućama? Imamo li loš ukus za kuće [What do you think of these houses? Do we have a bad taste in houses?]", (http://forum.klix.ba/sta-mislite-o-ovim-kucama-imamo-li-los-ukus-za-kuce-p9104510.html, last accessed on 28th February 2017)).

local inspections in demolitions. The legal framework allowed the inspections to act only for the buildings that were in the construction process. The criteria for finished objects was a completed roof. Builders were motivated to conduct quick construction, finish the roof, move in and complete the rest of works later. The situation shortened the construction to only a few weeks and probably resulted in preference of slightly simpler the K2V.

Figure 4.6 The newer K2V model built in front of an older K4V model.

Road M17 close to Konjic. Source: Author's video.

A rare professional source for the models are Yugoslav architectural catalogues advertising individual projects for mass production. The K2V model dominates the catalogue, while K4V appears in only a few of these projects, but the catalogues refer to the both models with the same term - typical construction [*tipska gradnja*], a typology (Simčić 1966; Krnjajić and Derdžić 1973). The typical architecture was a way to respond on rising informal construction and liberalise formal individual housing. Typical projects responded to prevalent models by modernising them and provided detailed technical instructions. This way the mass produced

plans could be used for whole new projects or adoption of the documentation in legalisation process.

Cheap and easy to construct, K2V originated amongst blue collar workers. It was an adaptation of rural vernacular architecture reformulated for the needs of suburban life. Modernisation and mass distribution of the model that was partially supported by the professional architecture offices and mass produced projects contributed in K2V becoming the vernacular model of contemporary individual housing. However, K2V remains as a hybrid influenced by the traditional craftsmanship, informal practices in the city and professional interventions, floating within formal and informal practices.

The Postsocialist variations

The preference of the individual homes slowly changes in late socialism, with the increased participation of white collar workers. Their investments were largely focused on second homes or weekend houses - *vikendice* (Taylor 2010; Gredelj 2015, 329). Owning a home became a priority over owning an apartment, mainly due to the economic potential of individual houses. Increased participation of non-blue collar workers changed the symbolic capital of K2V, and the house itself became a method for expressing taste through consumption. Professional critiques retained high modernist perspectives and looked down upon these trends, but for some house owners in late socialism the K2V resonated as an expression of style. [38]

The postsocialist and post-war homes moved even further in such a direction. Weak supervision and non-existing support resulted in the widespread practice of building first and legalising later. In an economically and socially insecure context, a private house which had space for extensions became a rare point of personal security making the model favoured across different social backgrounds, with the vast acceptance of transitional middle classes (Figure 4.7), particularly small entrepreneurs.

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[38] Boris Morsan reports on increasing threat of newly-composed architecture in private housing where richer strata of society are exhibiting wealth through decoration patterns such as stone facades, faux roof elements or ironworks (Morsan 1993a, 153).

Figure 4.7 Model K2V with bright green rendering.

South of Doboj. Source: Author's photo.

The popularity of the houses increased primarily due to their economic potential, not their prestige. Multi-storey apartment buildings, often centrally located and with better infrastructure remained a more prestigious form of urban dwelling. Private houses however, offered better value in the stagnant post-war housing market as they are easy to extend and commodify the space. Building a house informally is not dependent on securing the entire buidling budget, obtaining the permits and hiring professionals to plan and execute projects. Informal construction is a long term process. It consists of smaller interventions where builders conduct the works according to the temporary availability of funds; the execution is carried out overwhelmingly through personal networks. This practice results in builders moving into the buildings before they complete the construction, the works extending to significantly longer periods and the construction plan subject to frequent revisions and renegotiations. The example presented in Figure 4.8 features two family homes, constructed as a duplex project by splitting one allotment. Due to division, the owners were able to invest in different works on the buildings they found more important. The home on the left has white rendering and matching balcony doors on the both floors, indicating that the entire exterior was planned at the same time. The building on the right has no rendering, the doors and windows are of different dimensions, but it has a small extension on the right side indicating that extra space was a priority over rendering. Flexibility is dependent on disposable income.

Figure 4.8 Duplex home.

Near Kakanj. Source: Author's video.

The flexibility is not completely chaotic. It follows the logic of economic rationality. The extended indefinite process splits to milestones which respond to priorities of builders. The highest priority is the bare construction of the ground floor, followed by the construction of additional floors and the roof. The practice follows the one in the socialist period whereby construction of the roof could secure de facto legal protection of the informally built house and qualified it for legalisation instead of demolition. The postsocialist builders reduce this practice to the construction of the ground floor, which enables them to occupy the building and leave the remaining works open ended. The next phases of construction include securing family quarters on the first floor and consequently developing the ground floor as a working space and developing quarters for the extended families (i.e. the families of their grown children). The house on the images below (Figures 4.9) feature a simple K2V model. The rendering and advertisement on the ground floor indicate that owners use them for business (a beekeeping equipment shop). The lack of rendering on the first floor, and half-opened window shutters, on the right side, indicate that the first floor serves as a private, presumably residential area. The right photograph also shows that above the first floor there is an attic, but the windows boarded up with planks suggest that there are works to be completed. The building appears finished structurally, but the rendering restricted to the ground floor only and open window in the attic indicate that further works have been postponed. The business area and living quarters are an obvious priority for the builder.

Figure 4.9 K2V with finished rendering restricted to the business quarters.

Between Prijedor and Banja Luka. Source: Panoramio, username: Dalibor Kljajić.

The flexible dynamics in form reversibly stimulates the owners ambition. If there is an opportunity, builders can easily open projects that once completed (covered with a roof). In the informal setting, the building of an additional room or new floor on a family home is justified by upgrading family living conditions. By investing in finishing works on the first floor, the family can move to the first floor and leave the ground floor free for business or rent. Investments in the second and upper floors serve for extended family (married children with their families) or rent. In this way, the informal setting and precarious nature of the projects leaves subsistence entangled with profit-oriented investments. The building presented above (Figures 4.9 - 4.10) with one floor designated for the family quarters, one floor designated for business and some space remaining for further development probably belongs to a single family, which uses the house to secure both housing and subsistence.

The commodification of space and increase of houses surface can go vertically (by building additional floors) or horizontally (by extending the back and side spaces of the house). Figure 4.10 feature a DIY arcade shopping mall, developed in Bosanska Krupa named 'Krupića Dvor' (Krupić's Palace). The centre of Bosanska Krupa is a small hill that hosts the ruins of the medieval fortress. 'Krupića Dvor' is a system of semi-formal buildings developed on the north-eastern side of the hill and along one of the main town promenades, dominating the cityscape. The system is built in eclectic pseudo-historicist styles and surrounded by traditional Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian and socialist buildings. During my visits in 2012 and 2013 when I took the photographs here, the system was still in expansion with work in progress on the side-objects featured on the lower two photographs. A family owning the system explained the project with a claim the right to land and the ruins based on the same last name as the original builders of

the fortress, feudal nobility from several centuries ago (Šehić 2005). Whether or not family's claim is substantiated, the existing system demonstrates that the extensions reached far beyond subsistence.

Figure 4.10 Krupića Dvor, front entrance above and side buildings with works in progress.

Front (top), left side (bottom left), and right corner (bottom right). Source: Author's photo.

Ambition imbued with flexibility in construction comes at a price. When the original works do not result in income generation builders simply delay or abandon further works. The results are constant interventions and rearrangements on structure and decoration of the building. The suburban Bosnian landscape is dominated by family homes of hefty dimensions of combined housing and business objects ambitiously started and left unfinished. Figure 4.11 shows a suburban zone on the southern fringes of Brčko, a larger town in the north-east of the country. The image features a line of buildings, K2V models demonstrating various level of works and alterations. The two buildings on the right are of larger dimensions. They host business, have some decoration (only grey rendering house insulation) and signs advertising the business located on the ground floor. The houses of far left of the photograph do not contain businesses, they have the colourful rendering and unorganised front yards. The two objects in the middle, the first and second left from the large grey building, feature significant diverging from the original K2V. These buildings do not have applied rendering, and one of them has a sign advertising the business and a more organised front yard. The result of flexibility and informality is the uncertain appearance of super-sized K2V.

Figure 4.11 Perspective on a suburban commercial strip.

Brčko south. Source Panoramio (Username: Zvijer).

Figure 4.12 Unfinished objects, with red brick façade.

Bijeljina (top), Jablanica (middle left), Čapljina (middle right), Brčko (bottom). Source: Author's photos.

The builders of K2V models in late socialist period usually rendered houses with white paint. The colour white is the only choice available for traditional vernacular houses, due to

whitewash as the most dominant technique and so mass produced individual housing plans suggested white. This practice gave the characteristic white appearance to Yugoslav suburbs and towns. The choice of beige or 'white coffee' colours in the rendering of the 1980s homes was considered quite original. The postsocialist tension between insecurity and growing ambition de-prioritised rendering to the scale that it is often done only years after the owners move in. Due to this practice, the most common decoration on the buildings is exposed red bricks' walls without rendering (Figure 4.12). This 'no façade façade' gives the settlements an iconic unfinished red outline.

The postsocialist building practice means often separating needs and functions from formal aesthetics, due to the lack of professional support, simplistic formal language and reductionist construction solutions. Separation is visible in the flexibility of basic model and more demonstratively in prioritised decoration. The houses featured below are unfinished to a varying degree – missing entire floors, roofs, doors and windows, but even the occupied buildings featured in the previous examples demonstrate the lack of different works, rendering, some embellishing pieces, fences or garden elements. Informality as a dominant framework has deeply affected the understanding of what a functional housing project is; an on-going process.

The elements of style

The strategy of slow growth and continued expansion works for some buildings is enough to enable the builders to some space for decoration and the expression of style. The building in the images below (Figure 4.13) features a construction, modelled as simple K2V, with the primary function of a shop and probably serving as supporting building for a house on its left side. The second photograph demonstrates how the renovation works involved the enlargement of the building with an additional floor and an extension on the right side. The construction works appear to be a high-quality professional. However, the rendering divided in three colours visually separating the floors demonstrates informal character (dark grey for the basement, orange for ground floor and yellow for the first floor). The solution is convenient as it visually separates different functions of the building. It would be an unusual choice in conventional typology which preferred white rendering, or a single colour. Here, the combination of colours reflects the aesthetical choice of the builders.

Decoration in postsocialist houses is significantly different to socialist models (simple K2V, K4V) or the conventions of professional architecture. When present, the postsocialist decorations in the houses as considerably more intensive and elaborate, embedding a variety of choices and references. Describing them with simple 'everything goes' of postmodern architecture would be a reductive because as their vernacular character and an undetermined level of formality separates them from the communication and trends in the formal architecture The visual appearances of the roadside are eclectic but feature regularities that could convey comprehensive styles. The following section presents three of these directions with provisional names of '1980s baroque', 'new Bosnian modern', and 'ethno', basic features of these styles, its demography and some interpretation of its visual features.

Figure 4.13 K2V model before and after the renovations.

North-West from Brčko. Source: Panoramio (Username: mix94).

The 1980s Baroque[39]

The 1980s Baroque represents an excessive display of luxury in individual housing. It is important to notice that the terms used here do not refer to imitation achieved with loose references and do not communicate with the movement in European art history. The 1980s Baroque as a style gathers a wider collection of pseudo-historicist features used to achieve

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[39] Rozita Dimova offered the term ethno-baroque (Dimova 2013) to describe the stylistic expression of nationalistic elites in contemporary Macedonia, in both public transformations of Skopje city centre and consumption patterns of socially mobile members of Albanian minority (ibid:50–71). The trends in BiH are relatable to the current developments in Macedonia and I found Dimova's insights helpful in understanding of public projects' *vernacularisation* in the service of populist nationalism. I am still making a difference between 'ethno' and 'baroque' in the case of roadside in BiH, as I will show that in the case of roadside styles, ethno and baroque are potentially conflicting tendencies within the wider trend of informal construction.

Disneyesque (fairy tale) quality in the visual expression of the house. The decade of the 1980s is used to mark the beginning of the trend, and architectural critiques register excessive usage of the decoration of typical architecture to create an impression of the history of wealth by wealthy individuals (Morsan 1993b, 145).

The pseudo-historicist character of the style is characterised by the application of selected features to the K2V model with the purpose of creating a historical reference. The photographs in the figure 4.14 demonstrate different ways in which visual expression conveys the reference by constructing extensions that resemble towers, adding structural elements to the decoration like columns, stone imitation façade tiles, applying bright colours in rendering (pink, violet, rose, orange, baby blue) and using plaster figurines (lions, eagles, swans).

As a tendency in vernacular decoration '1980s baroque' is a reaction to the modesty of late socialist formal architecture. The language of socialist modernism, even occasional experiments in postmodernism, were highly cautious regarding decoration. The stress on modesty is not necessarily socialist but modernist. Regardless, the socialist house owner resisted it widely. Much wider than excessive decoration in homes, the 1980s in Yugoslavia was a period of the mass popularisation of faux antique furniture, the reproductions of romantic landscapes and vintage decorations all in service of creating a sense of history and the image of luxury. Boym decribes similar petit bourgeois interest in furniture symbolised in chest of drawers (*komod)* in late Soviet Russia (1994, 132).

Figure 4.14 Varieties of the 1980s Baroque.

Bijeljina (previous page), Bijeljina (top), Visoko (middle), Hadžiči (bottom). Source: Author's videos.

Figure 4.15 Buildings using the 1980s Baroque in reduced form.

Bosanski Novi (top), Obudovac (middle left), Zenica (middle right) and Mostar (bottom).
Source: Author's videos.

Croatian architecture critic Boris Morsan recognised excessive decoration in individual housing and ascribed these elements to 'newly composed' architecture practices by the wider population in late socialism and the early postsocialist period (Morsan 1994; Morsan 1993a, 152–53). However, an earlier work of Serbian ethnographers Bratić and Malešević (1982) connects lavish house decoration to *gastabajteri* (Yugoslav migrant workers in Western Europe). Media today perpetuate the trope of plaster figurines and Doric columns as being closely related to the tastes of *gastarbajteri* (Kurir 2014; Ćešić 2014; Ox 2012; Milosavljević 2014), but the images found on the Bosnian roadside show that lavish, luxurious decoration of vernacular housing is widely present (i.e. presumably beyond the *gastarbajter* demographic). Further, employment of the style in a reduced form, demonstrates that the style exceeds a single demographic.

The images in figure 4.15 illustrate a variety of objects which use the 1980s Baroque in a reduced form by employing only a few of the stylistic elements in the decoration. The first object in the group is a smaller K2V model with columns and patches of pink rendering restricted to the front. The left image in the middle row features a K2V with an extension on a left side and full rendering. The building in the photograph to the right also has pink rendering but additionally involves circular extensions on the front corners which resemble towers. The building depicted in the bottom photograph is a commercial object (advertisements state 'Outlet' and 'Trendy' in English), but it employs fully the elements of the 1980s Baroque.

Ethno

Ethno style is an alternative to the luxury of the 1980s Baroque. Equally eclectic, it uses the same logics fetishising the past through the application of structural or decorative elements that could be considered traditional or old-fashioned. In contrast to 1980s baroque ethno does not find inspiration in a wider historicist imagery. Ethno concentrates on the builder's' rural background. The application of ethno is even less systematic than the 1980s Baroque and extends from using single items (such as old wooden wheels, scythes and other tools) over the traditional materials (general usage of wood, clay and stone) to complete form imitating traditional styles. The difference between ethno and traditional vernacular construction is the usage of modern materials, such as red bricks and K2V as a basic model hidden in a traditionally looking façade (Figure 4.16).

Figure 4.16 Variety in Ethno-style.

Maglaj (top), Hadžići (bottom left) and Obudovac (bottom right). Source: Author's photos.

Ethno is also opposed to the '1980s baroque' as it does not celebrate good fortune. It reminds of the pastoral simplicity of rural life, nostalgically evoking the lost rural life of urbanised postsocialist Bosnians and Herzegovinians. Judging by its growing popularity, ethno is a

strategy of overcoming the criticism that 1980 Baroque is a vulgar display of luxury. Ethno tactically employs pastoral motives for equally lavish display of good taste by playing on ethnicity and imagined moral purity or rural life. The style is significantly more present in the buildings that are functioning exclusively for business (bars, restaurants, motels) rather than private homes. The popularity of the style is correspondent to another trend in commercial vernacular construction, the development of ethno-villages (Čiča and Mlinar 2010), small DIY amusement parks where owners based on a collection of ethnic artefacts and domestic animals stimulating country life. Ethno is a clever inoffensive strategy for exploitation of ethno-nationalist identities.

Bosnian new modern

In opposition to the retro strategies of *the 1980s Baroque* and *ethno*, there is a third stylistic tendency, uninterested in the past, but present-future oriented. I term this style 'Bosnian new modern' to describe the application of construction and decorative elements that the builders recognise as 'modern' or 'trendy'. Dimova recognises a similar strategy among ethnic Albanians in Macedonia who purchase commodities to perform social mimicry of mobility (2013, 68). In the case of informal construction in BiH and its narrower form on the roadside, the acquisition of modern commodities is mimicking the imaginary West.

The photographs in the Figure 4.17 illustrate several examples of such roadside buildings, decorated in simplistic patterns. All of the four presented buildings are based on the K2V model with increased dimensions and in the case of the construction on the photograph top left, complex structural form. All objects have simplistic rendering made in a single or two colours scheme. They avoid additional decoration, except when the decoration is applied as an excessive structural element (glass and steel façade in the first building and colour schemes in other three photographs). The 'new modern' is not reflective of previous experience with modernist professional architecture, nor it is in dialogue with contemporary modernism (supermodernism, hypermodernism); it still uses the K2V model for its basis. In the same way as other two styles, Bosnian new modern is primarily a tactic of achieving distinction through consumerism but it does so though employing imagery of prosperity and progress.

Figure 4.17 Bosnian New Modern

West of Bijeljina. Source: Author's videos.

4.3 PUBLIC RESISTANCE: LEGALISATIONS AND *URBICIDE*

The public campaigns include a wider network of actors: the state, local governments, urban planning offices representatives, architecture and urban planning professionals, media and publicly engaged intellectuals. The campaigns can be formal; attempts of the state to regulate construction through legalisation process and informal; public engagements on the issue mostly present in social critique through concepts of *ruglo* and *urbicide*.

By instrumentalising subsistence, the builders are crossing the line from the private sphere (informal housing) to the public sphere (informal economy). The proliferation of informal construction is a point of critique in the wider Bosnian public. The large size of informal buildings serves as evidence of the informal builders' collective culpability for the destruction of the landscape and urban planning. The campaigns raise voices against informal builders and articulate the need for the re-institutionalisation of urban planning. However they have limited effect in kerbing informality or understanding the social context that produces it. More importantly, by shifting the focus from practical to aesthetic dimensions of informal construction, the campaigns use the builders' taste in visual language of to frame the issue as one of barbarism against civilisation.

Legalisations

The most formal type of public campaign [40] against informal construction are state-led legalisations. The state authorities (the RS and Federation Canton Ministries of spatial planning and local administration) implement legalisations as a method of regulating informal construction and invite the owners of informally built objects to apply for legalisation permits by submitting the building plans, introducing the buildings in the cadastre and land registry systems and obtaining retrospective permits for already constructed buildings. As a measure of putting construction back in order, legalisations date back to socialist Yugoslavia (Kos 1993, 454; Lončar-Butić 1975, 108; Đumrukčić 1972, 101), and therefore are known practice in local administration. This type of campaigning is not bound only to the socialist societies. In the

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[40] I am using the term campaign rather than legislated to describe government's role in the process, as even though presented in legal discourse governments do not employ any instruments to enforce individual builders to legalise.

second half of 20th century, proliferations of illegal construction tightly followed urbanisation and industrial growth, followed by legalisation campaigns throughout southern Europe.[41] The postsocialist context of legalisations differs from the socialist legalisation because of the contemporary inability of the state to actively sanction any form of irregular constuction. Stuck between past policies, populist servitude to electorates and the need to generate income by regulating and taxing construction, the governments engage in legalisations with very modest and patchy results. In the case of BiH, legalisations involve the additional dimension of fragmented governance between RS and the Federation. By the end of 2016, the Federation is still lacking an entity level planning law; instead the Cantons lead campaigns. In the Sarajevo metropolitan area alone (Kanton Sarajevo), there have been three legalisation campaigns since 1998 (Pejović 2014). In RS, the Ministry of Spatial Planning, Civil Engineering and Ecology conducted a second campaign in autumn 2016 (Slobodna Bosna 2016; Jakonvić 2016; SRNA - Novinska Agencija Republike Srpske 2012).

The state justifies legalisation campaigns on the basis of infrastructural improvement but the primary goal of legalisations is the prompt legal introduction of individual buildings to the taxation systems. In their current forms, legalisations are limited to submission of building plans and obtaining building permits for existing objects. Beyond these measures, the state assumes no action. The urban planning professionals reports similar short-term documentation oriented legalisations in Serbia (Petovar 2005, 731) and Croatia (Britvić Vetma 2013, 136; Klempić 2004, 118). Ad hoc legalisations do not advance urban planning and the development of space as a resource. The state discriminates against the builders who build legally, follow the procedures and who were required to pay more and wait longer for permits. It also does not deliver the required infrastructure to the individual builders after incorporating them into the legal system. The only winners of this process are larger developers who can use malpractice to occupy and build first and regulate later.

Legalisation campaigns assemble different practices and different social contexts under single criteria. The lack of recognition for specific informal builders' motivation on the policy level (differentiation between building as a survival strategy for individuals and their families versus commercial developers, or somewhere in between) results in all informal builders being

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[41] The volume *Urban life in Mediterranean Europe: anthropological perspective* (Kenny and Kertzer 1983) offers reports for individual cases of Spain (Buechler 1983), Italy (Douglas 1983), Yugoslavia (Simić 1983) and Greece (Buck Sutton 1983).

targeted by one solution. The result of not addressing informal construction's circumstances is discriminatory relationship towards legal builders and legalisation of large profit oriented buildings. The main beneficiaries of legalisation campaigns are commercial developers who build entire blocks for sale and use the system to legalise them with minimum penalties (Drušković 2016). Individual informal builders who are motivated to continue operating in informality are at a comparative disadvantage.

The individual builders also take responsibility. After all, the examples of informal construction presented above demostrate how builders commodify space and engage it in the market. The postsocialist house nevertheless became a valuable asset in the survival strategies for entire families lacking the safety net of the socialist welfare state. In postsocialist contexts to the function of houses expanded to include renting to subtenants or businesses and increasingly participating in the market economy through creating one's own business. Involving informal buildings in markets, individual builders acquired some level of social mobility.

Nonetheless, the culpability for illegal construction follows the line of formal-informal architecture, as campaigns outline and criticise the individual informal builders for destroying public space. The public campaigns focus on them rather than on commercial developers for the destruction of the urban fabric, spatial disorder, environmental damage, and spoiling the visual landscape. Ultimately, blaming the individual builders allows for the bigger profit-oriented schemes to hide under the banner of 'illegal construction'.

Public debate about informal construction

Public debate echoes the state's attempts to regulate informal construction and reproduces similar discourses in Croatia and Serbia where these debates are more vocal, due to more advanced legalisation processes. In analysing the issue, public debate often derails to non-practical dimensions of the problem, such as its aesthetics or presentation. Its illegitimate character leaves no space for further thinking about the conditions that produced it and allows unrelated problematic estimates. The current public debates in BiH are characterisedby simplification of the issue and portrayal of informal construction within the lines of barbarism against civilisation argument.

Local Bosnian public debate simplifies the issues by overlooking arguments used in debates in Croatia and Serbia. For example the argument that the space is a public resource and informal construction as an abuse of this resource (Hundić 2016) in not present. Instead, critics in BiH object to informal construction on the grounds that uncontrolled construction reduces green surfaces (Salčinović 2014; Isović 2015). The arguments that circulated in pre-war debates are absent in current ones (the unequal distribution of available housing units (M. Živković and Bakić 1977, 42), the purchasing power of blue collar workers (M. Živković 1972), the complicated system of planning permits (Džankić 1972), and inability of the workers to participate in the real estate markets).

Public debate mostly involves interviews featuring experts and activists engaged in urban planning and public space activism (Hasanbegović and Stanimirović 2012; Huterer 2014; Pejović 2014; PLUS 2013; Salom 2012; Vidović 2008; Arslanagić 2016). The most engaged media in the issue are Internet portals, and to a lesser extent the daily newspapers. Their coverage focuses on seasonal events such as spring floods (Huseinović 2015), winter levels of air pollution (Drušković 2016) or housing incidents (Jelah.info 2014). This reporting avoids using specific names, often even the authors', does not generate any deeper discussion. By approaching informal construction as sensationalist topic it mostly serves the websites by producing click-bait. The exception in media reports is regional television and news portal Al Jazeera Balkans which has a more systematic focus on the whole construction industry under which it tackles informal construction.[42]

In one such appearance, during a program about regional urban planning problems, Al Jazeera Balkans host Dalija Hasanbegović asks the guest, Croatian expert on housing market and legalisation Petra Škevin, to determine the level of 'aesthetic pollution' caused by illegal construction (Hasanbegović and Stanimirović 2012). Škevin responds by giving an estimate of aesthetic pollution of space in Croatia implying that the situation in Croatia is satisfactory with regard to large scale construction but that such aesthetic pollution appears with individual objects – i.e. houses (ibid.). In another segment of the same show, Gordana Memišević, Head of Research and Planning Department at Canton Sarajevo Planning Institute, speaks about the development of urban civilisation and illegal construction as a potential threat to it (ibid.).

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[42] The reports on construction can be found at http://balkans.aljazeera.net/tag/gradevinarstvo-0, last accessed on 28th February 2017).

Aesthetic pollution is not an argument used in urban planning but smaller Internet portals use it to express their dissatisfaction with informal construction decoration like plaster figurines (Lukić 2014). The internet forums replicate the media discourse in media targeting individual informal builders. In the period from 2013 to 2014 the users of the biggest internet forums in the country Klix.ba led a debate under the title: "What do you think about these houses? Do we have a bad taste in houses?"[43] The debate was 39 pages long and involved standard discussions about the taste, images of informal architecture (Figure 4.18), and some militant ideas about the informal construction.

The critics actively blame informal construction for uglifying the city. The media articulate the embaressment with informal construction by using an archaic term *ruglo* (scorn or mockery) and to express general disgust with recent developments in public space (Šabanović 2015; Avdukić 2016). The argument used by both journalists and forum users is that politicians facilitate the legalisation of illegal objects benefiting the builders in the short term while destroying landscape of the city.[44] The idea behind *ruglo* is to invite moral judgement and collective action, as the critics see the inability to establish order and its aesthetics as an embarrassment.

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[43] "Šta mislite o ovim kućama? Imamo li loš ukus za kuće?". The discussion available on (http://forum.klix.ba/sta-mislite-o-ovim-kucama-imamo-li-los-ukus-za-kuce-t113189.html, last accessed on 28th February 2017).

[44] "Upravo se desava da umjesto da se ruse bespravno izgradeni objekti,vlast ih nastoji legalizovati.Naravno ljudi ce platiti malu kaznu,dopuniti budzet grada,ruglo od objekta ce ostati,vlasnik zadovoljan,vlast zadrzala birace.Vuk site i ovce na broju,a Sarajevo izgleda sve gore i gore." (http://forum.klix.ba/bespravna-gradnja-na-padinama-oko-sarajeva-p1776992.html#p1776992, last accessed on 28th February 2017)

Figure 4.18 Forum discussion on the taste in new Bosnian houses.
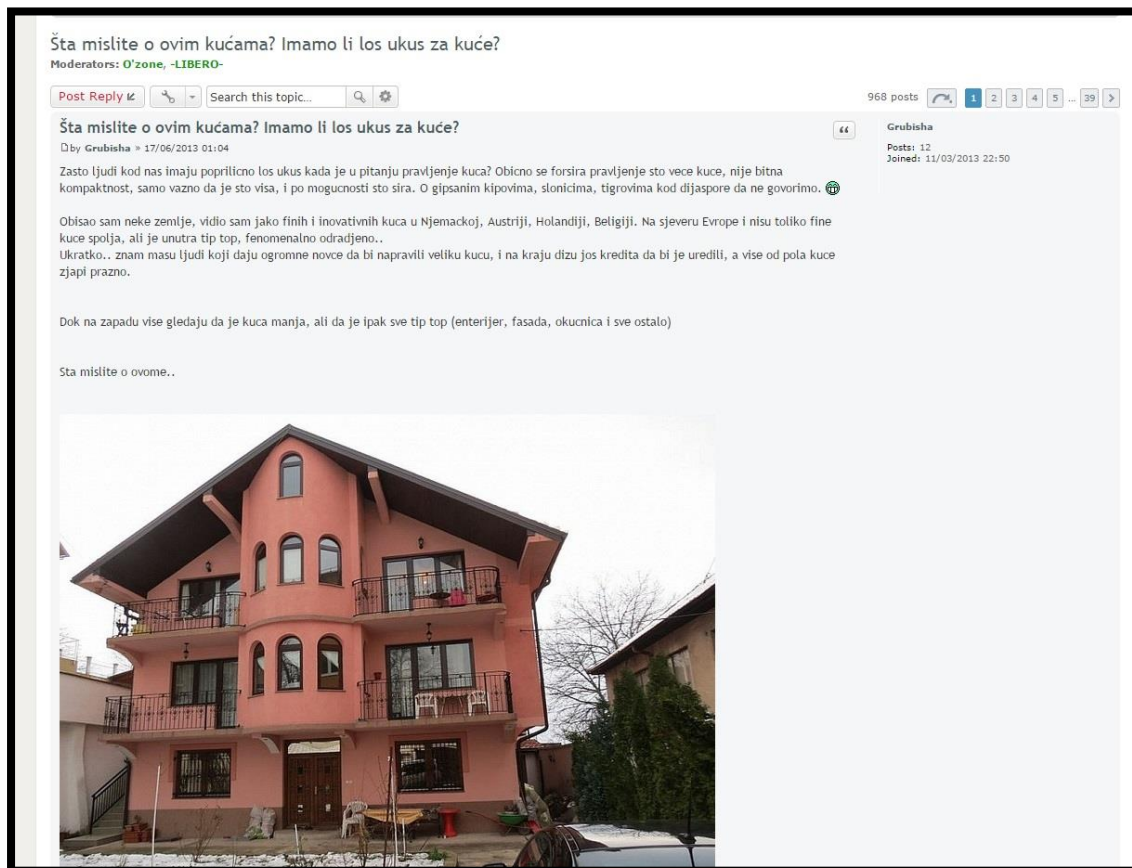
The first page of forum. Source: Klix.ba (2013).

The more extreme critics use the term *urbicide*, or urbanistic genocide (Depo Portal 2015). Coined by the author Michael Moorcock, the term *urbicide* was used by Mostar art historian and architect, Ivanka Ribarević-Nikolić and Željko Jurić, to describe the systemic destruction of the city during the war (Šego et al. 1992). The term was popularised by Bogdan Bogdanović to qualify the military actions of Serbian forces and Yugoslav National Army against the cities of Dubrovnik, Zadar, Osijek, Vukovar, Mostar and Sarajevo during the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s (Bogdanović 1993). Bogdanović's mystical explanation of *urbicide* offers an insight into wider understandings of the city and its threats. destruction by with the thesis that: "behind the rise and fall of civilisations is the eternal Manichaean—yes, Manichaean—battle between city lovers and city haters, a battle waged in every nation, every culture, every individual" (ibid.). *Urbicide* is not a destruction of urban environments, but also "an onslaught of urban ways of life" (Jansen 2005, 157).

Twenty years after the war, Internet portal Bljesak.info does not use *urbicide* to explain military action but rahter the use of aluminium windows on recently renovated Mostar villa.[45] In the post-war context, *urbicide* is used to criticise anything wrong with the city and use the legitimacy of war-time destruction to attack 'the city haters'. Most professionals use *urbicide* primarily to explain individual informal construction (Kukić 2016; Salčinović 2014), but other reports employ *urbicide* to explain wider irregularities within the formal construction (Frontal 2016; Krajina.ba 2016; Bosna Post 2016). *Urbicide* is used to express dissatisfaction with cultural affairs in the city that do not relate to urban planning (like racist panic against Arab immigrants (Vijesti iz regije 2016), construction of religious objects (Iličić 2012) and the presence of unappreciated cultural forms such as *turbofolk* music (Kešetović 2015)).

While this critique addresses the state invokes its reaction and asking for protection, the main function of such usage is an externalisation of culpability on the outsiders. Needless to say that the frequent usage separates the concept from its original meaning and weakens its political property. Jansen connects *urbicide* to the urbanites discourse against rural newcomers to the cities (2005, 157). Similar to Živoković's depiction of violent highlanders and peaceful lowlanders in Serbian nationalist discourses (Marko Živković 2011, 74–93; Marko Živković 2002), *urbicide* is used to express the self-perceptions of urbanites vis-à-vis newcomers. The populist usage to describe whatever is wrong with the city makes *urbicide* an indicator of existing cultural hegemonies; it is used to defend, presented in the conflict between the urbanites and the peasant in urban cultural space.

Using informal construction as a tool of social mobility, the builders of the roadside construction indeed have a disruptive effect on urban planning, the environment and the commodification of space. Using the *urbicide* argument against informal construction however, reduces the social argument into an aesthetic and subsequently a moral one. As long as the critique of *urbicide* follows the line of formal and informal construction it remains a critique levelled against the aesthetics of the peasants, *gastarbajteri*, refugees and Roma, essentially the working classes and minorities.

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[45] "Još jedan urbicid u Mostaru: Aluminijumski otvori na vili iz 1905. godine" [Another urbicide in Mostar: Aluminium openings on villa from 1905] (Sa.M 2015).

4.4 Informal iconography as peasants' kitsch[46]

So what is it in the roadside iconography that bothers critics so intensely and makes it irresistible to the builders? The first section of this subchapter deals with the explanation as to why professionals, media and forum users criticise the aesthetics of informal construction so viciously. Following this the focus shifts to the builders and the meanings of the roadside buildings.

Behind the critique of informal constructions and discourses on *ruglo* and *urbicide,* there is a specific understanding of bad taste, kitsch as a collective issue. Often hidden in the externalisation of flamboyant informal architecture to *gastarbajteri* population and Roma, the critique engages with the understanding that bad taste is a sign of failure in modernisation ('cultural emancipation' in particular). Due to the complex historical experience of peasant-workers (Simić 1973) and following the relationship between the urbanites and the peasants (Jansen 2005), the critique of kitsch is positioned against 'peasant' culture in an attempt to reinforce cultural hegemonies.

As explained in the presentation of *the 1980s Baroque* style, critics attribute displays of fortune in informal architecture to *gastarbajteri* or Roma. Media are also quick to use images of informal buildings when reporting on these groups. Two photographs below (Figure 4.19) feature stereotypical illustrations used to accompany the news articles on *gastarbajteri* housing (top) (Ćešić 2014) and the article on the arrest of several individuals from Roma community (bottom image) (Ekskluziva.ba 2015; Bh-index 2015). Stereotypical attributing of flamboyant housing to *gastarbajteri* Roma serves to externalise informal constructions to the margins of society and seeks to delegitimise the phenomenon. Critics focus on the display of wealth ignoring the social context that produces *gastarbajteri* housing. It is undisputable that the objects featured below display wealth, but this display includes wider sets of meanings.

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[46] Rapidly modernising Yugoslav society invented mechanisms of recognising and sanctioning of what was considered 'bad culture' or 'non-culture' (*nekultura*) informed by Adorno and Horkheimers understanding that mass produced culture (kitsch and schund) manipulate into passivity (Horkheimer and Adorno 1972, 139–40). The rationality behind it was securing society's development and 'cultural emancipation' (Stojičić 1973, 215) through institutional support of high art and culture and sanctioning forms of cultural life that were perceived as less artistic, unoriginal or dishonest market substitutes, a pseudo-culture. The advocating against kitsch and schund in former Yugoslavia reached its peak with the introduction of 'Law on schund' from 1971 (Hofman 2013, 295). The law targeted mostly cheap entertainment such as commercial music, pulp fiction and soft-core pornography.

Figure 4.19 Photographs following media reports on gastarbajteri and Roma.

(Top, previous page) Photo illustrating article "Gastarbajteri's Beverly Hills" [Gastarbajterski Beverli Hils], (Ćešić 2014) and (bottom) photo illustrating article "What a pomp, what a luxury: Romas arrested this morning used beggary to build Disneyland style houses, drove cars of 150.000… [Kakva raskoš, kakav luksuz: Jutros privedeni Romi od prosjačenja gradili kuće kao iz Disneylanda, vozali se autima od 150.000...], (Ekskluziva.ba 2015).

The aesthetic focus of the criticism is strictly concerned with the formal/informal dimension. There are many examples of formal post-war architecture in BiH that emerged in suspicious circumstances. These circumstances involve brutally changing local urban planning to accommodate individual projects,[47] constructing objects which were significantly larger than specified in the obtained permits, or privatising and undervaluing public space to accommodate commercial developers and patrons. These projects similary compromise urban planning, create pressure on public infrastructure, cause safety issues and introduce disputable aesthetics to the cityscapes. Featured in the photograph below is an entire hotel built on the top of another building in Sarajevo city centre (*Hecco Deluxe*, Sarajevo, Figure 4.20). Despite the fact that the hotel visually transformed the old Austro-Hungarian quarter and rested on precarious looking foundations, I was not able to find any local criticism about the project and the aesthetics it conveys. When the language of disruptive architecture is formal, critics are less vocal or even about its aesthetics.

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[47] Čengić reports that Sarajevos building critiria were removed to accomodate big shoppoing centeres, such as BBI (Huterer 2014; Čengić 2010). In case of Banjaluka's Master plan is prolonged since 2003 which leaves the door open for investors (Novaković 2010, 233; Capital.ba 2013).

Figure 4.20 Hecco deluxe Hotel, Sarajevo

Source: Wolfgang Thaler (2008).

The biggest problem with flamboyant informal housing is its visibility. Roadside buildings, because of their prominent position perform a particularly obvious display of wealth directly towards moving vehicles. Obviously, critics and media consider such displays in poor taste. The critique of bad taste has unique position in the society, vis a vis modernisation project, and cultural hegemonies the modernisation produced.

Modernisation plays a major role in Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav distinctions and the practices of accumulating cultural and social capital. Distinctions (Bourdieu 1984) in (post)Yugoslav societies are not only organised vertically, through complex class system (by institutionalising the tastes of middle and upper classes as refined and sensibilities of working classes as bad taste). They are also organised horizontally in centre-periphery systems, as a result of the semi-peripheral position of the region and the societies' permanent modernisation process. In the relationship between the society and the imaginary centre of modernisation, (post)Yugoslavs

organise the distinction through proximity to the imaginary centre of the modernisation . Those living in cities have more cultural capital (are seen to be more modern) that those of rural background (Jansen 2005). The individuals, that are more physically mobile or have connections to the 'West' have more cultural capital that those sedentary. In the actual (post)Yugoslav cases, good taste is created in relation to the perception of Western and modern properties, rendered as universal, while bad taste is bound to the perceptions[48] of anti-modern, local, rural or oriental.

Here is necessary to return to the theoretical concepts of culture to explain the specificity of post-Yugoslav distinctions and how class and bad taste delegitimize informal architecture. The term culture is notorious for its elusiveness, so to avoid contributing the confusion, the focus is strictly on the definitions relevant to the context. Here, there are three cultures at play.

In addition to high culture and collective (mass/popular) culture, [49] socialist/postsocialist contexts extends the list with an additional usage of culture as the substance of modernisation, here named *kultura*. This usage is very close to the French and English concept of civilisation but involves identity formation and delineation in a socialist context as Boym defined it with regard to (post)socialist Russia (1994, 104). The first two definitions approach culture in a vertical sense, regarding the content of culture (high versus popular) and the background of its users (elites versus masses). *Kultura* opens a horizontal level of delineation with its instrumental role in forging a centre/periphery relationship. Beyond the hierarchies within the

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[48] This divion does not imply that individuals perceive any Western content as automatically better or more refined. It means that institutionalised forms of Western culture are considered more universal, than they would be considered in specific Western societies. For example, public critics see the informal construction as the inability of (post)Yugoslavs to modernise or order their society resulting in cultural inadequacy.

[49] Culture, narrowly understood as high culture, represents a collection of elite arts. The purpose of this culture is practical – to help humans feel, articulate, comfort, teach and criticise. This understanding of culture reflects the basic theme of modernism, the power of art and knowledge to save and lead the society (Eagleton 2000, 83). The extension of this definition, culture as popular or mass culture comes from a debate between the German critical philosophers' critique of culture industries and the reactions in the Birmingham school of cultural studies. The critical philosophers narrowly focused on cheaper end of culture industries devising the definitions of mass/popular culture, corrupted culture mass produced for wider society. Adorno and Horkheimer devise an understanding of bad culture, kitsch and schund, low quality culture misleading the masses (Horkheimer and Adorno 1972). Scholar from the Birmingham school of cultural studies challenged these theories by offering a broader definition of culture (R. Williams 1983a; R. Williams 1983b, 87–93) that includes whole society and involves sets of knowledge, practices, institutions and I would add material practices that are in constant move within the users (S. Hall 1998). In this understanding the difference between kitsch and art is class, as art is practices by upper classes and kitsch is more related to the working classes. These two definitions are related to prescriptive/descriptive understanding of culture and vertical divisions of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984).

society, made of more and less cultivated individuals conveniently organised in stratas, *kultura* assumes a constant process of acquiring and consuming culture from the centres located outside of the society and reproducing it within the society. The outside culture is understood as universal, as global high culture, but it concretely embodies a collage of cultural products from the Western Europe and North America.

Modernising Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav societies are under constant pressure to catch up, by acquiring and reproducing cultural models recognised in the West, particularly the United States [50] (Hollywood movies, pop music, modern architecture, consumer goods and technology). Modernisation divides society in two simple contingents along the culture lines, on those that are cultivated and those to be cultivated. On the upper end are those involved in culture acquisition and articulation, the modernisers, in Yugoslav case urbanites. As I later argue, this demographic also happened to be the socialist new middle class. On the lower side are those to be cultivated, modernised, in Yugoslav case peasant-workers, the newcomers to the city and rural population.

As Jansen (2015, 67–68) demonstrates with regard to Sarajevan complaints about public transport, it is not *kultura*, but the deficiency of it, *nekultura,* that serves as a delineator. Class and taste in BiH's postsocialist context function differently than in post-industrial settings. I argue that the (post)Yugoslav context simplifies the backbone of the relationship working class/middle class/upper class through blue and white collar workers. The relationship additionally expands with horizontal differentiation in a centre/periphery sense, between peasants and urbanites. Industrialisation and urbanisation processes within Yugoslav modernisation saw the migration of a significant proportion of the population to cities creating a specific category of peasant urbanites (Simić 1973). This population is traditionally the subject of modernisation through the project of 'cultural emancipation', which assumes subjecting the population to the internalisation of urban ways of life. The population is also the main target of postsocialist discourses of Balkanism as a strategy of urbanist's distinctions (Jansen 2005). (Post)Yugoslav distinctions rely upon the concept of *kultura* (combination of economic and cultural capital) to legitimise itself. *Kulturan*, [lit. the cultured one] is not only educated and well mannered, but it also means classy, in the same way as urban [*gradski*]

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[50] Radina Vučetić's *Koka Kola Socijalizam* (2012) gives a detailed account of the aqusition and consumption of Western consumer goods in socialist Yugoslavia.

extends its meaning from city-bound and civic, to bourgeois [*građanski*].   *Nekulturan* [lit. uncultivated, uncultured], the same as *seljački* [peasant] assumes a combination of uneducated, ill-mannered and uncivilised characteristics, but it does not have to mean economically poor. This division follows the lines of middle class versus working class culture. Its critique is particularly targeted at those elements of working class culture that are aspirational in a non-internalising way, perceived as vulgar or banal (nouveau riche, or hybridised popular cultural forms such as turbofolk music or new media).

Jansen connects *urbicide* to the urbanites' discourse against rural newcomers to the city (ibid.). He argues that the rise of 'anti-peasant' discourses in Belgrade and Zagreb is followed with nostalgia for lost European modernisation (Jansen 2005, 160). I observe a similar dynamic in the architects' and media critique of informal, and particularly roadside construction expressing nostalgia through the discourses of barbarian threats to urban civilisation. Critiques' focus on the display of wealth and alleged lack of taste, indirectly targets the builders independence and straying away from conventional aestatics, established by the urban middle classes. Not only do roadside constructions display wealth in what is perceived as distasteful manner, they also offer their own version what it means to be modern. The critics attack not only the threat of *nekultura*, or peasant barbarian threat to modernisation but working-class culture and its aspirational aspects (the expression of wealth) which appear threatening.

4.5   MEANINGS IN THE ROADSIDE FAÇADES

Following the critique of *urbicide* and legalisation problems, it is easy to lose sight of the reasons motivating builders to use particular styles in decorating their houses. From the popularity of styles, it is obvious that builders have entirely different meanings invested in the façades than the critique. The styles in informal construction have different meanings partially explained in the analysis of contemporary vernacular models. The three tendencies, the 1980s Baroque, Ethno and New Bosnian modern, all entertain visions of a better life directed towards the past or the future. It is hard to interpret what every single incidence of roadside lions or swans, wooden wheels, scythes, glass and steel represent. Both used in comprehensive styles, these collections of elements can tell about the owners. This subchapter deals with the social

context of the visual styles employed in the decorations and how they are representative of a wider working class culture.

Before entering discussion about the possible inner motivations in decoration, there is a need to clarify one methodological dimension. The roadside buildings, as informal structures, are bricolage. Levi-Strauss coined the term bricolage to explain how everyday objects are appropriated and serve the task in hand (1966, 27). Considering that there is no difference between a proper or improvised usage of an object, and that any usage is at the same time appropriation and improvisation as practice changes experience, the concept of bricolage is useful as a means to delineate the usage of non-professional from formal, professional practices.

The roadside buildings consist of the simple K2V model with extensions or elaborate decorations. The imagery created both by the structure, and the decorations employ icons in conveying meanings. The preference of icons is partially conditioned by the optics of the road (Venturi, Scott-Brown, and Izenour 1977, 9; Jakle and Sculle 2004, 117) and, as the next section shows, the class background. If the difference between symbols, indexes and icons is understood through their proximity to the meaning (Barthes 1977) icons convey meaning directly and are more open to subjective interpretation. Through the use of icons, a bed signals a bed (in a motel), a spit roast signals a spit roast (served in a restaurant). The preference of icons leaves the appearance of simplicity, a lack of ambiguity and shallow messages. The next chapter deals with the problem in more detail.

Symbols serve to convey general, secret, forbidden and subversive meanings. In contrast to this there are no hidden, forbidden meanings conveyed by roadside icons whose messages and meanings are unambiguous. Builders employ icons for the direct purpose of attracting attention and meaning that might get lost in the composition of bricolage but they do not carry secret messages since these would be impossible to decode from the passing cars. To that that extent dissembling and deconstructing bricolage is much more open to interpretation. Separately, lions mean bravery, swans beauty, garden gnomes bring luck. It is not what individual lions and swans might represent on an abstract level; it is what they collectively represent.

In the same way, there is no hidden labyrinth of meaning in the choice of popular pink rendering presented in the section on decoration styles. It is not chosen to signify particular belonging,

business or a function. The colours green or blue might work on symbolical level evoking (Bosniak, Serbian) national identity; the colour red might advertise clandestine sex work practice taking place in the venue. Pink does not do any of these. It is there because it is comforting and cute. The visual language of informal construction is a bricolage (Levi-Strauss 1966, 24–32), an oral format. There needs to be a collection of items to create a representation on a façade. Only then do elements organised in a specific order create a style which resonates with those driving by. The styles primarily serve to express individual affiliations and project one's identity in material reality.

The three styles presented in the first part of the chapter, each in their own way demonstrate wealth and happiness (the 1980s Baroque by historical references to mixed European models, Ethno by evoking traditional Bosnian life, and New Bosnian Modern by imitating modern architecture). In a way every house is a demonstration of happiness and good fortune thoughsome are representing this in more abstract language. Therefore it is not about the representation of wealth, as this particular choice is omnipresent in decorating the houses. It is about how the shades of representing wealth demonstrate the meanings.

All three of the represented styles elaborate K2V models to which builders apply decoration. Both historical and modern elements in decorations are commercially available (French styled concrete balcony poles, plastic flower pots or garden gnomes. The builders, therefore, operate by acquiring the decorations at markets and assembling them in a picture that may or may not be coherent (as in style of formal architecture). Home is a domain for exhibiting one's taste, through distinctions and the expression of individuality.

Debating on the inner motivations for particular choices in decoration, I find that personal aesthetic sensibility is as important as distinctions. The sheer dimensions of the buildings and intensity of the decorations indicate that construction and particular choices were guided by a desire to display wealth within the community. Moreover, this strategy of distinctions is what irritates critics. The houses presented served displaying individualism through consumerist choices.

In consumption focused on the visual presentations of oneself, the individuals chose decorative items that complement their inner needs as compensation (Miller 2008). The aesthetic choice in consumption relates to the communication with the legible dimension of a commodity.

Individuals pursue the items hoping that advertised and imagined features in commodities will complete their needs. The aesthetic choices in consumption have the purpose of reaching for inner balance (Miller 2008, 13). For this reason, the increase in disposable income provides a chance for a socially mobile individual to consume more and consequently attributes a negative reputation to nouveau riche.

Expressing style and consumption as emotional compensation is not always about social mobility. Its content is about communication, being referential within the direct community of an individual. The decoration succeeds in its goal if it is effective for a wider circle of family, friends and acquaintances, even when the language employed is used to signal to strangers. The act of expressing style is about intensifying attributes one already posseses and projecting them outside in physical space. Here I find the concept 'swag', popular in North American popular culture to be useful. Originating in African-American clothing culture of urban men (J. P. Williams 2011, 68), and heavily appropriated by North-America culture industries (ibid., 84), the concept of swag is a way of expressing very confident attitude through flamboyant appearance, combining imagery about aspirations, frustrations and social limitations. In using flamboyant decorations, these houses are swagging.

4.6 CONCLUSION

The wide variety of the roadside objects presented in this chapter demonstrates the diverse social positions of the builders. The big buildings like Krupića Dvor (Figure 4.10) significantly differ in their function, social context and politics from smaller objects such as the roadside house with the modest beekeeper store (Figure 4.9). The politics of Roma differ from *gastarbajteri* or refugees, and they all differ from the large roadside entrepreneurs. The insecurity of postsocialist transition and proliferating informality (Bojičić-Dželilović 2013) complicate production relationships and social stratification. It is not easy to establish who in contemporary BiH is a member of the working class and if the receivers of public criticism are working class. Different roadside objects are related through the usage of K2V model for the base of the houses, decorating the objects with iconic visual language.

The size of the buildings might appear to be a deceiving performance of distinctions since the houses are both expressions of, and vehicles for social mobility. The result is the precarious appearance of the buildings and elusive social position of the owners. In the same way the

market involvement stimulates economic opportunities but also serves in projecting builders' aspirations and expressing individuality through consumer choices in three concrete styles, the 1980s Baroque, Ethno and New Bosnian Modern. The styles employed in the houses are an attempt to portray a good life and abundance. They do not serve to reflect, elevate or educate. They are encoded with consumerist ideology, the decorations' response to social insecurity, portraying an idea of prosperous life and leisure with an almost romantic duty towards pleasure (Campbell 1987).

The professional critics and media interpret the conveyed styles differently, insisting on the discourse of illegal construction and rejecting the buildings as bad taste, kitsch through the concepts of aesthetic pollution, *ruglo* and *urbicide*. The critics interpret houses display of wealth and fortune as vulgar and quality of expression (perceived as banal). The critics and media recognise the wider proliferation of informal construction as a cause, not the consequence of the collapse of urban planning. The concepts *urbicide* or aesthetic pollution reduce the social context to the 'barbarians against civilisation' argument and use aesthetic dimensions to vilify informal construction. The villification is particularly visible when ascribed to *gaststarbajteri* or Roma and is in sharp contrast to the silence about similar problems which surround larger commercial construction projects. The example of roadside construction demonstrates that the colourful language inherent to informal construction cannot be reduced to marginalised groups.

'Urbicide' reveals more about how BiH as a postsocialist society generates cultural capital and institutionalise distinctions. The critique of aesthetic dimensions as bad taste and kitsch serve as a tool for reinforcing cultural hegemonies between the elites (both socialist and postsocialist modernisers) and the working class (to be modernised). What ends up under critique is the vilified working class culture.

The postsocialist shifts in social strata, with the relative ideological turn, did not affect the ways in which postsocialist Bosnian perform and articulate distinctions. Regardless of the emergence of populist ethnonationalism and (neo)liberal economic restructuring or something third, laggard development and the necessity of 'catching up' remain dominant preoccupations for the both old socialist and emerging postsocialist middle classes. The creeping presence of kitsch in roadside buildings continues to embarrass local modernisers. The critique of kitsch indicates the social position of the builder's as bad taste, *nekultura* and peasant mentality are performed by those that are perceived objects of modernisation.

So the question is whose houses are these? Who are the builders of the houses and how is the style expressed (and criticised) indicative of their class background and social mobility? As mentioned, the K2V model, as the dominant model in informal construction in socialism, is predominantly working class housing. It was constructed and devised outside of the elite codes and became a vehicle for the aesthetics of working class. Informal setting and inclination towards icons in conveying visual styles indicate bricolage, oral technology.

The roadside styles indicate how working class culture is delineated through the historical experience of cultural modernisation, but also the continued dominance of oral forms in communication. In post-Yugoslav terms, working class culture does not relate to the material status, the amount of disposable income. The historical experience of modernisation through industrialisation and urbanisation defined Yugoslav working class as a transitionary category of peasant-workers. Their culture was an object of modernisation through constant cultivation, by urban elites based on perceptions of universal (Western) culture. This experience remains relevant in the postsocialist context as cultural, rather than economic capital, serves as an indicator of 'peasant' character and culturally deficient roadside construction. Bricolage, the iconography employed in the roadside buildings indicates that these representations are sufficiently imbued with meanings but these meanings are orally mediated.

The cultural deficiency of kitsch and prevailing oral mediation in the roadside buildings lead to the conclusion that this is not a subculture (as *gastarbajteri* or Roma housing simply would be) but a wider working class culture. The styles presented articulate the need to transgress the present by resorting to past or future. They do not offer critique, as it is the case with dressing subculture styles like punk (Hebdige 1991) or hip-hop (J. P. Williams 2011). They articulate the motives that are not necessarily subversive or emancipatory but are nonetheless allied with mainstream society and dominant ideologies – conveyed in a different technology of communication.

The biggest problem in the critique of bad taste is the problem of misunderstood oral technology and bricolage in conveying meanings. The division of formal-informal is indicative of the difference between literacy and orality as technologies of communication. The roadside houses use the repetition of the K2V model and decorate it with bricolage, as opposed to the professional architectural use of engineering, communicated literally based on method and rationalist philosophy. The concepts bricolage and orality I borrow to describe working class culture are popular in explanation of so-called primitive societies. The usage here does not seek

to evoke that connection, rather it is more in the service of explanation of what could be called secondary orality, orality that does not cancel literacy but re-emerges next to the literacy. Understanding orality in informal construction helps to acknowledge its affirmative dimension, rather than the illegal context, for example.

Houses deploy consumerist imagery (of the 'good life' and pleasure) but this use cannot be explained only through the emerging home improvement markets. The style of houses and the resistance expressed towards them in public campaigns is indicative of a discrepancy between the capital and cultural capital displayed. The activities of the informal builders are disruptive for urban planning and spatial development but they indicate larger changes in the landscape. The critics' resentment towards these houses demonstrates the adverse effects of democratisation and the aesthetics conveyed in houses styles is a reminder of postsocialist transition's indefinite trajectory. Postsocialist transition did not only mean more Western style modernisation. It includes democratisation, an inconvenient presence of those traditionally set in the background. The presence of the roadside buildings is indicative of a shift in postsocialist cultural hegemonies, a growing imbalance between cultural modernisers and the modernised; a reluctance to continue the process. The visual language expressed in the roadside buildings indicates different access to modernity that circumvents the modernising middle classes. The next chapter deals with these strategies in more detail.

5 POSTSOCIALIST LANDSCAPE: A CASTLE BY THE ROAD[51]

"Tourists seeking casinos and kitschy public versions of traditional culture will greatly outnumber and outspend those seeking authenticity." (Harkin 2003, 583)

Several years ago, a group of international friends took part in a student workshop in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Having worked in the city for several years before that, I enthusiastically directed them to some points of interest. When they returned excited and happy about the trip, looking at the photographs from the journey, left me in the silent discomfort of, what John Patrick Leary terms 'ruin porn' (2011). Out of all the potential sites in Mostar, from the Old Bridge and traditional houses, narrow streets and dusty barber shops, to new bars, clubs and shopping malls, a semi-ironic statue of Bruce Lee, and the excitable and loud people in what I felt was a vibrant Mediterranean town, they ended up photographing a lot of war ruins. I was not able to express the disappointment, as their photographs were a relatively accurate portrait of the divided town, torn by the early 1990s conflict and post-war politics of ethnic segregation. I could not stop from fighting the feeling that this was not all of it; that this was not how I used to experience and remember Mostar.

To some extent, the attraction of Mostar's ruins is a metaphor for the entire country. While there are plenty of studies on particular problems affecting Bosnian and Herzegovinian society in the post-war period, I had difficulty finding research on positive developments, exciting new changes and people's response to these changes. Concretely in urban planning and architecture, there has been only one book published following the postsocialist development of BiH architecture.[52] On the other hand, there are plenty of sources indicating problems and dissolving urban planning (Jacobs 1961; P. Hall 2014; Kesteloot and Meert 1999).

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[51] This chapter was published in partial form as Kapetanović, Mišo. "Postsocialist Landscape: a Castle by the Road." *Studia ethnologica Croatica* 27, (2015) 449–478.

[52] Hans, Ibelings. 2010. *Restart 1995-2010: Architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Sarajevo: Buybook.

Figure 5.1 Roadside ruin

South of Mostar. Source: Panoramio (Username: Breizh…up!)

The previous chapter shows how discourses criminalising informal construction, by presenting it exclusively as illegal serve in fostering a 'barbarism against civilisation' argument. The new construction illustrates how aspirational individuals with working class background, operating largely in an informal setting, project their aesthetics in public space. These aesthetics opposes former cultural hegemonies of modern urbanites and unmodern peasant-workers. This chapter looks more closely into particular representations on houses façades to explore how the emergence of flamboyant informal expression relates to a new factor in space, the rise of mobility and how this interaction transforms the landscape.

The analysed buildings in this chapter have their functions extended from private housing to the service industry, but as their formal structure still strongly refers the vernacular model K2V. By analysing the visual language of the roadside buildings, I inquire which kind of new qualities the roadside buildings bring to the landscape. How do they compose representations and what do their specific compositions seek to represent? How does this relate to larger social processes around them, and how do the peripherally located roadside buildings demonstrate

appropriate responses to larger global processes (the emergence of car-oriented mobility, informalisation, post-touristic experience)?

5.1 LANDSCAPE AND THE SCIENCE OF GAZING AROUND

Bosnians and Herzegovinians are still preoccupied with the legacy of war and ethnic conflict while post-war perspectives[53] arguably play a much greater role than postsocialist (Gilbert 2006). Considering the massive scale atrocities that the war caused, this is somewhat understandable, but still in dissonance with other postsocialist societies. The relevant question for the houses is not how they were destroyed and left ruined. The important question is how their reconstruction visually restructured whole new worlds around them. The wars end left an abundance of destroyed homes, but the collapse of the socialist order of planning and providing housing and in organising their aesthetics and visual representations opened a much wider gap. For this reason, the chapter explores physically present buildings and their visual language through the concept of the cultural landscape.

Originally reserved for natural history and romantic painting, the idea of landscape, as an analytical unit was defined in cultural geography (Cresswell 2003). It developed around two main clusters of ideas which based their definition around the picture (Sauer 1965) or the viewer (Meinig 1979). The first understood the landscape as a fixed composition of smaller artefacts and material culture as generated by the people living in it (Cresswell 2003, 269). The second direction saw landscape as a cultural system, a text in which the social is communicated, experienced, reproduced and explored (ibid., 271). Both these views tended to construct landscape as a static material construct, studied by an outsider. Raymond Williams (1977) saw the landscape in constant interplay with practice. J. B. Jackson (1984) steered the understanding of landscape towards the ordinary, through common ways in which it is experienced, moving cars and motorbikes, photographs and advertisements, dynamic and constantly changing, with the observer immersed in it. A later understanding of landscape as a system led to the simplification and overuse of the term, which dispersed its analytical potential (Cresswell 2003, 276). The overuse of the word in different disciplines did not deplete the analytical potential

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[53] As these perspectives are to an extent inter-dependent it is not possible to clearly separate them and it is important to notice that social mobilisations in 2013-2014 (the 'Bosnian spring', JMBG protests) demonstrated a post-ethnic perspective by engaging other political subjectivities (Touquet 2012).

of the concept, and it enabled valuable contributions to be made in understanding changes on a larger scale, primarily as it works with traces of the material culture that are visually recordable and which serve as an alternative to discursive sources. Landscapes open up the possibility of seeing space as a text, where collective human activity moulds the environment, but also actively involves the researcher while changing over time. It may be used as a tool to understand the larger material scale of recent historical changes, such as the end of socialism, in a local setting and how the community responded to it.

Figure 5.2 The landscape with dominant K2V models

Source Panoramio (Username: Irhad)

On a more specific level, landscape serves to bring more dynamism to the understanding of material culture. Human actors move, build, arrange and recompose buildings and other objects in the landscape by following specific orders, e.g. sets of ideas of what goes together and what

does not. In this process, meanings encoded in them are consequently renegotiated and the landscape functions as a tool to understand individual negotiations that go above personal interactions. What people do in their environments does not always cohere with what they say they do, so landscape can be used to trace what is transgressive and abject, or unspeakable and disgusting (Buchli and Lucas 2001, 10–12).

In this particular case, I was interested in how houses restructure cultural landscape. In the early 1990s, it was impossible for one to speak about natural beauties of landscape, next to the sights of war and destruction. Twenty years after the destruction ended, it is perfectly acceptable to fixate oneself on ruins, while newly built and reconstructed buildings, which are often drastically different from those erected before the conflict, frequently on a massive scale, are ignored.

The defining influence of modernism [54] on Yugoslav socialist society created specific landscapes, the cityscapes of massive urban housing projects (e.g. Alipašino Polje in Sarajevo), the sights of almost gothic industrial facilities (Zenica or Kakanj) and gigantic monuments (Sutjeska, Kozara, Mostar's Partizan Memorial Cemetery). Today, the most of these landscapes are retreating or restructuring as a consequence of socio-economic transformation. As a tangible expression of transformation, landscapes reaffirm a non-linear trajectory of postsocialist transformation where the market economy and democracy do not guarantee prosperity but were rather a road to the unknown (Verdery 1996). Current research on landscape deals with these topics mainly by exploring the destruction of the urban fabric and the increasingly revisionist politics in postsocialist memory culture (Czepczyński 2008; Hirt 2008). The landscapes of privatisation, de-industrialisation, rural transformations, mobility and the new body politics remain under-researched.

Traditionally seen and constructed through painting, photography, video and in rare occasions in person, people increasingly experience landscapes from cars due to an increase in mobility. The roadscape, the view of the outside landscape from a moving car, became a common way of consuming the landscape. The concept was coined by Jackson (1984) while researching the modern landscapes during the rise of the automobile in the US after World War II. It captures well the new optics in landscape consumption produced by the car (Jackson 1997, 149–50),

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[54] For more on legacy and the 'unfinished project' of Yugoslav socialist modernism see Unfinished modernisations: between utopia and pragmatism (Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012).

where outside imaging is reduced and simplified as perceived at an average velocity of 60 kilometres per hour. Space exists only in two and a half dimensions, consisting of the roadside objects with a perceptual wall behind them, where details are lost, and simpler signs (icons) are perceived more easily than complex ones (symbols). In an increasingly mobile Bosnia and Herzegovina, the roadside has become an interesting spot where change is happening quicker than the elsewhere. As well, being a completely provisional and unusual research site, it is not over-burdened with research practices connected with post-war perspectives.

The best way to understand and capture the roadscape was to drive. The majority of photographs used in the research were taken during the field trips when I tried to be as unobtrusive as possible and simply record everything seen from the car. During the journeys which occurred five or six times per year continuously over the last four years (2012–2016), I photographed and followed the development of a number of buildings which were interesting due to their extravagant appearance. The four buildings presented here are part of a larger group of twenty buildings throughout the country. The buildings selected were chosen for their distinctive appearance (compared to the rest of K2V model typology). I selected the four particular buildings as I had the opportunity to follow them the longest.

In 2014 the photographs were expanded with videos produced by a car camera, which enabled the capturing of more details in the field and their later conversion to photos. In several field trips, I was accompanied by colleagues, including researchers interested in the research project or in Bosnia and Herzegovina more generally and I used this opportunity to obtain photographs of the houses taken by them to compare a difference in gaze. This step prompted me to search for other admirers of the buildings which were sharing their photographs in large numbers amongst internet users, mainly in photography WEB 2.0 communities (mostly Panoramio and Google Maps, while I did not find many collections on Flickr and Tumblr). There were often forum discussions on the aesthetic quality of the architecture, next to the photographs of the houses presented, which were used to support my interpretations of the buildings and their roadscapes.[55]

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[55] Understanding the landscapes as frameworks for observing dynamic environments, and as such category of space, does not limited its scale. The landscapes analysed here will be framed solely around houses presenting alternative perspective to those of professional architecture which rejects these structures as illegal construction.

The photographs were analysed through a process of visual recognition, classification and the interpretations of signs based on semiotics as explained by Roland Barthes (1968). Semiotic analysis has been employed to identify signs, determine the level of connotation (icons, indexes, symbols), and to interpret possible meanings connoted and examine their correlation with other signs in the composition and the wider environment (Barthes 1968, 90). Signs are, as a basis for human communication, agreed upon, and their connotation is constantly re-negotiated (ibid., 93). The sign analysis is based on interpretation, but the procedure is not entirely flexible since the construction, usage and renegotiation of signs provide social verification (ibid., 95). The simplified typology of signs (icons, indexes, symbols) serves to explain the difference of connotation, the relationship between the signified and the sign. Icons are directly related to the signified (physical resemblance), indexes have some mediation to what is being represented and symbols carry no resemblance to what is being represented. The interpretation follows the rules of communication and frames of reference common to the social contexts which employ the signs.

The roadscapes create specific optics, as the experience of driving a motor vehicle determines the perception and character of signature in representation, relying mostly on icons and indexes. Dealing predominantly with icons and iconography, it is necessary to aknowledge that dominant presence of icons, signature with direct connection to the signified does not immediately mean less articulate[56] and simplistic representations. Rather than there being an actual inability ascribed to working class members in conveying complex meanings, the sense in which iconic texts often seem less articulate and vulgar is a product of an elitist bias amongst the viewers, who are often researchers (Ong 1982, 104–5). When dealing with an iconic text, it is important to bear in mind that a composition appearing primitive, vulgar or banal at first sight might be the consequence of a viewer's immersion in symbol-oriented compositions common to the upper-class communication of art elites, rather than the composition's inability to convey complex meanings.

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[56] Basel Bernstein's study of discourses of working class pupils represents good example of the difficulty in the understanding of prevalently iconic discourse (Bernstein 1971). Bernstein established that working class pupils were using icons and therefore were unable to convey complex meanings as they were using what he named as 'restricted discourse' or public language (ibid., 134–5). Ong criticised this conclusion explaining that difference in signature did not affect meanings but possibility of communicating with the individuals whom are not sharing the context. Thus iconic discourse was still conveying complex meanings between the insiders (Ong 1982, 104–5).

Treating visual material as text – as a system of meanings – opens up wider questions concerning structure and context. This analysis aims to uncover the structure of visual texts by following simple architectural levels of presentation: frontal decoration, structural elements and composition. Even though it will not employ the architectural theory, it will employ the landscape as the framework for analysis.

For the same reason, the analysis will not consult postmodern architecture. As postmodern architecture is integrative and vibrant part of the professional architectural canon, it cannot be used to explain visual expressions in informal constructions. The points of iconic imaging and eclecticism, fragmented references, breaks with tradition, and simulation might be common in both of these practices, but postmodern architecture is still formal architecture. It operates within formal codes of the project cycle, follows urban planning and has significant symbolic capital in public, while the informal construction is exempt from such criteria. More like a simulation of postmodern architecture, the informal construction analysed here is rather connected to the postmodern society. Reading architectural levels (composition, production, and intervention) is used to gauge what is unfinished, hidden or ignored and disguised in the gaps. I examine how these assemblies (structure or the lack of it) are used to send messages to the environment. Observing the buildings with a driver's gaze, I ask how do the buildings render the new landscapes.

1.1.1 Invoking tradition, Obudovac

On the local road R462a, in the village of Obudovac, between the towns of Brčko and Šamac, there is a private building that initially reminded me of a castle. The building is modelled as K2V and then elaborated in structure. It extends to three floors, with the third floor partially continuing with the roof, which covers the 3rd and 4th floor combined. The front of the volume expands on two corners. The front-left corner extends with a cylindric tower and the right corner with a cuboid tower. The walls are without rendering or paint in red and brown bricks and opened with white PVC doors and windows. On the central right side of the top, there is an additional tower that serves solely for decoration. Behind the main building, there is an extra room, functioning as a 'summer kitchen'. Its roof acts as an additional terrace, and an outside staircase. As a prominent decorative feature, the flat surfaces of the walls are interspersed with smaller semi-circular reliefs made of patterned brick. The decorations remind to the 'blind windows' similar to those in medieval Byzantine churches. The same technique of bulging

brick lines has been used to accentuate floor levels, doors and windows. The more recent photograph shows that some construction and decoration works remain incomplete.

My original assumption was that the house imitates a castle. The house is modelled as an extended K2V model that was extended in form. The three visually different towers reminded me of a medieval hybridised image of a fortress. The brick walls appear more antique, similar to the urban dwellings of ancient towns. The most interesting were the usage of 'blind windows' on the front façade and decorations done with the combination of bricks. This resembled Serbian Orthodox church syles. The newspaper article inspired these assumptions, as the journalist described the stylistic language of the house as 'Byzantine' (Sabljić 2008).

Figure 5.3 3 Restaurant The castle of Brane Perić

Source: Panoramio (Username: Milomir Stanković)

Byzantine, in local architectural history, is narrowly connected to the sacral architecture of Serbian Orthodox Church. The churches and monasteries, like Visoki Dečani monastery, and wider Raška architectural school use brick in construction, decorate with complex reliefs on bare facades and contain three towers (though with somewhat more resemblance between the individual towers). It is however, very uncommon for such style to be used in the decoration of a house. Formal architecture has a stronger division between the architectural genres (architects do not design formal houses with elements of sacral or military architecture). In addition, Serbian Orthodox Christian belief, like most of other religions, monopolises the style of its material culture, there is taboo with clothes, food and artefacts related to the church, so one can assume the same applies to sacral architecture. Believers are not encouraged to design their houses like churches. Otherwise, this would be common with those religious builders of contemporary informal architecture, which is not the case. This house is quite unique.

The inspiration for sacral architecture derives from the ideology of Serbian nationalism. During my visits, I did not notice any other signs that would indicate that. The other indications were in older photograph. The older photograph I could find (Figure 5.3)[57], indicates that the façade also contained an advertisement (in Cyrillic: *Restaurant Pizzeria*), a Serbian flag and air conditioning while the front yard and terrace contained tables and chairs for restaurant guests.

The usage of the flag and the house design similar to an Orthodox Christian church was an obvious display of ethnic identity. A more recent picture (Figure 5.4) shows that the new business that took over the ground floor has no decorations except for titles and advertisements which are written in the more widely used Latin script. As the new business only appears to be moderately successful, it is plausible to assume that there was a need to play down the nationalist tone to attract more customers.

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[57] Uploaded on Panoramio platform in 2009, username: Milomir Stanokovic, on http://www.panoramio.com/photo/22731513 (Last accessed on 1st March 2015)

Figure 5.4 The same object a few years later hosting second-hand shop

Source: Author's photo.

With the absence of supervision in construction, the designers of vernacular houses are mostly free to build whatever they want. Using sacral decoration was probably a part of general ethnonational concept in conveying the house's style, accentuated by temporary decorations. As the flag was not there during my visits, I presume that change of business resulted in a more neutral tone. The house design on the other hand is read by some internet users of Panoramio photography community as inoffensive *ethno* style and praised it for its beauty.[58]

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[58] The building images and its comments can be found on https://www.panoramio.com/photo/50534592 (Last accessed on 1st March 2015).

1.1.2 Crossroad fantasy, Šešlije

Some 66 km to the West from Obudovac is motel 'Gajić', Šešlije. The system of buildings is situated on the lot by the side of the main crossing points between the local road M-17-2 (between Bijeljina and Banja Luka) and the road M-17 leading to Doboj, Sarajevo and Mostar. Two large buildings comprise the system, with the main building serving as a motel, located centrally, and an additional building on the left side serving as a shopping centre. Between them, there is an external connecting room. Both buildings are as simple box volumes to which extensive, mainly pink, façades are applied frontally (Figure 5.5).

The main building base is a simple rectangle extended by a semicircle in the centre of the side facing the street and with two circles at the front corners that define external staircases. The building consists of a ground floor and two additional levels. The top of the building is covered with a complex roof, combined with several surfaces covering the main volume and the staircases at the corners. The floors extend with balconies which are additionally supported by columns and provide independent access to the individual rooms. The external staircases on the corner extend to additional terraces above the second floor. The staircases are covered with small roofs that dominate the building, imitating towers.

The additional building is significantly simpler with only two floors, a more modest balcony with columns, less decoration and no roof. The building lacks any roof and has open ends of metal framework, suggesting that another floor might be planned. The main building is missing railings on the balconies, paint and façade on the left side, and light decoration on the second floor. The lower floors are significantly more elaborate than the upper one which indicates that they were priorities. Similarly, the works at the front of the buildings are more developed than on the sides, while the rear has been completely ignored, thus asserting the primacy of the perspective from the road. The connecting room between the buildings has only bare rendering and shows signs of dilapidation.

Figure 5.5 Šešlije, a motel in Chinese style

Source: Panoramio (Username: Sasha Lisul)

The building is donated by its complex (green) roof and pink façade (Figure 5.6). I consulted the motel's website (motel-gajic.com) which qualifies the appearance as very noticeable [*markantni*]. As the term was conventionally reserved for good looking Yugoslav men, it leads one to the conclusion that the original idea of the design was to create something 'out-of-the-ordinary' for the sake of being 'out-of-the-ordinary'. This strategy might explain the occasionally random composition of different elements and materials.

At the bottoms of balconies, above the main entrance, simple flowers drawn with a compass are used as the main feature for exterior decoration (a larger one above the main entrance to the first floor and two smaller ones on the sides of second balcony bases). My assumption is that this decoration is used to create an association with a compass and architecture as a form of extravagance and good taste. The purpose of decoration was to impress and attract the drivers' gaze.

Figure 5.6 Object seen from the other side of the road

Source: Author's photo.

I found photographs on Panoramio describing the building as a Motel in a 'Chinese style'.[59] Presuming that the shape of the roof might lead the viewer to make an association with the Forbidden Palace, it was interesting to see that the building received mixed reviews of its style with some of the commentators criticising the building's kitsch, while others praised its unusual architecture. It is evident that the building's visual style does not seriously attempt to simulate (timeless and placeless) China. It serves as an open icon for any desired interpretation while attracting drivers with its extravagance. In this strategy, iconic language is particularly useful as it leaves more space for reading into and for the interpretation of its meanings. As such, this

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[59] The building images and its comments can be found on https://www.panoramio.com/photo/54332001 (Last accessed on 1st March 2015).

motel caters for what is needed in travel, the opportunity to experience something different while being composed of familiar elements.

1.1.3   International style, Kozarac

The petrol station "Mešić" is located along the regional road M4 on the north-western exit from the town of Kozarac (Figure 5.7). The petrol station includes a centrally positioned main building and a temporary outbuilding (car wash), right from the main building. The main building is modelled as a simple cube-like volume with extending terraces that cover areas for fuel pumps. The base of the building is a rectangle continued with the ground floor and three additional floors. The fuel pump facilities consist of two isles, situated in front of the main building covered with terraces that are connected to the main building's first and second floors

Figure 5.7 Gas station Mešić

Source: Panoramio (Username: erdelman)

respectively. The terraces are not covered with a roof and have wires protruding. The individual floors of the main building are of similar dimensions but are built from different materials indicating different phases of construction. The end floor is asymmetrically levelled, with the left side higher than the right side. The building finishes with a simple obtuse roof that follows the asymmetric top line of the third floor and ends with a small decorative metal construction.

Walls are respectively built with glass and steel windows on the ground floor and a combination of bricks and windows on the other three floors. All of the main building walls open with a patterning of smaller window units that cover the surfaces of the ground floor larger parts of the first and second floor and a minor surface on the third floor. The building lacks any visible decorations other than functional traffic signs and gas prices on the ground floor and a banner on the first-floor advertising 'ŠOPING CENTAR' (Shopping Centre). The terraces above the fuel pumps are not enclosed with any walls or protective barriers.

Figure 5.8 Gas station Mešić, a perspective from the left side.

Source: Panoramio (Username: Kevac)

Different materials and styles amongst the floors and visibly unfinished elements, lead to the conclusion that construction has occurred in loose, spontaneous phases, probably when disposable income has become available. The mentioned advertisement sign suggests that the first and second floor are earmarked for use as a shopping centre, while the function of the upper floor can only be assumed to be a private area which the owner uses (judging by the shoes left in front of the door) (Figure 5.8).

In contrast to the majority of neighbouring houses that are modelled on variations of the K2V with the addition of bright colouring, this building is loosely constructed as K2V but stripped of any decoration. The clear flat lines and cuboid model imitate skyscrapers albeit on a smaller scale. The simple lines, rough cubical form and lack of decorations can be found in most modern architecture, notably the International style architecture of financial districts. The style is not coherent as usage of windows is less frequent towards the top floor. The ground floor consists entirely of windows, the first and second floor combine windows with some brickwork and the walls on the last floor use mostly building blocks and windows only occasionally.

This is not professional modern architecture. Yugoslavia had a complex relationship with modernism and architecture of the International style that resulted in unique contributions (explored in Chapter 3). Post-war BiH is subject to modern architecture mainly through corporate structures, or as architecture critic Hans Ibelings remarked 'there in not a lot of architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina that goes to extremes, that seeks out the limits of architecture (2010, 13). This building is not referring to any of historic or contemporary contributions in formal discipline. Postsocialist modernism in BiH is mediated mostly through the proliferation of box-shaped shops and petrol stations, commercial structures that are re-introducing the simple mechanical aesthetics of the assembly line. Namely is it a stylistic language of programmed consumer spaces.

In a DIY manner, Petrol station Mešić adapts the style by conveying the message of business to its presence. The basic structure of the building is more similar to any of the surrounding K2V. In the flexible construction process, the builders of K2V also deliver the model through floor divided phases (ground floor plus few additional floors depending on available income or plans). The main visual difference of this building and typical K2V is the roof, and increased presence of windows. But if looked closely, these features appear on the third floor and small K2V roof, hidden in the metal construction (Figure 5.7). The imitation of skyscraper achieved

through the stripping away of any decoration and the use of windows removes gas station Mešić away from the rest of Kozarac outskirts.

This attempt is interesting as part of a wider change in which houses display qualities incoherent with grim post-war realities. Kozarac is often featured in the media, mainly for the war crimes against local population of Bosniaks that occurred in 1992 (Mihajlović Trbovc 2014, 170–73). Albeit to a lesser extent than Srebrenica, Kozarac remains a symbol of the Bosnian genocide, yet post-war reconstruction of the town is characterised by eclectic styles in houses decorations. While the visual appearance of surroundings intensively portrays the whole discord of ideas and images, this particular building defied rich colouring and complex shapes by referring to the ascetic simplicity of modernism, presenting its vision of progress and business prosperity.

1.1.4   Other nostalgias, Bosanska Krupa

Further toward the West, entering Bosanska Krupa, there is a complex of several objects occupying an irregularly shaped lot, separated from the road M14 by railway tracks. The complex consists of two main buildings occupying the left and the centre of the lot, connected by an externally joined room (Figure 5.9). The main object on the left-hand side is smaller and modelled as a simple vernacular house with a rectangular base extending across the ground and first floor and covered with an asymmetric roof. The second building is twice as large, modelled as a simple cube on which a decorative façade is applied to one surface of the roof leaning backwards and so not visible from the road. The rectangular base of the larger building extends, on the level of the first floor, with smaller rectangular expansions on the left side likely used to create space for a staircase inside. As the building remains unfinished, spaces for windows and doors are covered with simple wooden boards and nylon sheets.

Both buildings are extensively decorated. The house on the left is decorated with a beige façade and white paint linings for the doors, windows and balcony railings, with the ground floor bottom level covered with façade tiles imitating stone. There is an advertisement situated above the main door advertising Bavarian beer brand 'Pschorr KLAUSE'. The larger building is decorated to imitate a castle. For that purpose, its façade employs stone and brick imitation

tiles on the ground floor, balcony and columns' imitations with two functional columns on the ground floor level supporting the approaching cover.

Moving to right from the two buildings, there is a large garden with a fountain and a tower at the gardens' end, next to the exit road. The garden is extensively decorated with various garden features, including small trees, a fountain, a stone table and chairs, metal street lamps and concrete fences marking the entrance. The tower on the very right side is a one-floor building with a semi-circle as its base and a top balcony reminding one of a watchtower. Its walls are built of stone and are open with simple wooden doors and windows. On its outer side facing the main road, there is a street sign stating: 'Münchener Straße'.

Figure 5.9 The main part of the system, a pub (left) and larger volume with façade imitating renaissance façade

Source: Author's photo.

160

The house located at the left side is simple K2V, not different in form from others in the neighbourhood. Its decoration, the shape of its door and windows, the colouring of the façade and identifying advertisement, directly refer to rural Bavarian pubs with beer advertisement above the door. The larger building in the centre stands out from the neighbourhood in terms of form and decoration. Structurally, it is a plain cubic volume, with a complex façade, imitating stone, columns and balconies while hiding the roof. The façade appears like a Central European Renaissance building (but again this is not professional architecture and the reference can be understood only loosely). Finally, a small building at the right clearly evokes a medieval structure, or a part of it, a tower. Its reference is reaffirmed with the modern street sign "Münchener Strasse". Other decorations include garden gnomes, fountains, tables or streetlights, which make no specific references and were probably chosen because of their appeal to the designers.

Sometimes a literal reference to Germany, presented in the randomly assembled complex, is connected to the Bosnian migrant experience. The assumption that the owners were migrant workers in Germany was supported by several clues. It was mainly closed during the winter and the spring, while construction works were completed in the summer (Figure 5.9). The buildings system and references it creates are an exciting counterexample to the traditionalism presented in other places, in the first place Obudovac. Longing for tradition, as any nostalgia, longing for 'our better past' (Boym 2001), is tightly connected with collective identities and, in the Bosnian case, nationalist ideologies. It can be used either passively as an inoffensive presentation of folklore in ethno style, as 'the best thing we have' or as an active demonstration in the symbolic marking of territory. This house ignores both of these tendencies as the tradition it longs for, dislocates. By building a whole theme park based on the idea of a small Bavaria in Bosanska Krupa, the complex intimately refers to the past that locally may not be considered as 'our own'. Germany is still the place of work and life for many *gastarbajteri*, and a symbol of a lost future for war refugees that were forced to return in the late 1990s. The complex personal relationship with the locals with Germany translates into the symbolism used in forming the house and creating a new longing.

Figure 5.10 A small building with rock façade, imitating a medieval tower

Source: Author's photo.

The resented houses introduce radically new aesthetic quality to the landscape. The objects' contrast to the known, conventional vernacular architecture, is palpable in critical discourses against informal construction (Discussed in detail in Chapter 4, section 3). The presented buildings have a flexible design and open references in representation. These features might appear random and chaotic. I argue however, that they are not chaotic, but ordered by a new principle that removes the focus of the structure to the outside view. As the wider proliferation of informal construction is restructuring top-down aesthetics in architecture, three qualities seem particularly important for the concrete niche of the roadside vernacular construction: consumerist iconography, inauthenticity, post-tourist gaze. The rest of the chapter explains these qualities in detail.

5.2   CONSUMERIST ICONOGRAPHY

The presented buildings open their imagery to representations that are not present in the traditional vernacular housing. An iconic representation of castles, skyscrapers and churches is not common iconography in local house decorations. The portrayal of the first two might come across as playful and detached but as the first example presented, a house in Obudovac, is

particularly interesting because of its iconography resorts to the exclusive registry, the sacral architecture. Using church-like iconography is not only unusual, but it is also transgressing a taboo. Believers can find the architecture of churches beautiful but the whole identity of sacral architecture is based on exclusiviy of its style that evokes religious teachings. Reaching after elements of sacral architecture is obviously ignoring it.

Applying church-like imagery is a safe strategy in performing an ethnonational identity. I doubt that any driver passing by would have difficulty in identifying the owners' national identity in the house located in Republika Srpska, imitating medieval Serbian Orthodox sacral architecture. But instead of putting a flag on the house, which indeed was there as well but was later removed, the house resorts to the safe ground of religious heritage. This is a strategy of identity performance very similar to that described in *Ethno* style (described in Chapter 4, section 2). *Ethno* style, the eclectic iconography of anything that is not modern, chooses local historical themes to represent the innocent past', the golden age of the nations (Čiča and Mlinar 2010). This style is a strategy to safely express identity, hiding within the benevolent acceptance of ethnic or religious heritage, rather than nationalist iconography (of a simple but effective Serbian flag, for example).

Another somewhat more advanced example does exactly that. At very west of the country, in the village of Izačić, close to Bihać, builders of simple K2V model decorate their house façade with the colour scheme of the national flag. Using the pattern of the national flag on façade is an obvious gesture of affection for the country and performance of an ethnonational identity. The flag only can mean national (Bosnian) or ethnic (Bosniak) identity, but the owners also placed an additional relief of lily above the main door, which clear possible ambivalence that it is a performance of an ethnic identity.

Figure 5.11 A vernacular model with façade inspired by national flag

Izačić, near Bihać. Source: www.vikici.net.

Both Obudovac and Izačić are villages with overwhelming Serbian and Bosniak majority populations, respectively. Houses strategies of conveying identity performance differ, but they are indivitive of two sides of the same process. As I mention in Chapter 4, an older model of K4V is sometimes used for the performance of Bosniak identity. There is no parallel, traditional model with Serbian or Croatian identity (in BiH). In Izačić, builders chose K2V, not K4V to perform identity by use of an image, a flag, on the house. The builder in Obudovac applies structural elements into the house's form but they serve the same purpose. An unconventional choices performed in these two buildings demonstrate the wider change that all roadside buildings express. The representations of presented buildings break with the traditional building or their local decoration schemes and apply imagery separate from the form of the building.

Vernacular architecture develops for practical reasons, to meet individual's needs rather than to communicate architecural fomr, but it always serves to perform identity (Oliver 2006, 18). The performance works through the creation of idiosyncratic visual language, a style. For an

understanding of how the style works, I find useful the concepts developed by Hebdige, style as homology. Drawing on Hall, Hebdige (1991, 114) presents a homology as the unity of groups relations, situations and experience, where one element of style, in the case of his study, the clothing of punk subculture, is just one dimension in members' performance of groups identity. In vernacular architecture, this would be comparable with the construction of ethnic minorities, whereby a group's members build and decorate in the same style to perceive themselves and be perceived as members as part of the ethnonational group. Homology in style is what gives animosity to local architecture and particularly traditional vernacular expression. Homology is the key in which something like the style (signifier) is associated with an identity (signified). To attribute informal housing to marginal groups discussed in the previous chapter, the one is cosidered and portrayed as a Roma, because, among other things, the one builds a house like a Roma (flamboyant colorful house., Figure 4.20). Or the one is Bosniak if the one builds a house that is perceived as Bosniak (K4V).

The cases presented above demonstrate exactly the opposite. Even though some individual builders reach for iconography that can be read as (ethnonational) identity performance, they do not engage in homology. This is pronounced in the two examples mentioned above but it is also evident in all of the cases presented in the chapter. The other three examples do not even bother engaging with local identities and complementing idiosyncratic language. Their expressions seem inconsistent and discontented, not only with the local tradition and professional architecture but also between each other.

But this inconsistency is a key feature of commonality between a Chinese fortress in Šešlije, a Bavarian castle in Bosanska Krupa and a business tower in Kozarac. The buildings are based on partially deconstructed and enlarged K2V models to which they apply different contingents of icons. House styles that are created in this way do not resemble any local tradition. If this practice translates to basic semiotic categories of signifier and signified (Barthes 1968, 35), the roadside builders apply decoration (signifier) to the houses (signified) without particular reference to existing frameworks in aesthetics and style.

Keeping in mind that meanings are never fixed and Derrida's notion of 'floating signifier' (Derrida 1976) one might make a conclusion that the roadside construction resonates postmodern architecture with open referentiality and fragmented form. But argument here is that open referentiality is the key of the roadside specificity.

The presented roadside buildings rarely use houses and house façade as a medium for the performance of identity. They rarely engage in the reproduction of traditional decorations that could be associated with specific groups or identities (mannerism in style associated with an identity like K4V). When builders convey an identity, they do it through application of either religious or nationalist imagery (as in cases of Izačić and Obudovac). This leads to the conclusion that builders do not have an existing framework for performing ethnonational identity through informal building styles. They might create new styles that could do this but currently there are no nationally framed styles.

The styles that do exists tend to focus their intensity on different aspects of expressing individuality. In chapter 4, I have delineated three idiosyncratic languages, styles in the decoration of postsocialist K2V that are present in informal construction and that certainly dominate the landscapes along the roads: The 1980's Baroque, Ethno and New Bosnian Modern. These styles are a example of separation between signifier and signified as they borrow iconography from different times and places. The *1980s Baroque* (Bosanska Krupa, Šešlije) and *Ethno* (Obudovac) evoke historical contexts, *New Bosnian Modern* does it by inviting the imagery of contemporary business centres.

In all cases, the employed iconography serves to create an image of prosperity. Iconic historicism whether it is foreign or local serves the purpose of evoking aristocratic lifestyles; iconic business invites imagined corporate wealth. The process in play here is that builders engage style as both expressions of their distinctions and good taste and anticipation - an evocation of the desired. Here I find useful the concept of 'imaginative hedonism' offered by Colin Cambell (1987). Campbell opposes the concept of conspicuous consumption – 'consumption in service of showing or displaying class' (Veblen 2012) with a return to the romanticist notion of consumption as leisure and duty in pleasure that is anticipated and suspected, rather than achieved (Campbell 1987, 88–89). The pleasure of consumerism is not in the manipulation of objects or events in the world but through a degree of control over their meaning (ibid: 76).

I am not claiming here that consumerist pleasure is more important for the roadside builders than ethnic identity. My argument is rather that when there is a clear opportunity to exercise nationalist imagery, individual builders still tend engage in other iconographies that are more oriented towards individual pleasure and projection. This decision is motivated by both inner

(identity performance) and outter (attrackting moving gaze) factors and transforms the roadscapes with individualistic, consumerist iconography as a least common denominator.

5.3 THE MOVING GAZE

In addition to displaying wealth and the aesthetic taste of the owners, the visuals of houses serve to capture the gaze of the passing vehicles. This section demonstrates how mobility as an external force stimulates dramatic visuals in the buildings. The roadside buildings increase and transform their appearance to accommodate growing car traffic. This stimulation is a major difference of roadside construction from the rest of informal construction. Another dimension of mobility, the proliferation of recording and sharing technologies in video and photography gives a good insight into how visual communication 'the vision in motion' works (Büscher 2006). The roadside vernacular is a response to the postsocialist retreat of urban planning as well as the increase in car-oriented mobility and rurban sprawling in BiH.

Mobility does not only imply a simple increase in motion frequency but rapid growth and reconfiguration of transport systems, an increase of availability and accessibility of travel, development of communication systems, fragmentation and redistribution of media (Sheller and Urry 2006; Cresswell 2006). The sheer increase in global movement demanded that social sciences turn away from sedentary perspectives, to what Urry called 'sociology beyond societies' that follows mobile life in an increasingly borderless world (Urry 2000). The perspectivehowever, does not imply the celebration of a nomadic lifestyle for global elites and deterritorialization of capital (Sheller and Urry 2006). Mobility is related to the privilege as individual forms of transport develop differentiated scales of mobility for different contexts. Flying and flying systems are good example of how mobility access is regulated thorught institutionalised discrimination of border constrols, visa systems and economic disadvantage (Adey 2004). Similarly, different societies develop systems of mobility according to their current economic and institutional development. The individual experience of mobility in BiH is mostly through affordable transport systems (cars and buses), [60] and individual communication technology, mobile phone networks and the Internet.

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[60] Just in the period from 2005 to 2014, there was an increase for about a third of vehicles in use worldwide, from estimated 0,89 billion vehicles in 2005 to 1,24 billion in 2014 (Official estimate of The International

Just in the period from 2005 to 2014, the number of vehicles on BiH roads increased by a third.[61] As technology became available, Bosnians and Herzegovinians add a new passion for moving by recording these experiences and uploading them on and photography (Google Images, Google Earth, Panoramio, Flickr) and video sharing platforms (Youtube). The economy of internet attention (Facebook likes, Shares, Retweets) and Youtube monetization policy create a large incentive for all kinds of photography and video production. In the flood of materials featuring mobility some smaller niches, like tourist road trips and drive videos demonstrate how the mobile gaze of people in vehicles perceive the buildings. The are joined by the increasing number of tourists adding their contributions.[62]

Video "Kozarac.ba - Voznja kroz Kozarac I okolinu – 8 Mart 2016 – Drive 1" (Kozarac.ba – Drive through Kozarac and surroundings – 8 March 2016 – Drive 1) is a typical example of this exchange. The video features half an hour of footage of a car journey through the town of Kozarac and demonstrates how the new landscapes work. In six snapshots from the video presented bellow (Figure 5.11), a large white house with a cross-gabled roof is followed by an unfinished three stores house, followed by a house immitating a castle in the middle what appears to be construction material storage. This is followed by a formal postmodern building, a blue façade supersized K2V, and the skyscraper imitation (Gas station Mešić). During the drive the roadside appears incoherent and dissonant, as one façade appears after another. The rapid exchange of references (cross-gabled, unfinished, a castle, postmodern, blue, a skyscraper) breaks perceptual continuum as dissonant references fragment the landscape. Driving videos demonstrate how buildings project their looks towards the viewers, potential customs.

Organization of Motor Vehicle Manufacturers (OICA 2015). In the same period, the volume of the air passengers worldwide grew from 1.91 billion to 3,22 billion (UNCTAD 2015, 6).

[61] In comparison, in BiH the number of motor vehicles grew for a third from 705.827 in 2005 (JP Ceste Federacije BiH 2015, 17) to 952.595 (BIHAMK 2016, 3). For an illustration, the number of automobiles in 2014 exceeded the number of employed persons 707.725 (BHAS 2015, 13–14).

[62] Some of the videos that I found helpful for understanding perception in movement feature the roads in BiH, and often nothing else ('Balkan road trip', caperapiet 2008; 'BOSNIA 2012 ROADTRIP', theSkateVideoGuy 2012; 'Cultural Snap 9: Bosnia – Roadside', briandocfilm 2013; 'my trip to bosnia', noura074 2015; 'Road Trip Through the Balkans', BASC 2015).

Figure 5.12 Drive towards the gas station Mešić

Source Youtube (Username: kingaaly).

Roads are a symbolic measurement of modern development and spaces deprived of meanings. Authors like Marc Augé acknowledge the lack of identity in the roads (in his case motorways), the rootless spaces of constant motion without social fabric, non-places (1995, 97). Similarly, Lefebvre (1991, 165) identified subjection of roads to capital and remarked how 'motorways brutalises the countryside and the land, slicing through space like a great knife' and added 'dominated space is usually closed, sterilized, emptied out'.

Roads can certainly be a method of power and control of a given space (and ergo, have the capacity to brutalise), but they are not empty of meanings and identities ascribed. The rise of transport geography also initiated debates on wider sociological, political, philosophical and

architectural and technological spaces (Adey 2004; Burrel 2008; Cresswell 2006). As human activity grows outside of settlements, roads are increasingly becoming places of meaning.

Figure 5.13 Side perspective on the buildings in Obudovac and Šešlije

Obudovac (left) and Šešlije (right), fewer works done than in front of the buildings. Source: Author's photo.

Roads and the experience of driving effect articulation of meanings in two ways. The moving gaze of traffic influences usage of icons due to decreased perception in moving (as explained in the section about dominant signature). The lack of tradition on the roadside leaves space for larger experimentation in style, compared to the other informal construction. This experimentation is an object of consumption by the passing gaze, documented in photographs and videos. The roadside buildings, more so than other informal architecture, focus decoration works to their front sections, to promote business and attract the gaze from passengers in vehicles in motion. The images in Figure 5.13 demonstrate how some structural works on the building in Obudovac and elements of decoration on the building in Šešlije are missing on the sides, and increasingly at the back side of the objects, as those sides are less visible from the roads, and probably less important for the passing passanges.

Roadside architecture clusters in a different agglomeration than the traditional organisation of urban centres. The buildings in Kozarac, Bosnaska Krupa and Obudovac are at town/village exits while motel in Šešlije is located on a major crossroad with a growing cluster of other

buildings around it. These locations are adapted to accelerating cars. Their position indicates the change in priorities, as some types of economic activity move away from the urban centres. The alternative locations are outer strips on the town exists, near borders crossings and at major crossroads and intersections.

Mobility changes the traditional configuration of places. The premodern division of Bosnian towns into the trade centre (čaršija) and neighbourhoods (mahala), partially evolved with modernist desire towards the Radiant City is now subdued to a new segmentation to formal/informal. The new segmentation divides the city to the town (a formally organised agglomeration with some control in urban planning and prevalence of formal architecture) and the sprawl continuing beyond the agglomeration (concentrating around exits and with prevalent informal and formal commercial structures).

Figure 5.14 Roadside building in perspective of passing truck

Source: Dario Kristić.

5.4 INAUTHENTICITY AND POST-TOURIST PERFORMANCE

The rise of car-oriented mobility and roadside buildings turn towards consumerist iconography transform the landscapes delivering the new quality in the space. This quality is based on iconic signature and open signifiers, for which it is easy to disregard it as inauthentic or non-place. However, it these qualities does not bring the end of meaning, but rather a new framework in which the builders and drivers exchange images and meanings with them.

The visual style of roadside buildings lacks homology. Homology in architecture, particularly in vernacular architecture, is what provides an idea of familiarity and identity to the landscape. It is the repetitive style of houses, small shops and narrow streets that define spaces into the cohesive impression, the landscape. If viewers are able to identify idiosyncratic language, the style of construction then becomes related to relations, situations and experience. The ability to recognise a stylistic pattern in the landscape is what gives the viewers a sense of identity and authenticity of a place.

The visual representations in the roadside construction dislocate and improvise entirely new landscapes. The first case, the building in Obudovac, dominates the line of vernacular houses at the end of a village. The second, in Šešlije, breaks pastoral imagery with an exotic, phantasmic presence. In the third case, Kozarac, an effort is made to represent the image of a prosperous contemporary business centre, even though it is interrupted by a clear lack of prosperity in its unfinished construction works. Bosanska Krupa uses iconic language to portray a nostalgia for the 'other home' in the original home. These buildings do not display a collective identity or local history, and in that way, they lack homology.

To go back to the critique of 'non-places' briefly, a similar lack of homology in (mainly) programmed consumer spaces served authors like Augé or Relph in devising the critique of non-places or placelessness. Augé defines 'non-places' as places that cannot be defined as relational, historical or concerned with identity (1995, 77). Relph defines placelessness as 'the casual eradication of distinctive places and the making of standardised landscapes that results from an insensitivity to the significance of place' (Relph 1976, Preface). Both concepts indicate is that places lacking local specificity are subdued to global capitalist modernity that is increasingly creating homogenised spaces of mobility and consumption. Here is important to notice that an alleged lack of reference (relation, history or identity) is perceived by the researchers.

Bosnian roadside construction falls in between as its lack of homology removes it from the local contexts and disrupts its connection with the traditional vernacular construction or formal architecture. Even when fully appropriated for business purposes, (such as in the case of Šešlije), the buildings do not take on the appearance of commercial architecture. The buildings analysed here visually differ from the chain architecture of gas stations (such as locally present OMV or Energopetrol) or Big-box stores (locally present chains Robot, OBI). Bosnia roadside

architecture differs stylistically from these buildings not only by being informal, flexible and significantly more decorative; they share the lack of homology.

Baudrillard, famously described the lack of homology in the US American West, qualifying the roadside places as ephemeral: 'a fractal, interstitial culture, born of a rift with the Old World, a tactile, fragile, mobile, superficial culture' (Baudrillard 1989). This experience prompted Baudrillard to devise the concept of simulacra, a system of references without a referent, based on his observance of the casinos, shopping malls and roadside attractions (1994). Similarly, Jameson detected the lack of human perception to locate itself in postmodern hyperspaces (1991, 44), presumably by failing to recognise the idiosyncratic visuals of local vernacular.

The perceived lack of authenticity motivates cultured viewers reservation towards the buildings visual expression and the quality they bring into the landscapes. Homology is a crucial element in the perception of identity by viewers and through it viewers create a personal sense of authenticity for a place. Relph defines this sense as 'a direct and genuine experience of the entire complex of the identity of locations – not mediated and distorted through a series of quite arbitrary social and intellectual fashions about how that experience should be, nor following stereotyped conventions' (Relph 1976, 64).

Crick points out that in this sense, all cultures are invented, remade with individual elements reorganised, making all cultures and cultural products 'staged' and inauthentic (Crick 1989, 335–36). Instead of seeing the roadside buildings within the 'barbarians against the civilisation' arguments or as a sign of spatial collapse, these new spaces can be sites 'where meanings and boundaries are *in play'* similar to the new spaces of digital space (Germann Molz 2004, 170). The roadside buildings break conventional imageries in conveying their vernacular style and create sites of distant, exotic landscapes. In return, the flowing gaze of drivers and their cameras show an interest and stop over.

The roadside sites of China, Bavaria or a medieval church do not aim to destroy local places' identity. Whether or not these expressions are disruptive or constructive for urban planning is a separate discussion. Roadside constructions imitate iconic landmarks. They reach beyond ordinary images in conveying the style of architecture. However, they do not take away meaning from the place, rather they construct new meanings that are open and less severe (even

when trying hard to perform identity). By playing around with colours, shapes and forms the roadside constructions put in question ideological matrix of what is 'normal', 'ordinary', or tasteful in houses' (or super-houses) façades. Consumerist iconography used in façade representation is an essential element of 'the play' as consumerist iconography efficiently transforms a simple K2V into the site of almost tourist attention.

Shifting the focus away from identity and authenticity of new expressions to tourist dimensions is a useful solution in understating the dynamics of the builders, buildings, and viewers in the traffic, through the concepts of 'post-tourist gaze' and tourist traps. Mobility extends construction and consumption of landscapes beyond tourists; to anyone travelling with a camera. John Urry even speaks about the 'end of tourism' as people are tourists most of the time, whether they are physically mobile or experience it through electronic images (Lash and Urry 1994, 259). Feifer observes that (post)tourists experience landscapes scenes through frames, a hotel window, bus or a moving car freed from traditional locales (1985).

Post-tourists are well aware of being tourists, unable to experience sites as locals do and may even be reflective of their participation in the construction of tourism (ibid., 271). They can perceive multiple perceptions of tourism (education, entertainment, history, adventure) by keenly pursuing either sacred, informative, fine or simply different experience as it suits them (ibid., 269). Most importantly, the post tourists manoeuvre between experiences in search of the essence provided by the original experience and fear of disappointment by the emptiness of the pursuit. Wood explains this through the paradoxical relationship of intoxication and ambivalence (A. F. Wood 2009, 161). Intoxication in the performance of tourism comes from the pleasurable fragmentation and overlap of sensory input in which one becomes detached from the overwhelming narrative. The ambivalence stems from the knowledge that one's identity and setting are artificial constantly reminding the subject not to get too excited, that it is not real. Both of the processes are part of the post-tourist performance, making the post-tourists seem fresh and detached but still pursuing the experience.

Figure 5.15 Roadscape near Sarajevo

Source: Panoramio (Username: Hamo Delalić)

Photographers symbolically gaze control of the world by translating it into a collection of images (A. F. Wood 2009, 161–62). Moreover, as everything and anything can become (tourist) experience, the roadscapes respond with vivid, iconic signature to signal to the mobile gaze that it is time to stop, eat, drink or have a rest in the maybe unusual venue, but the experience worth stopping. Post-tourist pursuits extend the focus of touristic pursuit to anything on the road. They enter them knowingly and explore them comfortably, but quickly and superficially. Key for understanding the transformation of landscapes where roadside buildings develop colourful language to capture the attention of snappy mobile gaze, or glance. Chaney uses the 'glance' as a metaphor to explain how consumers 'play' in public places by engaging in 'haphazard consumption' (2002, 200–201). The roadside architecture does not work in the logics of formal architecture or even high culture. It does not aim to elevate or educate but to capture attention and quickly amuse (Harkin 2003, 581). Post-tourists find amusement in a multiplicity of tourist dimensions and understand that there is no authentic tourist experience,

175

but merely a series of games or texts that can be played (Urry and Larsen 2011, 13). In a post-tourist experience, everyone driving around or with a camera is a tourist, and cultural landscapes adapt to the new condition.

5.5 CONCLUSION

The emergence of flamboyant architecture on the roadside transforms Bosnian landscapes. The roadside façades use flexible designs and iconic signatures to convey rich expressions. These diverge from simple white K2Vs to attract the gaze from moving cars. Representations do not put a great importance on conveying authentic expression. They restructure landscapes to semantically new and unconventional spaces but they are not necessarily disorienting or enslaving in consumerist entrapment. Its rules are clear for everyone: the roadside buildings create attractions and the landscapes of amusement.

The buildings presented in this chapter radically break with their surroundings, meaning they abandon idiosyncratic language that conveys relational, historical or identity performance. In the first case presented, a house in Obudovac imitates Serbian Orthodox Christian medieval church. In the second, a pink Chinese castle grows out of simple K2V on a crossroads. In the third example, the reduction of decoration on another K2V based model, makes it appear like a skyscraper at the end of town. Finally, a system of buildings in Bosanska Krupa creates 'cut'n'paste' presentation of German heritage in Bosnian town, mixing Renaissance, medieval and rural vernacular iconography. Each of these buildings creates landscapes that dislocate houses from their surroundings by using iconography radically different from the traditional vernacular or professional architecture.

When visiting small roadside constructions evoking Byzantium, China, inner city financial districts or Bavaria, one can immerse themselves in the new environment free from the grim Bosnian realities stranded between political insecurity and economic stagnation. Their façades are displays of personal wealth (disposable or aspired), but equally portrayals of hope, prosperity, security and pleasure. The instance on these motifs indicates that roadside facades mediate identity performance, which is not necessarily fixated with ethno-nationalist identity but also attuned to consumerist iconography.

The relative intensity of façades representation is a consequence of rising car-oriented mobility. Bosnian mobility is dependent on its development and shaped by growing car system and internet. The roadside architecture here serves as scenery for the exotic touristic experience. This fragmented imaging is, still, effective as it intensively put some colour in between the hills surrounding moving cars. The roadside architecture provides affordable exoticism with the experience.

The roadside landscapes in BiH operate in the same way as programmed consumer spaces. The might appear radically different from airports, shopping malls, hotels, but similar to these spaces roadside structures employ an open iconography in conveying decoration, often for the purpose of stimulating the economic function in the building. The open iconography dislocates and makes the building appear inauthentic, or without stylistic reference to the local, historical or even ordinary. The roadside buildings lack a homology with its surrounding. Open references might appear inauthentic and placeless but they are abundant with meanings at play. Conveying consumerist iconography, the roadside buildings and their businesses serve as an affordable prosthesis for fantasy by providing the experience of distant and exotic travel, situated on the local road. They convey meanings, but insist on light engagement, as their politics is focused on commercial interaction.

Insisting on consumerist iconography creates a point of insincerity, superficiality and playfulness even with ethno-nationalist symbolism. However, such engagement does not enslave the enchanted moving gaze into a consumerist tourist trap. To the contrary, the roadside landscapes function because the mobile gaze and informal architecture engage in post-tourist performance. Persons on the road act like (post)tourists, protagonists performing on the stage of tourism (Noy 2004, 116). The roadside buildings abandon idiosyncratic elements of ordinary, or historical vernacular style, to be more visible to passengers. The post-tourists understand that the references in façades exist for the sake of attraction, but respond to it. They stop by the roadside buildings not to engage in learning or spiritual elevation, by because iconic façades promise rest, comfort and amusement. The roadside façades certainly do not attract every gaze, and their success determines further growth. With an increase of mobility anyone moving with a camera participates in production and consumption of the world through frames. Post-tourists constantly float between intoxication and bored ambivalence, searching for the experience and willingly participating in the co-construction of the tourist sites.

177

This claim does not suggest that consumerism is key to postsocialist happiness. Quite the opposite, happiness is a key icon in the roadside commodification process. The examples on the roadside demonstrate how image or style as signifier separates from architectural form of the building as signified. Open reference puts into question any representation, demonstrated well by both the examples of Obudovac and Izačić. Further, open iconography shows how individuals convey houses and decorations when operating in an informal surrounding with supervision and guidance of formal architecture largely absent. The mobility of the road opens (some) perspectives in the ways distinctions are produced and performed. By becoming a dominant feature of the landscape, the roadside castles illustrate a way in which individuals that do not possess significant cultural capital, circumvent existing cultural hegemonies and attract admirers. The Bosnian landscape might be post-war and postsocialist but it is built by informal construction and moulded with cars.

6   CONCLUSION

The dissertation was designed as a response to those discourses that present individual informal construction and roadside construction as aesthetic pollution and *urbicide*. The main research question, outlined in the introduction, examines the proliferation of informality as a challenge to dominant cultural hegemonies of modernisers (*urbanites*) and the modernised (*peasant-workers*). Informal construction serves as a focus through which I explore these hegemonies. The aim, however, was to go beyond this debate and explore the elusiveness of informal construction as material culture; to understand how historical, cultural and geographic dimensions affect the understanding of culture, and serve as class delineators in modernisation and postsocialist transition processes.

The research examines roadside buildings as a type of informal construction through three perspectives: the historical emergence of illegal construction in socialist modernisation, postsocialist transformations (the expansion of house functions and public campaigns against them), and the role of (auto)mobility to its visual language. In the first analytical chapter (Chapter 3), the dissertation addressed modernisation and urbanisation as an attempt to set an order in space. It demonstrates how Yugoslav modernisers made a particular choice of socialist modernism and how the imbalances of modernisation (housing shortages and distribution) resulted in the emergence of informal construction. It further identifies and analyses the most prevalent, yet academically ignored housing typology, provisionally termed K2V ('*kuća na dvije vode*'). I explore its origins, postsocialist transformations, and public criticism of aesthetics that serves as delegitimation of working class (Chapter 4). Finally, the dissertation turns to the more flamboyant examples of the roadside buildings and explores the ways in which they convey style and transform cultural landscapes (Chapter 5).

The paradigms of postsocialist urban transformations like turbo-urbanism (Jovanović Weiss and Safran 2006; Vöckler 2008) present the proliferation of informal construction in terms of 'barbarians against civilisation' discourse. Chapter 3 demonstrates how informal construction, as a contemporary building practice, is universal and bound to all social and historical contexts. There is nothing particularly Bosnian, Yugoslav or Balkan about it. Behind the understanding of informal construction as disruptive and embarrassing practice lie modernist understandings of space, urban planning and construction bound up in the historical establishment of socialist modernism in Yugoslavia and the consequential criminalisation of informal practices in

Yugoslav urbanisation. Here, the second paradigm of 'unfinished modernisations' (Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012; Kulić, Mrduljaš, and Thaler 2012) is useful for understanding the establishment of modernist architecture and urban planning in the socialist project. I argue that this experience is linked to the class delineations that socialist modernity produced, what Đilas (1957) defined as socialist new class. BiH architects and urban planning theorists (Finci 1972; Kadić 1972) explained the pressure of inadequate house supply and emergence of illegal construction with rural migration rather than insufficient housing production (M. Živković 1968; Đumrukčić 1972). The strict perspective of informal construction as an illegal practice, a form disruption of order in the space, and rural invasion is not universal and its bound to the Yugoslav perception of informal construction that translates to the postsocialist context.

I argue that the informal construction deserves a perspective wider than legal dimensions. In chapter 4, I demonstrate how, due to prevalence, the informal housing model K2V is a contemporary vernacular typology. The practice involves a wider span of actors and social backgrounds but for the working class families, individual informal housing is a method of survival strategy. The change between the socialist and postsocialist contexts is the expansion of the role of housing with market involvements (renting space, or owning a small business). The entity government in RS and cantonal governments in the Federation, the architecture and urban planning professionals and media all campaign against the practice through weakly enforced legalisations and public criticisms. I was interested in ways those criticisms diverge from practical to moral and aesthetic arguments (aesthetic pollution, *urbicide*). I argue that this criticism articulates and perpetuates a 'barbarians against civilisation' mythology. Here I use Jansen's (2005) presentation of cultural hegemonies in postsocialist Belgrade and Zagreb to probe how criticism against informal construction identifies informal construction as a threat to urban existence. Informal construction and the aesthetics in K2V façades is not a barbaric invasion of anti-urban peasants. I argue that it is a form of bricolage, orally communicated, working class culture.

In chapter 5, I question the relationship of iconic elements in houses facades and their environments. Through iconographies employed in façades, decorations used in K2V's develop independent ways to communicate meanings in the cultural landscape. Presented in the four cases from the northern route (Bijeljina – Bihać) this individual choice extends to variety of themes, from a house imitating a church in Obudovac, a motel decorated as a pink castle in Šešlije, to DIY business centre in Kozarac and a Bavarian village in Bosanska Krupa.

The individual builders do not resort to traditional buildings of their groups for inspiration. The presented iconographies celebrate the 'good life'; consumerism as a romantic duty in pleasure, wealth and beauty (Campbell 1987). It is at the same time a performance of distinctions and a projection of identity. In my understanding, the moving gaze is an important point for the postsocialist context. Here buildings are not communicating they did previously; everyone around them is moving more quickly, superficially, snapping and posting around. Instead of copying the elements from surrounding buildings, reproducing idiosyncratic language in façades, the new builders separate the façade from the model and access open references. They change the homology in the styles of the façades (Hebdige 1991, 113) but the observers recognise this as play and join by reproducing the buildings' visuals in photographs and videos.

6.1 ON THE HOME STRETCH

This dissertation engages critically in the experience of socialist modernism and its indirect relationship to informal construction. The negligence of socialist modernism and the consequent revival of interest in this heritage do not exclude this critical position. The revival of unfinished modernisations as a research interest (Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012; Kulić, Mrduljaš, and Thaler 2012) is a good counterpart to both ethno-nationalist negligence and rejection of socialist heritage, providing evidence of the value of the socialist modernist project. However, re-valorising this experience does not justify Balkanising (self-orientalising) discourses of turbo-architecture and turbo-urbanism in the present context of informal construction. My critical engagement in socialist modernist architecture and urban planning experience looks on its margins, limits of space ordering through regulating construction and the role in class delineation. My point therefore has not been to question Yugoslav socialist experience from the positions of ethnic identities or political freedoms as revisionist examinations from the political right, but from the political left, informed by theoretical contributions of E.P. Thomspon and Dick Hebdige, through dynamising class experience of Yugoslav history. I kept in mind Đilas's *The New Class* (1957) and the contributions of Yugoslav sociology (M. Živković 1981; Vujović 1986; Čaldarević 1989), from which I question socialist modernism. My critical perspective is focused on the modernist perception of urban planning as a tool of establishing order, faith in rationality guided planning, and the authority of professionals. In particular, I am interested in mythologies related to the role of urban planning as a condition for development, and uniqueness of the Yugoslav failure of in this process. I understand

informal construction as a reality or social fact. Instead of producing another critique of its existence, I am more concerned with how this reality functions beyond legislation in terms of culture and communication.

This perspective is not a defence of informality; rather it is a call for a more complex understanding of the phenomenon. The proliferation of informal construction is not a beneficial development for the whole society in the long term as it is individual commodification (privately owned buildings) of the shared resource (space). However, it cannot be separated from its present socio-eocnomic context and formalisation process. Here I follow Vesna Bojčić-Dželilović's (2013) argument on informality as an environment for nationalist elites and criminal groups to appropriate resources but I argue that informal construction involves different politics for different actors involved in the practice. The state response in legalisation campaigns is not an adequate response as it equalises individual and profit oriented builders. I also argue that the roadside builders occupy an in-between position from the typical survival strategies of their beginnings which legitimises the construction but when successful this can evolve into profit oriented expansion. The lesson here is that there is no need to oppose formal and informal construction but there is a need for more understanding of its intertwindness. Informal construction is an indicator of the state system's inability to consolidate and regulate. Individual informal construction is a symptom, not a cause of this process.

A more complex understanding of the formal-informal relationship requires a permissive and inclusive relationship towards individual informal construction and the roadside vernacular. Even if illegal in the eyes of the state, roadside buildings are material culture and a product of individual endeavour. The critical discourses of kitsch, banal, aesthetic pollution and *urbicide* character of informal construction indicate more about the existing class relationships than alleged aesthetic quality of the buildings. I followed Simić's concept of peasant workers (1973) and Jansen's indication of post-Yugoslav cultural hegemonies in the concept of the 'frontline peasants' (2005, 153–57), to define specific perspective on (post)Yugoslav working class population through alleged 'cultural deficiency' under constant pressure to be modernised by urban population.

I refer to E.P. Thompson's change in understanding the working class from their role in production and ownership to historical process (1966), position in uneven relationship and I recognise as working class in post-Yugoslav context those culturally deficient. From this perspective, I consider the informal construction and narrowly roadside vernacular as working

class culture, based on their cultural deficiency articulated in public critique. Roadside builders may be socially mobile (and with increasing control of economic capital) but resistance to their visual presence, reflected in public campaigns, is what defines it as culturally deficient and deviant. Roadside construction is culture of *the frontline peasants*, defined through blue collar background, peasant urbanites and domination of oral forms – a working class culture. Working class culture I write about here is not a subversive, subcultural resistance culture against the mainstream (Hebdige 1991, 106). This culture is often reproducing the mainstream mythologies but it is different from the mainstream due to its subordinate position, passive postion in modernisation and cultural deficiency. This understanding is critical for the postsocialist research of BiH where accounting for unstable hegemonies of culturally rich modernising urban elites and culturally deficient peasant worker population are as important as ethnonational dimensions.

So what is the culture of the culturally deficient 'frontline peasants'? I turn to roadside vernaculars as centres of roadscapes, cultural landscapes on the road and recognise conveyed iconographies in buildings' façades. Understanding class dynamics in informal construction opens a more complex understanding of consumerist iconography in the roadside vernacular. In chapter 5, I draw on Campbell (1987) in discerning that the representations of prosperity, hope, beauty relate to romanticist notions of consumption ethics of pleasure. In my interpretation, the styles of *the 1980s Baroque, Ethno,* and *the New Bosnian Modern* are engaging a consumerist iconography.

Focusing on images and my understanding of consumerist iconography involves the critique of representation. I move away from suggestions that builders convey these iconographies blindly resonating neoliberal policies, articulated in the early postmodern critiques of placelessness (Relph 1976; Augé 1995; Baudrillard 1989) and I look towards explanations of the builders' roles as demonstrated in the vivid expressions of façades. My interpretation is based on an understanding of working class culture's teleology and the function of the façade in visual communication. In contrast to modernist high culture (which has a purpose to enlighten, teach, criticise, or transcend, in other words, to 'save the world') working class culture serves to comfort, cheer and play. I refer here to Daniel Miller's (Miller 2008) 'comfort of things' in connecting consumerist iconography with the feeling of comfort. Consumerist iconography might be inspired by mass production and culture industries, but its final effect is

not the capitalist enslavement of consumer. It is more instrumental in separating reference in iconography from ordinary (conventional) house decorations, stimulating new styles.

The similar question extends to the existence of the roadside as a cultural landscape. Are Bosnian and Herzegovina roadscapes a product of disrupting neoliberal reforms which are opening borders for commodities but keep them restrictive for the people? Or, are these landscapes reflective of increasing global interconnectedness? I draw on Urry and Sheller's mobility (Sheller and Urry 2006) and in particular the disproportional growth of mobility systems and acessiblity, as I detect how in BiH, car driven mobile gaze is moulding the houses' form and concentrating façades to the front. Mobility only does not fully explain the intensity of expression however, which is why I engage with the North American studies of cultural landscape (Jackson 1984) and visual communication on the road (A. F. Wood 2009). I argued that in BiH roads, similar to the rise of automobility in the 1960s USA, people are experiencing distance and outside through the roadside façades. In the informal construction of socialism, flamboyant expressions and open referentiality in houses façades appeared only in *gastrabejteri* villages in the 1970s and the 1980s, and budget tourist buildings on the Adriatic coast. In the postsocialist context, they are widely present due to the builders' awareness of the moving gaze and attempt to appeal to it. The fact that images of houses end up reproduced and commented on the internet shows the reception from the other side.

The roadside vernacular and its cultural landscapes indicate an interesting point in the progress of communication technology. I draw on Walter Ong's (1982) critique of Bernstein's explanation of restrictive and elaborated codes in communication (1971) and relationship of codes to the class by differentiating between oral and written technologies of communication. I understood formal architecture as written technology and informal construction of the roadside as an oral technology, similar to Levi-Strauss's concept of bricolage (1966, 22–31). Based on these notions, the dynamics this dissertation is engaging is not how orally mediated content (façades as bricolage) is progressivly substituted by more advanced written technologies of formal architecture. Instead, the dissertation explores how these mediations exist parallel, employed by different social groups (with different class backgrounds). Furthermore, I follow Ong's idea of media growing importance in reproduction and sharing content as secondary orality (1982, 133–34), even though Ong left significant space for interpretation in this concept. In that sense, I do not engage deeper with postmodernist architecture as it is formal architecture but explore openly referentially in the consumerist

iconography of roadside bricolage as a postmodern cultural form. Open referentiality of the roadside bricolage is interesting as both orality in the communication of working class culture and the secondary orality of roadside presence on the Internet. In these ways new oral cultural forms can circumvent institutions of high, elite culture, or formal mediation and still communicate the new hybrid traditions. The roadside construction is not about the rejection of professional architecture; it is about the embrace of Youtube and photography sharing platforms, which combine written and oral langauge of fragmented iconic singatures.

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9 POVZETEK V SLOVENSKEM JEZIKU

Proces širjenja neformalne gradnje je zgradil prostor Bosne in Hercegovine, ki se ga hitro povezuje s povojno prenovo ter postsocialistično tranzicijo. Tamkajšnji strokovnjaki so kritični do neformalne gradnje, saj jo vidijo izključno kot nelegalno in jo obtožujejo, da ima barbarski učinek na urbano strukturo mesta ter da negativno vpliva na javno infrastrukturo, kar pa posledično vodi do prostorskega neravnovesja in okoljskega razdejanja. To, kar kritika sicer ne izraža odkrito (temveč pogosto samo namiguje), pa so nesodobne značilnosti individualne neformalne gradnje ter nezaželene estetike, ki jo te neformalne hiše vpletejo v pokrajino.

Doktorska disertacija želi usmeriti razpravo o neformalni gradnji tako, da bi presegla okvirje preproste kritike. Postavi si dva cilja: raziskati, kako se danes tvori in razvija teoretični okvir v določenem zgodovinskem kontekstu socialističnega modernizma ter predstaviti alternativne pristope k raziskovanju neformalne gradnje s pomočjo definiranja in analiziranja neformalne gradnje kot sodobne vernakularne arhitekture. Kritika, ki nasprotuje individualni neformalni gradnji, se v glavnem osredotoča na njeno legalnost, prezre pa družbeni kontekst, ki jo je ustvaril. Osnovana je na odnosu funkcionalističnega urbanega načrtovanja, ki se je oblikoval v času zlate dobe socialističnega modernizma. Celo v tem obdobju so mestni sociologi dvomili v strogo pravniški pristop, vendar ta perspektiva pri razpravah prevladuje. Stroga funkcionalistična perspektiva vidi formalizacijo gradnje kot zgodovinsko končan proces v okvirih modernizacije, kjer funkcionalno urbano načrtovanje in nadzor gradnje pomeni biti sodoben in civiliziran. Posledica te perspektive je, da se vsakršni pojav nenadzorovane neformalne gradnje dojema kot grožnjo sodobnemu redu ter se nanjo odziva s kritiko, posmehom in nerazumevanjem. V postsocialistični in povojni realnosti v Bosni in Hercegovini prevladuje neformalna gradnja. Rezultat tega pa je, da discipline, ki izvedejo največ raziskav na to temo, sistematično spregledajo večji del te problematike, ki ni v skladu s standardi in praksami strokovnjakov.

Ozadje raziskave

Pričujoča disertacija je bila oblikovana kot odgovor na diskurze, ki predstavljajo individualno neformalno in obcestno gradnjo kot estetsko onesnaženje in *urbicide*. Osrednje vprašanje raziskave, zastavljeno v uvodu, raziskuje širjenje neformalnosti, ki je bila izziv prevladujoče

kulturne hegemonije modernizatorjev (*urbanizatorjev*) in moderniziranih (*kmečkih delavcev*). Neformalna gradnja je osrednja točka, skozi katero raziskujem omenjene hegemonije. Kljub temu pa je bil moj cilj preseči meje teh razprav in raziskati izmuzljivost neformalne gradnje kot materialne kulture. Moj namen je bil, da bi razumeli, kako zgodovinske, kulturne in geografske dimenzije vplivajo na razumevanje kulture in tako služijo kot razredni mejniki v modernizaciji ter postsocialističnem procesu tranzicije. Raziskava obravnava obcestne stavbe kot tipe neformalne gradnje v socialistični modernizaciji in postsocialistični preobrazbi (širjenje funkcij hiš in javne kampanje proti njim) ter vlogo (avto) mobilnosti pri njeni vizualni govorici.

Disertacija je sestavljena iz: (1) uvoda, (2) teoretičnega poglavja z metodologijo in viri, (3) analize zgodovinskega konteksta in širjenja neformalne gradnje, (4) analize prevladujoče vernakularne tipologije, javnega diskurza in kulturnega kapitala neformalne gradnje, (5) analize postsocialistične pokrajine, ki jo ustvarjajo hiše in mobilnost kot primarna sila razvoja ter (6) zaključka, bibliografije in seznama virov, povzetka v slovenskem jeziku in biografije avtorja.

Poglavje 2 (*Alternativna arhitektura – pregled literature, koncepti in metode*) ponuja vpogled v najnovejša razumevanja tega fenomena. Moja raziskava temelji na strokovnih razpravah in z njihovo pomočjo predstavi pristope v kulturni geografiji in kulturnih študijah (obcestna ameriška folklora) kot alternativo kritikam nelegalne arhitekture. Osrednje razprave, predstavljene v tem delu so: arhitektura in urbano načrtovanje kot orodje modernizacije in urbanizacije, pogledi jugoslovanske sociologije na nelegalno gradnjo, klasična arhitektura kot vernakularna ali materialna kultura, formalni-neformalni odnosi, kultura in stil ter kulturne hegemonije, postmoderne geografije, pokrajina in mobilnost. Poglavje o metodologiji vključuje opis in razlago načinov, na katere je mogoče hiše brati kot besedilo ter faze analize in raziskovalne metode. Poglavje vsebuje tudi širšo predstavitev preučenega materiala, kriterij za izbor primerov, vire, faze raziskave, postopke v zbiranju podatkov, analizo podatkov in etiko raziskave.

Poglavje 3 (*Nelegalna gradnja in socialistični modernizem*) ponuja vpogled v odnos socialističnega modernizma kot stila jugoslovanskega socialističnega modernizma in urbanizacije ter pojav nelegalnih gradenj v šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja kot posledice teh procesov. Poglavje sledi ideološkim okvirjem, znotraj katerih so jugoslovanski modernizatorji in socialistični novonastali srednji razred sprejeli modernistično arhitekturo in kritizirali

nelegalno gradnjo. Poglavje sledi tudi diskurzom, ki so jih v strokovni literaturi uporabljali arhitekti, zgodnji urbani načrtovalci in sociologi ter jugoslovanski intelektualci. S prepletanjem teh dveh skupin virov - socialističnega modernizma kot zlate dobe jugoslovanske modernizacije in nelegalne gradnje (neuspeh modernizacije) - stremi to poglavje k prepoznavanju nezadovoljstva v razdelitvi bivališč in k prepoznavanju vloge razvoja (socialistična modernizacija) v legitimizaciji razrednih razlik med modernizatorji in moderniziranimi. Argument tukaj je, da je zgodnja nelegalna gradnja dokaz za razredno diferenciacijo v socialistični Jugoslaviji in da oba diskurza o nekončani socialistični modernizaciji ter nelegalni gradnji služita za legitimizacijo te diferenciacije. Kljub spremembam v eliti in ideologiji v postsocialističnem obdobju, ostajajo sestavni del kulturne hegemonije modernizacija (razvoj), urbanizacija in razdelitev bivališč, ki so se pojavile v socialističnem obdobju.

Poglavje 4 (*Individualna neformalna gradnja kot sodobna vernakularna arhitektura)* predstavlja prevladujočo tipologijo individualnih bivališč, javnih kampanj proti nelegalni gradnji in polemik, ki so obkrožale bolj razkošne stile fasad. S pomočjo empiričnega materiala (fotografije obcestnih in neformalnih gradenj) in sekundarne literature analizira to poglavje prevladujoče modele družinskih stavb - *kuća na dvije vode*, K2V, in *kuća na četiri vode*, K4V – natančneje njihov izvor, pojav ter postsocialistično preobrazbo. Še več, poglavje s kritičnim pristopom raziskuje diskurze medijev na javnih kampanjah proti nelegalni gradnji, (državna legalizacija kampanj in javnih razprav) in vprašanje, kako lahko javni diskurzi tako zlahka zaidejo od funkcionalističnih do estetskih argumentov. Če izhajamo iz razprav o kulturnih hegemonijah, stilu in kulturi (R. Williams 1983b; Hebdige 1991) ter Jansenovega dela o postjugoslovanskih diskurzih o razlikovanju in modernizaciji (2005), to poglavje raziskuje tudi diskurze o estetskem onesnaževanju in pojavu *urbicide* kot mitologiji, uporabljenih z namenom, da bi vzeli legitimnost ambicioznim članom delavskega razreda. Argument v tem poglavju je, da čeprav je neformalna gradnja razširjena praksa in vključuje širok spekter individualnih in skupinskih akterjev, je javna kritika osredotočena na individualno neformalno gradnjo in prelaga krivdo za neuspeh urbanega načrtovanja na družbeno marginalne skupine (Romi, gastarbajteri, begunci, kmeti) – torej člane postsocialističnega delavskega razreda.

Poglavje 5 (*Postsocialistična pokrajina: gradovi ob cesti)* se posveča obcestnim gradnjam in načinom, na katere njihovi stili ustvarjajo pokrajino. Teoretične razprave se na tej točki dotaknejo vizualne komunikacije v prostoru in nivoja hiše kot pojma, pri čemer vpletajo tudi

218

koncepte mobilnosti pokrajine. To poglavje natančneje obravnava empirični material, ki je bil zbran na štirih konkretnih obcestnih objektih: fotografije, video posnetke, ki so nastali med terenskim delom, ter material s spleta (fotografije, video posnetki in komentarji), ki so jih prispevali posamezni popotniki. Poglavje definira in analizira stile dekoracij na štirih objektih, da bi lahko izvedeli več o ikonah in pomenih, ki jih je včasih posredoval postsocialistični vernakularni stil. S predpostavko, da te stavbe imitirajo bolj drzno kot preproste družinske hiše (gradovi, cerkve in nebotičniki), pa to poglavje prepoznava prisotnost prevladujoče podobe upanja, uspeha in bogastva. Razumevanje teh motivov kot potrošniške ikonografije pripelje do trditve, da so stili na stavbah uporabljeni za prikazovanje bogastva (učinek razlikovanja) ter sodelujejo s pogledi voznikov (odprta signatura). Hišne fasade izkoriščajo neformalnost obcestnih stavb, da razvijejo postmoderne vernakularne izraze in po-turistično zanimivost.

Pričujoča disertacija se konča s končnimi komentarji, ki povzamejo glavne argumente in z analizo podatkov, ki te argumente podprejo. Zaključku sledi seznam virov, priloga s kratko predstavitvijo zgradb, vključenih v raziskavo in njihovo analizo ter biografijo avtorja.

Raziskovalna metodologija

Vprašanje, zastavljeno v tej raziskavi, je sledeče: Kaj sporoča širjenje gradnje in njeno vizualno izražanje o spremembah v širši družbi? Osredotočil sem se na določeno nišo v neformalnih zgradbah in obcestni arhitekturi, za katero so značilne intenzivne dekoracije in oblike. Zanimalo me je, kakšen učinek je imela neformalna gradnja (v primerjavi s poznim socializmom) na razumevanje hiš kot ideje in projekta. Na kakšen način se postsocialistične neformalne zgradbe oddaljujejo od osrednjega modela K2V? Preučeval sem izpopolnjevanja struktur in dekoracij hiš, saj me je zanimalo, kako estetika hiš posreduje in ponovno definira njihovo bližnjo okolico in pokrajino. Zanimalo me je tudi to, kako so te spremembe sprejete pri mimo vozečih popotnikih, še zlasti pa funkcije, ki jih morda imajo nenavadni stili hiš.

Primarni viri za analizo so fotografije. Sam sem napravil večino fotografij v času mojih večkratnih obiskih dveh najpogostejših poti v državi in desetih konkretnih lokacij na vsaki od omenjenih poti. V dveh letih in pol in v dvanajstih odpravah na terensko delo sem se vozil po teh cestah, sledil prometu in posnel širši kontekst, povezan s stavbami (njihove strukture, dekoracije, oglaševanje in avtomobile, parkirane okoli njih). Medtem, ko so se vprašanja raziskave razvijala, sem odkril fotografije in video posnetke drugih obiskovalcev teh zgradb, ki so bodisi potovali bodisi živeli blizu njih in jih vključil v raziskavo. Fotografije sem uporabil z namenom, da bi orisal osnovni model hiš (trenutno prevladujočo tipologijo) in nato z uporabo

semiotične analize določil ter interpretiral signature in podobe, ki so jih hiše predstavljale. Da bi podkrepil svoje interpretacije, sem vpletel komentarje ter razprave iz javnih medijev, pa tudi fotografije in video platforme.

Rezultati raziskave

Socialistično mestno načrtovanje, utemeljeno s socialističnim modernizmom, ostaja glavni okvir za razumevanje neformalne gradnje v sodobni Bosni in Hercegovini. Razpad prejšnje države in njenih inštitucij za mestno načrtovanje služi kot poenostavljena razlaga za sodobno širjenje nefomalnih gradenj, ki pa je del širše rasti neformalnosti v gospodarstvu in vladi (Bojičić-Dželilović 2013). Nekateri kritiki sodobne neformalne gradnje priznavajo obstoj »nelegalne gradnje« v času socializma, vendar menijo, da je njena razširjenost nepomembna. Poglavje 3 (*Nelegalna gradnja in socialistični modernizem*) želi pokazati, da je neformalna gradnja v Bosni in Hercegovini obstajala že mnogo pred vojno v devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja in časom socialistične Jugoslavije. Poglavje tudi pokaže, da je bil prav izraz socialističnega modernizma in njegovih projektov prostorske ureditve tisti, ki je ustvaril neformalno gradnjo kot nelegalno prakso.

Prvi del poglavja pokaže, je bilo mestno načrtovanje tisto, in ne neformalna gradnja, ki je bilo zgodovinsko omejeno. V takratnih razmerah Bosne in Hercegovine, ki je bila del SFRJ, se je mestno načrtovanje razvilo pod vplivom socialističnega modernizma. Ta izkušnja je služila ne samo za izpeljavo projekta modernizacije s pomočjo urbanizacije, ampak tudi za ustvarjanje kulturne hegemonije med modernizatorji in moderniziranimi. Socialistični modernizem je bil v prid nastajajočemu sloju modernizatorjev. Njegov namen je bil ustvariti popularni stil in arhitekturo zahoda, medtem ko bi se legitimnost socialistične revolucije ohranila.

Neformalna gradnja je obstajala skozi celotno zgodovino moderne Bosne in Hercegovine. Pravzaprav novejše reportaže in kritike tovrstnega širjenja niso osamljen primer; pritožbe glede neformalnih gradenj in reportaže o njih se pojavljajo ciklično. Nakazujejo na raven mestnega načrtovanja in poskuse vlade, da bi nadzorovala samo gradnjo, ne pa tudi dejanske količine individualno zgrajenih hiš. Neformalna gradnja, označena kot »nelegalna«, je zgodovinsko povezana z razvojem sistematičnega prostorskega urejanja (z izjemo kriminalne dejavnosti), ki je potekala s pomočjo uporabe mestnih strokovnih načrtov in posledično poročanja o njihovi gradnji. Problem te perspektive je, da kriminalizira neformalne graditelje brez, da bi se upošteval kontekst, ki jih je ustvaril. Vse to daje posebno zaupanje in zmožnosti mestnemu načrtovanju in prostorskemu urejanju, ki pa se pokaže za neuspešno pri reševanju problemov

načrtovanja po principu od zgoraj navzdol. Poročanje o neformalnih gradnjah kot strogo nelegalnih je alternativna strategija, kjer so neformalni graditelji v diskurzu obravnavani kot "barbari proti civilizaciji".

Poglavje 4 (*Individualna neformalna gradnja kot sodobna vernakularna arhitektura*) obravnava diskurze javnih kampanj proti nelegalni gradnji. V obeh, tako socialističnem in povojnem kontekstu, so neformalne prakse gradnje presegle zgolj gradnjo individualnih hiš. Ker ta tip gradnje ni bil določen kot nelegalen, je razvidno, da igra v nelegalni gradnji ključno vlogo nivo formalnosti. »Nelegalna« gradnja je barbarsko dejanje, ki uničuje javno infrastrukturo in pokrajino. V času industrijske rasti v socialističnem obdobju, so bili ti barbari večinoma ruralni migranti, ki so v iskanju služb prihajali v mesta. V postsocialističnem in – še pomembneje – v povojnem kontekstu, pa so bili to pogosto begunci (Čengić, 2010, prav tam), ki so bili nastanjeni v mestih, da bi služili nacionalistični politiki. V zgodbi »našega« človeka v tujini, sodijo med »druge« *gastarbajteri,* jugoslovanski in postjugoslovanski delavski migranti v zahodni Evropi, ki jih pogosto krivijo za neformalno gradnjo domov. Naš človek je zgodba o sramoti in eksternalizaciji. Dejanje našega človeka v tujini ni njegovo individualno dejanje, ampak gre za sramotno razkritje, na kak način deluje v avtohtoni družbi nastanjevanje. To ni zgodba o Nemčiji, Švedski ali Švici, uporablja le tuj pogled na tematiko, pri čemer je družbeni kontekst razumljen kot kulturno večvreden z namenom, da bi predstavil »naš« kolektivni problem in ustvaril sramoto.

Socialistični modernisti so imeli pomembno vlogo pri legitimizaciji jasnih vizij o tem, kako naj bi družba razvijala nek prostor, vendar so spregledali, da so njihova stališča pravzaprav ustvarjala neenakosti; pogosto so bili v prid elitam, tj. modernizatorjem. V kasnejših obdobjih jugoslovanskega socializma, v poznih sedemdesetih in zgodnjih osemdesetih, so postale privatne nastanitve bolj sprejemljive in tolerirala se je določena mera neformalnosti, večinoma zaradi neustreznega sankcioniranja. Čeprav je neformalna gradnja prevladujoča oblika individualne gradnje v sodobni Bosni in Hercegovini, Srbiji, Makedoniji, Črni gori in na Hrvaškem, se nanjo še vedno na nek zapleten način gleda s predsodki. Širjenje neformalne gradnje se pripisuje »zmagovalcem tranzicije« in korupciji v novih demokratičnih vladah, medtem ko se spregleda molčečo večino posameznikov delavskega razreda, ki v njej živi.

Precejšnja raznovrstnost obcestnih objektov v tem poglavju prikazuje različnost družbenih položajev njihovih graditeljev. Velike zgradbe, kot je Krupića Dvor (Slika 4.10), se bistveno razlikujejo po svoji funkciji, družbenem kontekstu in politiki od manjših zgradb, kamor sodijo

na primer obcestne hiše z majhnimi trgovinami čebelarskih izdelkov (Slika 4.9). Politika do Romov se razlikuje od politike do *gastarbajterjev* ali beguncev in vsi ti se razlikujejo od večjih obcestnih podjetnikov. Negotovost postsocialistične tranzicije in rastoča neformalnost (Bojičić-Dželilović 2013) sta zapletali produktivne odnose in družbeno stratifikacijo. Težko je določiti, kdo je v današnji Bosni in Hercegovini pripadnik delavskega razreda in če so le ti tudi tarče javne kritike. Različni obcestni objekti so povezani z uporabo modela K2V kot osnovo hiš in dekoracijo objektov z ikonsko vizualno govorico.

Velikost stavb lahko deluje zavajajoče, ko gre za izpostavljanje različnosti, saj so hiše tako izraz kot tudi sredstvo družbene mobilnosti. Rezultat tega je nedoločljiv videz stavb in družbeni položaj lastnikov. Na enak način prisotnost na trgu stimulira opremljenost hiš, služi pa tudi za odražanje graditeljevih teženj in izražanje individualnosti, saj potrošnik izbira med tremi določenimi stili – *barokom iz 80-ih*, *etno* in *novim bosanskim modernim* stilom. Ti stili na hišah so poskus, da bi posredovali podobo dobrega življenja in obilja. Ne služijo refleksiji, poviševanju in izobraževanju. V potrošniški ideologiji so dekoracije odgovor na družbene negotovosti in upodabljajo idejo uspešnega življenja ter ležernosti s skoraj romantično dolžnostjo do ugodja (Campbell 1987).

Strokovna kritika in mediji interpretirajo stile različno, pri čemer vztrajajo pri diskurzih nelegalne gradnje in zavračajo idejo, da so zgradbe izraz slabega okusa in kiča, ki so nastale na podlagi konceptov estetskega onesnaževanja, *ruglo* in *urbicid*. Kritiki označujejo prikaz bogastva in sreče na hišah kot nekaj vulgarnega in banalnega. Kritiki in mediji vidijo širjenje neformalne gradnje kot razlog za propad urbanega načrtovanja in ne kot posledico. Koncepti *urbicide* ali estetskega onesnaževanja redukirajo pomen družbenega konteksta za vzpostavljanje argumenta »barbari proti civilizaciji« in uporabljajo estetske dimenzije za omalovaževanje neformalne gradnje. Tovrstno zaničevanje je še posebej vidno, ko gre za *gaststarbajterje* ali Rome, pri čemer pa je opazna molčečnost glede podobnih problemov, ki obkrožajo večje komercialne gradbene projekte. Primer obcestne gradnje pokaže, da barvitega jezika, povezanega z neformalno gradnjo, ne moremo omejiti samo na marginalne skupine.

Urbicide razkriva več o tem, kako je Bosna in Hercegovina kot postsocialistična družba zbrala kulturni kapital in institucionalizirala razlike. Kritiziranje estetskih dimenzij kot slabega okusa in kiča služi krepitvi kulturne hegemonije med elito (socialistični in postsocialistični modernizatorji) in delavskim razredom (modernizirani). To, kar se kritizira, lahko razumemo kot sramotenje kulture delavskega razreda.

Postsocialistični preobrati v družbenih slojih z ideološko podlago niso vplivali na načine, na katere je postsocialistični Bosanec izvajal in izražal razlike. Ne glede na pojav populističnega etnonacionalizma in (neo) liberalnega ekonomskega rekonstruiranja ali nečesa tretjega, sta počasen razvoj in nuja po »dohitevanju« ostala glavni skrbi tako starih socialistov kot tudi nastajajočega postsocialističnega srednjega razreda. Postopen pojav kiča v obcestnih zgradbah še naprej sramoti lokalne modernizatorje. S kritiziranjem kiča se poudarja družbeni položaj graditeljev in njihov slab okus, nekulturo in kmečko miselnost, poslužujejo pa se ga ravno tisti, ki se jih razume kot predmet modernizacije.

Poraja se vprašanje: čigave so te hiše? Kdo so graditelji teh hiš in kako se stil izraža (in kritizira) kot značilnost njihovega razrednega ozadja in družbene mobilnosti? Kot smo omenili, je K2V model prevladujoč model v neformalnih gradnjah v socializmu in se večinoma pojavlja pri zgradbah delavskega razreda. Zgrajen in osnovan je bil zunaj pravilnika elite in je postal sredstvo za estetiko delavskega razreda. Neformalna lokacija in nagnjenost k ikonam pri ustvarjanju vizualnega stila nakazujeta na brikolaž – ustno tehnologijo.

Obcestni stili nam pokažejo, kako se je kultura delavskega razreda začrtala skozi zgodovinsko izkušnjo kulturne modernizacije in je hkrati nadaljevala prevlado ustnih oblik v komunikaciji. V postjugoslovanskem obdobju se kultura delavskega razreda ni navezovala na materialni status in na količino razpoložljivega dohodka. Zgodovinska izkušnja modernizacije skozi industrializacijo in urbanizacijo je definirala jugoslovanski delavski razred kot tranzitno kategorijo kmetov-delavcev. Njihova kultura je bila predmet modernizacije skozi konstantno kultivizacijo, ki so jo izvajale mestne elite in ki je temeljila na razumevanju univerzalne (zahodne) kulture. Ta izkušnja ostaja v postsocialističnem kontekstu kot kulturni kapital in je pokazatelj »kmečkega« karakterja ter kulturno pomanjkljive obcestne gradnje. Brikolaž in ikonografija, uporabljena na obcestnih stavbah pokažeta, da so upodobitve polne pomenov, ki pa so ustno posredovani.

Kulturno pomanjkanje kiča in prevladujoče ustno posredovanje v obcestnih stavbah vodi do zaključka, da pravzaprav ne gre za subkulturo (kot bi stavbe *gastabajterjev* ali Romov preprosto lahko bile), ampak za kulturo delavskega razreda. Predstavljeni stili izražajo potrebo po preseganju sedanjosti in to tako, da se zatekajo k preteklosti ali prihodnosti. Ne ponujajo kritike, kot je to prisotno pri stilih oblačenja subkultur, npr. punk (Hebdige 1991) ali hiphop (J. P. Williams 2011). Izražajo motive, ki niso nujno subverzivni glede emancipatorstva, temveč

so povezani z večinsko družbo in prevladujočo ideologijo, nosijo le različno tehnologijo komunikacije.

Največji problem, ki se pojavi pri kritiki slabega okusa, je nerazumevanje ustne tehnologije in brikolaža pri posredovanju pomenov. Razdelitev na formalno-neformalno pokaže tudi razlike med pisnim in ustnim kot tehnologijo komunikacije. Pri obcestnih hišah se ponavlja model K2V, okrašen z brikolažem – v nasprotju s profesionalno arhitekturo, ki se poslužuje inženiringa in temelji na pisni komunikaciji, metodah in racionalistični filozofiji. Koncept brikolaža in ustne komunikacije, ki sem si ga sposodil, da bi opisal kulturo delavskega razreda, je pogost pri razlagah t.i. primitivnih družb. Tukaj ni uporabljen zato, da bi ustvaril to povezavo, ampak služi bolj kot razlaga tega, čemur bi lahko rekli sekundarna ustnost, torej ustnost, ki ne ukinja pisne tehnologije, temveč se ponovno pojavi poleg nje. Razumevanje ustnosti v neformalnih gradnjah pomaga dojeti njihovo afirmativno dimenzijo, raje kot na primer njihov nelegalni kontekst.

Hiše imajo potrošniški videz (podobe »dobrega življenja« in ugodja), ampak tega ne gre razlagati samo s pojavom trgovin za prenovo hiš. Stil hiš in odpor do njih, izražen v javnih kampanjah, je pokazatelj razhajanja med dejanskim kapitalom in predstavljenim kulturnim kapitalom. Dejanja neformalnih graditeljev so moteča za urbano načrtovanje in razvoj prostora, vendar pa nakazujejo na večje spremembe v pokrajini. Nenaklonjenost kritikov do teh hiš predstavlja nasprotne učinke demokratizacije in estetika stilov teh hiš služi kot opomin na postsocialistično prehodnost in njeno nedoločenost. Postsocialistična tranzicija ni pomenila samo večjo prisotnost zahodnega stila modernizacije. Vključevala je tudi demokratizacijo in neprijetno prisotnost tistih, ki so bili tradicionalno potisnjeni v ozadje. Prisotnost obcestnih zgradb kaže na preobrat v postsocialistični kulturni hegemoniji, na rastoče neravnovesje med kulturnimi modernizatorji in moderniziranimi ter na odpor do nadaljevanja procesa. Vizualna govorica, izražena na obcestnih hišah nakazuje na različne dostope sodobnosti, ki pa zaobide moderniziranje srednjega razreda.

Pojav razkošne arhitekture ob cestah preobrazi pokrajino Bosne. Obcestne fasade imajo fleksibilen dizajn in ikonske signature, s katerimi ustvari bogat izraz. Le ta pa se razhaja s preprostim belim K2V modelom, da pritegne pogled mimo vozečih. Upodobitve ne dajejo pomembnosti ustvarjanju avtentičnega izraza. Namesto tega rekonstruirajo pokrajine v semantično nove in nekonvencionalne prostore, pri čemer pa niso nujno brez orientacije ali so

ujete v potrošniških pasteh. Pravila so jasna za vse: obcestne stavbe ustvarjajo privlačnost pokrajine in razvedrilo.

Zgradbe, predstavljene v poglavju 5 (*Postsocialistična pokrajina: gradovi ob cesti*), se močno prelamljajo z njihovo okolico, kar pomeni, da opuščajo značilno govorico, ki ustvarja relacijsko, zgodovinsko podobo ali podobo identitete. V prvem predstavljenem primeru hiša Obudovac imitira srbsko ortodoksno krščansko srednjeveško cerkev. V drugem primeru raste na križišču roza kitajski grad iz preprostega K2V modela. V tretjem primeru pa gre za skromnejšo dekoracijo na še enem K2V modelu, ki zgleda kot nebotičnik na koncu mesta. Sistem zgradb Bosanska Krupa ustvarja podobo na način »kopiraj in prilepi« nemške dediščine v bosanskem mestu, ki meša renesanso, srednjeveško in ruralno vernakularno ikonografijo. Vsaka od teh zgradb ustvarja pokrajino, ki loči hiše od njihove okolice tako, da uporablja ikonografijo bistveno drugače kot tradicionalna vernakularna ali profesionalna arhitektura.

Ko obiščemo majhne obcestne zgradbe, ki spominjajo na Bizanc, Kitajsko, notranja mestna finančna območja ali Bavarsko, se lahko potopimo v novo okolje, ki je osvobojeno turobne bosanske realnosti in ki se giblje med politično negotovostjo in gospodarsko stagnacijo. Njihove fasade prikazujejo osebno bogastvo (razpoložljivo ali tisto, h kateremu stremijo), vendar so hkrati to tudi podobe upanja, uspeha, varnosti in ugodja. Primeri teh motivov kažejo, da obcestne fasade posredujejo podobo identitete, ki ni nujno povezana z etno-nacionalistično identiteto, temveč je tudi prilagojena potrošniški ikonografiji.

Relativna intenzivnost fasad je posledica porasta avtomobilske mobilnosti. Mobilnost je v Bosni odvisna od njenega razvoja. Oblikuje jo rastoči avtomobilski sistem in internet. Obcestna arhitektura tvori pokrajino, ki ponuja eksotično turistično izkušnjo. Podobe po delcih so še vedno učinkovite, saj intenzivno dodajajo barve proti hribom, ki obkrožajo vozeče se avtomobile. Obcestna arhitektura zagotavlja dostopno eksotiko z izkušnjo.

Obcestna pokrajina v Bosni in Hercegovini deluje na enak način kot načrtovani potrošniški prostori. Ti se lahko zdijo močno drugačni od letališč, nakupovalnih centrov, hotelov, vendar imajo obcestne strukture odprto ikonografijo pri dekoracijah, pogosto zaradi stimulacije gospodarske funkcije zgradbe. Odprta ikonografija stavbo izpostavi in jo naredi manj avtentično ali vsaj brez stilistične povezave z lokalnimi, zgodovinskimi ali klasičnimi zgradbami. Obcestnim stavbam manjka homologija z njihovo okolico. Odprte navezave se lahko zdijo neavtentične, so pa pomensko bogate znotraj družbe. Z ustvarjanjem potrošniške ikonografije, služijo obcestne stavbe in njihovi posli za dostopno fantazijo, saj z njimi lahko

izkusimo daljna in eksotična potovanja, ki so postavljena na lokalno cesto. Te stavbe posredujejo pomen, ampak to počno lahkotno, saj je politika okoli njih osredotočena na komercialno interakcijo.

Vztrajanje pri potrošniški ikonografiji ustvarja neiskrenost, izumetničenost in igrivost celo z etno-nacionalističnimi simboli. Vendar pa vse to ne zvabi premikajočih se pogledov v potrošniško turistično past. Nasprotno, obcestne pokrajine učinkujejo ravno zato, ker sta mobilni pogled in neformalna arhitektura prepletena v po-turistično uprizoritev. Ljudje se na cesti vedejo kot (po) turisti, protagonisti, ki nastopajo na odru turizma (Noy 2004, 116). Obcestne zgradbe opuščajo značilne elemente navadnega ali zgodovinskega vernakularnega stila, da bi bile bolj vidne za mimo vozeče. Po-turisti razumejo, da povezava fasad obstaja zaradi privlačnosti in se nanjo odzivajo. Ustavijo se ob obcestnih zgradbah – ne da bi se o njih poučili ali jih ocenili, ampak zaradi tega, ker ikonske fasade obljubljajo počitek, udobje in razvedrilo. Obcestne fasade zagotovo ne pritegnejo vsakega pogleda in njihov uspeh določa nadaljnjo rast. Z porastom mobilnosti lahko vsak, ki ima fotoaparat, sodeluje v produkciji in uživanju sveta skozi okvirje. Po-turisti neprestano plovejo med omamnostjo in dolgočasno ambivalenco v iskanju izkušnje ter tako prostovoljno sodelujejo v gradnji turističnih prizorišč.

Ta trditev ne govori o tem, da je potrošništvo ključ to postsocialistične sreče. Ravno nasprotno, sreča je ključna ikona v obcestnih komodifikacijskih procesih. Primeri ob cestah kažejo, kako se podoba kot označevalec loči od zgradb. Odprta navezava postavlja pod vprašaj kakršnokoli upodobitev, kar dobro prikažeta oba primera – Obudovac in Izačić. Še več, odprta ikonografija pokaže, kako posamezniki predstavijo hiše in dekoracijo, ko delujejo v neformalni okolici brez nadzora in vodstva formalne arhitekture. Mobilnost ceste odpre (določeno) perspektivo na to, kako so razlike ustvarjene in prikazane. S tem, ko so postali prevladujoča značilnost pokrajine, so obcestni gradovi pokazali način, na katerega posamezniki, ki nimajo večjega kulturnega kapitala, zaobidejo obstoječe kulturne hegemonije in pritegnejo občudovalce. Bosanska pokrajina je lahko povojna ali postsocialistična, vendar je še zmeraj zgrajena z neformalnimi gradnjami in oblikovana z avtomobili.

Izviren doprinos raziskave k razvoju relevantnih znanstvenih področij

Neformalna gradnja v socialistični Jugoslaviji in postsocialistični Bosni in Hercegovini predstavlja bogat predmet kulturne zgodovine in pove zgodbo o družbi in njenem poskusu, da bi se razvila, o njenih neuspehih ter ponovnih vrednotenjih, ki so podane s psihološko marginalne perspektive. Na disciplinarnem nivoju ta raziskava cilja k doprinosu razvijajočega

se področja balkanskih študij in sosednjih področij kulturoloških študij, kulturne antropologije, kulturne geografije in vizualne kulture s pomočjo trenutnih debat o regijah (ne) dokončane modernizacije in postsocialistične tranzicije, kulture delavskega razreda in (po) socialistične družbe ter pojava mobilnosti in potrošniške kulture na semi-periferiji.

Glavni cilj disertacije je zagotoviti alternativno perspektivo o nelegalnih gradnjah in ustvariti kritičen pristop do obcestnih gradenj kot materialne kulture. Pod terminom materialna kultura razumem tisto, čemur ljudje pripisujejo pomen, povezave in ki jim pomagajo v ustvarjanju odnosov do širših problemov (Miller 1987). Disertacija želi zagotoviti boljši vpogled v dinamiko neformalnosti s pomočjo pojasnjevanja razrednega ozadja neformalne gradnje in sprememb na vernakularni tipologiji v postsocialističnem obdobju. Disertacija gre čez izraz »barbar proti civilizaciji« z namenom odgovoriti na ta vprašanja in raziskuje kvalitete, ki jih domnevni barbari prinašajo v prostor.

Opirajoč se na Jansenove besede o obstoječih kulturnih hegemonijah med modernimi modernizatorji in nemodernimi kmečkimi delavci (2005), se disertacija še poglobi v to debato in ponudi vpogled v kulturni fenomen, povezan s populacijo delavskega kmeta. Cilj tega ni prikazati, kako delavski razred, ki ni razumljen kot kategorija, ampak kot zgodovinski proces osebnih odnosov (Thompson 1966), proizvede kulturo zunaj pisnih kulturnih oblik (Ong 1982). Disertacija teži k temu, da bi pokazala, kako se je kultura delavskega razreda odzivala na širšo informalizacijo (socialno negotovost, privatizacijo in šibko vladno podporo) preko obcestnih gradenj in dekoracij, ki upodabljajo upanje, uspešnost in zdravje posameznika. Disertacija tudi pokaže, kako obcestne gradnje kot posebna niša neformalne gradnje sodeluje pri stimulaciji, živahnem procesu, ki se zgodi v družbi, ampak ostane neraziskan (na primer porast avtomobilske mobilnosti in nove tehnologije, s katerimi se ustvarjajo in delijo podobe).

Z osredotočenostjo na neformalno gradnjo in potrošništvo pričujoča disertacija ne želi upravičiti nelegalnih praks ali govoriti proti mestnemu načrtovanju. Disertacija črpa iz arhitekturne teorije in zgodovine, mestnega načrtovanja in mestne zgodovine, še posebej iz literature o socialističnem modernizmu. Namen tega je razumeti, kako je strokovna arhitektura in mestno načrtovanje pristopila k neformalni gradnji, pri čemer pa disertacija ne vključuje strokovnih razprav na tem področju izven osredotočenosti na neformalno gradnjo.

Malomarnost socialističnega modernizma in posledično oživitev zanimanja za to dediščino ne izključuje kritične drže. Oživitev nedokončane modernizacije kot zanimanje raziskave (Mrduljaš and Kulić 2012; Kulić, Mrduljaš, and Thaler 2012) je dober ekvivalent obema –

etno-nacionalistični malomarnosti in zavračanju socialistične dediščine, ki predloži dokaze o vrednosti projektov socialističnega modernizma. Ponovno ovrednotenje te izkušnje pa ne opravičuje diskurzov balkanizacije (orientiranih samih nase) glede turbo-arhitekture in turbo-urbanizacije v sedanjem kontekstu neformalne gradnje. Moj kritični pogled na arhitekturo socialističnega modernizma in urbano načrtovanje zajema tudi njune meje, prostorske omejitve, ki so jih postavile določbe o gradnji in pa vlogo v razrednem razločevanju. Moj namen tukaj ni bil ta, da bi pod vprašaj postavil jugoslovansko socialistično izkušnjo s stališča etnične identitete ali politične svobode kot revizionistično raziskavo politične desnice, ampak s politične levice na podlagi teorije E. P. Thompsona in Dicka Hebdiga in s pomočjo dinamizacije razredne izkušnje v jugoslovanski zgodovini. Opiral sem se tudi na Đilasovo delo *The New Class* (1957) in na prispevke jugoslovanske sociologije (M. Živković 1981; Vujović 1986; Čaldarević 1989), na podlagi katerih sem se spraševal o socialističnem modernizmu. Moja kritična perspektiva se je osredotočila na modernistično dojemanje urbanega načrtovanja kot orodja za vzpostavljanje reda, vere in razuma, vodenega načrtovanja ter avtoritete strokovnjakov. Še posebej me je zanimala mitologija, povezana z vlogo urbanega načrtovanja kot pogoj za razvoj in edinstvenost jugoslovanskih neuspehov v tem procesu. Neformalno gradnjo razumem kot realnost in namesto, da bi napisal še eno kritiko njenega obstoja, sem se bolj osredotočil na to, kako ta realnost deluje zunaj zakonov - kot kultura in komunikacija.

Moja perspektiva ni zagovarjanje neformalnosti, ampak gre za poziv k bolj kompleksnemu razumevanju na individualni ravni. Širjenje neformalne gradnje ni razvoj, ki bi dolgoročno koristil celotni družbi, ampak je individualna komodifikacija (privatne stavbe) deljenih sredstev (prostor). Ne more biti ločena od njenega sedanjega konteksta in procesa formalizacije. Na tej točki sledim argumentu Vesne Bojčić-Dželilović (2013), da je neformalnost okolje za nacionalistične elite in kriminalne skupine, ko gre za prilaščanje sredstev, vendar obenem trdim, da vključuje neformalna gradnja različne politike za različne udeležence v praksah. Državni odziv na legalizacijo kampanj ni ustrezen odgovor, saj enači individualne in profitne graditelje. Trdim pa tudi, da graditelji obcestnih zgradb zavzemajo vmesni položaj, saj so začeli s točke, ko je šlo za strategije preživetja, s katerimi so legitimizirali gradnjo, ki pa je v primeru uspešnosti končala v profitno orientirani širitvi. Spoznanje tukaj je, da ni potrebno nasprotovati formalni in neformalni gradnji, vendar je treba razumeti njuno prepletenost. Neformalna gradnja je pokazatelj državnega sistema in njegove nezmožnosti združevanja in nadzorovanja. Individualna neformalna gradnja je simptom, ne pa tudi vzrok tega procesa.

Bolj kompleksno razumevanje odnosov formalno-neformalno zahteva odprte in vključujoče poglede na individualno neformalno ter obcestno vernakularno gradnjo. Čeprav so obcestne zgradbe nelegalne v očeh države, pa so vendarle materialna kultura in produkt individualnega truda. Kritični diskurzi o kiču, banalnem, estetskem onesnaženju in *urbicidu* neformalne gradnje nakazujejo bolj na obstoj razrednih odnosov kot na domnevno estetsko kvaliteto stavb. Sledil sem Simićevemu konceptu kmečkih delavcev (1973) in Jansenovi tezi o postjugoslovanski kulturni hegemoniji v konceptu »kmetov s prvih bojnih vrst« (2005, 153–57), da bi definiral perspektivo na (po) jugoslovansko populacijo delavskega razreda skozi domnevni »kulturni primanjkljaj«, ki je bila pod nenehnim pritiskom, da bi jo urbana populacija modernizirala.

Nanašam se na E. P. Thompsonovo spremembo v dojemanju delavskega razreda – od njegove vloge v produkciji in lastništva zgodovinskih procesov (1966) ter položaja v neenakem odnosu ter prepoznavam delavski razred v postjugoslovanskem kontekstu kot kulturno pomanjkljivega. S te perspektive sem razumel neformalno in obcestno vernakularno gradnjo kot kulturo delavskega razreda, ki temelji na njegovem kulturnem primanjkljaju, izraženem v javni kritiki. Graditelji obcestnih stavb so lahko družbeno mobilni (in z večjo kontrolo gospodarskega kapitala), ampak odpor do njihove vizualne prisotnosti, prikazane v javnih kampanjah, je to, kar jih definira kot kulturni primanjkljaj in zlo. Obcestna gradnja je kultura *kmetov s prvih bojnih vrst*, definirana z ozadjem proizvodnih delavcev, kmečkih urbanizatorjev in prevladujoče ustne oblike – kulture delavskega razreda. Pri kulturi delavskega razreda, o kateri pišem v svoji disertaciji, ne gre za subverziven, subkulturni upor kulture proti večinskemu toku (Hebdige 1991, 106). Ta kultura pogosto proizvaja prevladujočo mitologijo, vendar je le ta drugačna zaradi svojega podrejenega položaja kulturnega primanjkljaja v procesu modernizacije. Razumevanje je ključno za postsocialistično raziskavo Bosne in Hercegovine, kjer so nestabilne hegemonije kulturno bogate modernizacije mestnih elit in kulturno prikrajšanih kmečkih delavcev enako pomembne kot etno-nacionalne dimenzije.

Kaj je torej kultura kulturno prikrajšanih »kmetov s prve bojne vrste«? Obcestno vernakularno gradnjo sem postavil v središče obcestnih, kulturnih pokrajin in prepoznal upodobljeno ikonografijo na fasadah stavb. Razumevanje razredne dinamike v neformalnih gradnjah odpira bolj kompleksno razumevanje potrošniške ikonografije v obcestnih vernakularnih gradnjah. V poglavju 5 sem se opiral na Campbella (1987), ko sem pisal prisotnosti podob uspešnosti,

upanja in lepote, povezanih z romantično idejo o potrošniški etiki užitka. V svoji interpretaciji, se stili *baroka iz 80-ih*, *etno* in *nove bosanske moderne* prepletajo s potrošniško ikonografijo.

Z osredotočanjem na podobe in mojega razumevanja potrošniške ikonografije, sem vključil tudi kritiko upodobitve. Oddaljil sem se od trditev, da graditelji posredujejo ikonografijo na slepo in odsevajo neoliberalne politike, izražene v zgodnji postmoderni kritiki brezprostorskosti (Relph 1976; Augé 1995; Baudrillard 1989). Opiral sem se na razlage vlog graditeljev kot so prikazane v živih izrazih fasad. Moja interpretacija temelji na razumevanju teleologije kulture delavskega razreda in funkcij fasad v vizualni komunikaciji. V primerjavi z modernistično visoko kulturo (katere namen je bil ta, da uči, kritizira ali preobrazi – povedano drugače, da »reši svet«), služi kultura delavskega razreda udobju, razvedrilu in igri. Na tej točki sem se opiral na »udobje stvari« Daniela Millerja (Miller 2008) v navezavi na potrošniško ikonografijo z občutkom za udobje. Potrošniško ikonografijo lahko navdahne masovna produkcija in kulturna industrija, vendar njen končni učinek ni kapitalistično zasužnjevanje potrošnika. Bolj pomembno je, da ločeno omenjamo ikonografijo in navadno (konvencionalno) hišno dekoracijo s stimuliranjem novih stilov.

Podobno vprašanje se dotika tudi obstoja obcestne pokrajine kot kulture. Je obcestna pokrajina v Bosni in Hercegovini rezultat prekinjenih neoliberalnih reform, ki sicer odpirajo meje za proizvode, vendar se dostop do njih za ljudi omejuje? Ali te pokrajine odražajo naraščajočo medsebojno povezanost na globalni ravni? Opiral sem se mobilnost Urrya in Shellerja (2006) in ugotovil, da se v nesorazmerni rasti sistema mobilnosti in dostopnosti, kot sem to opazil v Bosni in Hercegovini, oblikuje premični pogled mimo vozečih se ljudi na oblike hiš, ki pa se še posebej osredotočajo na njihove sprednje fasade. Mobilnost sama pa ne more popolnoma razložiti intenzivnost izraza, zato sem vključil tudi severnoameriške študije kulturne pokrajine (Jackson 1984) in vizualne komunikacije na cesti (A. F. Wood 2009). Moja trditev je, da ljudje na cestah v Bosni in Hercegovini, podobno kot v šestdesetih letih v ZDA, doživljajo razdaljo in zunanjost preko obcestnih fasad. Pri neformalni gradnji se v socializmu dekorativni izrazi in odprte navezave hišnih fasad pojavljajo samo v vaseh *gastrabejterjev* v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja in na poceni turističnih stavbah na jadranski obali. V postsocialističnem kontekstu so širše prisotni zaradi zavedanja graditeljev, da obstaja premični pogled, ki so mu skušali ugajati. Dejstvo, da se podobe hiš množijo in se o njih razpravlja v spletnih oddajah kaže, da v resnici gre za odziv z druge strani.

Obcestna vernakularna arhitektura in njena pokrajina pokažeta zanimivo točko v razvoju komunikacijskih tehnologij. Tukaj se opiram na kritiko Walterja Onga (1982) o Bernsterinovi razlagi omejenih in zapletenih kod v komunikaciji (1971) ter odnosu teh kod do razreda skozi razločevanje med ustno in pisno komunikacijsko tehnologijo. Formalno arhitekturo sem razumel kot pisno tehnologijo, neformalno obcestno gradnjo pa kot ustno tehnologijo – podobno Levi-Straussovemu konceptu brikolaža (1966, 22–31). Vendar pa v tej disertaciji ne gre za to, kako je ustno posredovana vsebina (fasade kot brikolaži) zamenjana z bolj naprednimi pisnimi tehnologijami formalne arhitekture. Namesto tega disertacija raziskuje, na kak način to posredovanje obstaja paralelno in kako ga uporabljajo različne družbene skupine (različna razredna ozadja). Pri tem sem se opiral na Ongovo idejo o rastoči pomembnosti medijev v ustvarjanju in posredovanju vsebin kot sekundarne ustnosti (1981, 133–34), čeprav je Ong pustil pomemben prostor za interpretacijo tega koncepta. V tem smislu se ne poglabljam toliko v postmodernistično arhitekturo kot formalno arhitekturo, temveč raziskujem odprto navezavo v potrošniški ikonografiji obcestnih brikolažev na postmodernistično kulturno obliko. Odprta navezava obcestnih brikolažev je zanimiva tako kot ustna komunikacija kulture delavskega razreda kot tudi sekundarne oralnosti obcestne prisotnosti na spletu. Na te načine lahko nove ustne kulturne oblike zaobidejo institucije visoke, elitne kulture ali uradnega posredovanja in še vedno posredujejo novo hibridno tradicijo. Pri obcestni gradnji ne gre za zavračanje strokovne arhitekture. Gre za sprejemanje Youtuba in platform za deljenje fotografij, ki se prepleta s pisnim in ustnim jezikom raztrgane ikonske signature.