bridging the bullevar

Transforming the former frontline in Mostar (Bosnia & Herzegovina), by using the existing network of public space in the city

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Master graduation thesis
TU Delft
Faculty of Architecture
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bridging the
bulevar

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Keywords
Mostar, Bulevar, Bosnia & Herzegovina, centre, socio-spatial patterns, public space, post-war, frontline, divided society, culture of city
“Everywhere there is something to overcome or to bridge: disorder, death, meaninglessness. Everything is a transition, a bridge whose ends are lost in infinity, beside which all the bridges of this earth are only children’s toys, pale symbols. And all our hopes lie on the other side.”

Ivo Andric
author, Nobel Prize winner for Literature
Figure 0.1
The city of Mostar.
Source: Mostar Panorama, 2013
Mostar has fantastic qualities that take it far beyond its status as capital of the Herzegovina region in Bosnia & Herzegovina. People from around the globe know and visit this small scaled city that has a place in the UNESCO list as world heritage. However, this is one side of the story. The city is also known by the post-war situation that is facing a socio-spatial segregation. Its damaged urban fabric and more interesting divided society is still recognizable as consequence of the war during the nineties. The former frontline - The Bulevar - is the spatial consequence of this problem. This thesis face the division of Mostar and is in search to translate it into spatial conditions. The proposed new City Plan for Mostar in this thesis is a response to how we can meet these challenges and develop a structure that creates conditions to bridge the problems.

Hereby, I present my graduation project 'Bridging the Bulevar', that is a part of the master Urbanism at the faculty of Architecture at the Delft University of Technology. It is supervised by Maurice Harteveld, member of the chair of Urban Design and Birgit Hausleitner, member of the chair of Urban Design (Theory and Methods). I would like to thank them for their great support and guidance during my graduation project.

Beside my official graduation mentors I would like to thank my external advisor for this project, Senada Demirovic, who works as senior advisor at the City of Mostar. Her great effort to find material and support my work made it possible to get the project this far.

Tülay Zivali
Delft, 2013
This thesis contains the research and results of the graduation project ‘Bridging the Bulevar’. It is divided into four parts.

PART A (the thesis plan) introduces the project. It describes the problem field, underpinning what problem occurs in the city. It outlines the problem on the specific topic of the post-war city of Mostar in Bosnia & Herzegovina and relevant subjects to solve this problem within the graduation project. Mostar is nowadays a divided post-war city. The causes and consequences will be explained in this chapter. The next chapters are explaining the main objectives and goals of the project and the research questions.

More important is to know how to reach the answer of the question, therefore several sub questions are set up and the methodology that will be used to answer them is explained. This project contains theoretical as well as practical methods. The last part discusses the relevance and disciplines of the project, socially as well as scientifically. Important is what shall provide new activities to take place and for new active urban life to emerge in the city centre.

PART B contains the research part. Here, the research questions will be answered with historical background and today’s situation, framed both from literature review, fieldwork and mapping. It starts with a general analysis of the city to understand the following chapters that are based on data mapping of the movement of people in the city. This information is gained with doing interviews. Out of this data successfull spots are presented to describe the value of public space in the city. Qualities and design patterns based on these qualities are presented in form of a pattern catalogue.

PART C presents a design proposal in form of a City Plan that follows the framework, which comes out of the research part. The City Plan of Mostar is a new organization of local public space related to current trends of users. The interventions in the proposal are based on the patterns collected in the pattern catalogue.

PART D

After the project is finished there is given some conclusion and recommendations to summarize, reflect and criticize the content and methodology of the project. These chapters outline what the following steps can be to broaden the City Plan and the research on cities that are dealing with divided societies and conflict management such as Mostar.
# Preface

## Thesis Structure

## Part A Introduction

### 1 Introduction
- 1.1 Problem field
- 1.2 Field of objectives

### 2 Research Questions
- 2.1 Research questions
- 2.2 Scope and research area

### 3 Methodology
- 3.1 City review
- 3.2 Desk research on the case
- 3.3 On site research

### 4 Relevance & Disciplines
- 4.1 Societal relevance
- 4.2 Scientific relevance
- 4.3 Involved disciplines

## Part B Research

### 5 What Causes the Division in the City? [RQ 1]
- 5.1 Division after war
- 5.2 Political division
- 5.3 Spatial division
- 5.4 Social division
- 5.5 Methodological division / division in interpretation of the city
- 5.6 Changing societies

### 6 What Are the Use Patterns of the City? [RQ 2]
- 6.1 Project location: Mostar City
- 6.2 Division vs Connection
- 6.3 Interviews
- 6.4 Results and conclusion
7 WHAT DOES PUBLIC SPACE MEAN IN MOSTAR AND WHICH URBAN DESIGN PATTERNS ARE ESSENTIAL TO CREATE THESE PUBLIC SPACES? [RQ 3]  76
7.1 Introduction  76
7.2 Watching places  76
7.3 Defining good public spaces  77
7.4 Rating social performance  78
7.5 Quality criteria for successful places  78
7.6 Successful spots in Mostar  81
7.7 Conclusion  120

8 INTERVENTION PATTERNS  123
8.1 Patterns as design principles  123

9 RQ4: HOW CAN THESE PATTERNS BEEN TRANSLATED INTO A DESIGN TO BRIDGE THE DIVISION LINE? [RQ 4]  197
9.1 Challenges and vision for the city plan of Mostar  198
9.2 Connection Lightrail Network  202
9.3 Layer of Spheres  208
9.4 Layer of Strategic Nodes  235

10 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS  241

11 RECOMMENDATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH  246

12 REFLECTION
12.1 Reflection on the process  247
12.2 Reflection on the project  247
12.3 Reflection on the context  248
12.4 Reflection on the methods  248

REFERENCES
This part of the report introduces the graduation project. In this part, the subject is introduced by stating the problem and the aims of the project. The research area is determined and the societal and scientific relevance is pointed out.

The aim of the research is to focus on specific topics within the post-war city of Mostar related to public space. It answers the sub research questions, supported by theoretical analysis (literature) and practical analysis (observations and data collection within the city).
1 Introduction

1.1 Problem field

The international planners and architects refer contested as well as divided cities to the multiple opposing claims to territory. This phenomena can happen on many scales, between countries, regions, cities, and on the smallest scale between communities. Following Calame & Charlesworth (2009, p. 2) Mostar can be seen as divided city. They are introducing in their book as follows:

"Partitioned cities act as a warning beacon for all cities where intercommunal rivalry threatens normal urban functioning and security. Every city contains ethnic fault-lines or boundaries that give shape to "good" and "bad" neighborhoods and lend local meaning to "the other side of the tracks."

The war in former Yugoslavia has been over since 15 years, but in a lot of cities and communities the consequences of this time are still remarkable; not only by observing the condition of buildings or spaces, but also in the way the society has developed in these cities. One of them is Mostar. The situation before war, several ethnic groups lived closely together (Calame & Charlesworth 2009, p. 107-108). By changing of these ethnic relationships during and after war, the use of the city also has changed.

Mostar (Bosnia and Herzegovina), the fifth largest city in Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of the most cosmopolitan and valuable cities of former Yugoslavia, containing a very mixed and intermingled population. In the case of Mostar the separation is worldwide known by the destruction of the Old Bridge in 1993 in the inner city which connected the western, more Croat part and the eastern part, mainly Muslim. The hope was that the rebuilding in 2004 will encourage the definition of a new common identity of the city, social as well as spatial. Due to this development the city became continuously attractive for tourists again. Since 2005, the bridge stands on the World Heritage List of UNESCO. But is the Mostar back to its earlier values?

There is been a lot developed the past years. The reason that the status of the city and especially the spots that are reconstructed is not very clear is because of a very complex politic system behind it with some illegal developments and a discontinuation of progress. Figure 1.1 shows an article in a newspaper about the rebuilding of the bridge. By reading it, you can feel the unsureness about the rebuilding of the city after war.
“(...) The beginning of rebuilding on Monday was billed as a milestone of ethnic reconciliation, but few Croats were on hand to watch Hungarian NATO troops manoeuvre a Heath Robinson-type barge beneath the bridge’s foundations, doing their work under the gaze of Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic. (...) There was widespread surprise when the Croatian representative on Bosnia’s State presidency, Kresimir Zubak, turned up for the ceremony. The Croatian general who destroyed the bridge with a barrage of grenade and tank fire, Slobodan Praljak, said at the weekend he would do so again if necessary (...)

Despite post-war attempts to revive the multicultural city (Bosnia and Herzegovina was declared by the Dayton Agreements (1995) a multicultural state and Mostar was highlighted as one of the few mixed Bosnian municipalities. The urban space of the city is not shared by the differing communities as before war. Senada Demirovic (senior advisor in urban planning in the City of Mostar) explains in a related conference (Potter, 2011) that the city is now fragmented and polarised by the two biggest ethnic groups; Croats and Bosniacs.*

*Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina are ethnic Croats living in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their mother tongue is Croatian, and most identify as Roman Catholic, though there is a small minority of atheist Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They are the third most populous ethnic group in the country, after the Bosniacs and Serbs. The Bosniacs are a South Slavic ethnic group, living mainly in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosniacs are typically characterized by their historic tie to the Bosnian historical region, traditional adherence to Islam since the 15th and 16th centuries, common culture and language. Bosniac has replaced Muslim as an official ethnic term in part to avoid confusion with the religious term Muslim, an adherent of Islam.


Source: Senada Demirovic, 2012
Figure 1.2
The case deals on the one hand with public space and on the other hand with a divided society.
Source: G. Peress, 1993
Several places in the city are used as frontlines and division zones during the war. When talking about the spatial division, we can mark some spots in Mostar were this division, it is still remarkable at some places. One of them is the Bulevar, the largest and most important avenue in the city that functioned as a border between the new and old part of the city. It is a road about two kilometers long parallel to the Neretva River and the highway in the east of the city. The Bulevar runs through the heart of the city, from north to south. It is an important road, not only because it is central, but it is also leading to several public spaces like to the bridges and the Rondo, a central square with a necessary history for the city. During the war, the Bulevar used to be the frontline between Bosnian and Croats. In Austro-Hungarian times the current Bulevar was the line of the railroad tracks leading to the station. ‘The tracks separated the city from the new garden extension to the west that was the provinces of the Austrians.’ (Plunz et al. 1998 p.14) Years later, during the Bosnian war, fighting broke out among the former allies, with the Croats aiming to cleanse the city of the Muslims. As the Muslims resisted, they were driven out of west Mostar into the areas east of the Bulevar, which became a ‘divided city’ (Suri, 2012 p.5).
The buildings are slowly but surely rebuild to their former state. The street has recovered somewhat from its past but, there are still bombed, shelled and abandoned buildings along this busy road. So, along this Bulevar and next to it are the signs from the war very visible caused by still remaining damaged houses or spontaneous grave yards in between of collective housing. On the westside from the Bulevar the streets and public spaces are usually not visited by any tourists while there are places to visit. In public mind the Bulevar seems to have still the image of being the old frontline, which perceived like a danger zone.

"First, it was a physical war division line, a front line, and now, it is not a border in a physical sense but is a border in a psychological sense. It is a psychological barrier: something which is always in one's mind. In other words, each crossing of the Bulevar refreshes one's memory."

(Calame & Charleswood 2009, p.117).

Like mentioned before, there is been a lot of reconstructions at this street, but the character has changed in years and the image is still not clear. This causes a 'non-used area' in the way that there is no interaction with other places and no crossing from west to east and vice versa. We have to try to step out from it and idea and identify the city not only with its 'bridge/UNESCO bubble'.

So, the actual difference between a kind of funfair zone in the east and the zone of the former frontline in the west exists next to each other in a way of two parallel worlds. Crossing of interaction does not take place. The question is in which way this 'parallel city' is being realized by the locals and also the tourists. Is it possible to make this parallel city clear and to show on maps where the physical of mentally border is drawn? What is the role of the Bulevar in this story?

Secondly, during and directly after the wartime an organized and structured city planning was not possible. Very spontaneously the space was claimed by people and functions. For example the usage of the public space (for example parks of another green open space for burying people) is nowadays also for inhabitants and visitors. Not only because of the strange urban context the situation is difficult, also because this space is actual needed for usual activities, for example sitting outside of playing in a park. The city park hasn't escaped unscathed. This little slice of greenery, visible from the main street for pedestrians, was turned into a final resting place in 1993 when the dead needed a place. This lead to an upgraded area, true, but without any context or link with the city. So, the change of the use of public space is essential for the renewal of the city.
1.2 Field of objectives

The field of objectives for the Mostar-case is twofold. On one hand it is about developing a design, focused on a divided city. Secondly, it will contribute at the body of knowledge, focused on the regeneration of postwar cities by using public space. This graduation project will contribute to this body of knowledge on a specific location with specific aspects and actors. However, some of the applicable tools and strategies can be used in different projects in divided or post-war cities. These cities have certain common underground.

1.2.1 Design instrument

The main objective of this thesis is to develop certain tools and strategies that can help to improve and upgrade the public space in this post-war city. The design instruments should provide the conditions that correspond to the current needs of the users of the public space.

From this starting point the project focused on the city of Mostar in order to activate the Bulevar by using the spaces around this road. The projects aims the activation of the divided halves of the city and use the Bulevar as a catalyst by using the already existing public space and connect these with this road. So, in this project we will attempt to activate the existing qualities and create new qualities at the Bulevar and give this area back to the city as a central road within the city, that will used as it has to be used. In order to do so, we will use the existing network of public space within the city and add the Bulevar to this layer.

1.2.2 Contribution on the existing body of knowledge

Another objective of this graduation project is to contribute to the body of knowledge on regeneration of post-war cities. There is a need to understand the urban environment as a whole, focused on public space. To make urban environment for post-war cities it should correspond to the needs of the users of the city. Post-war cities have a tendency to be reconstructed as quickly as possible. This goes together without thinking about current and future trends. So, it is important to react also on the current needs that will influence these trends. Of course, many aspects is playing a role by a reconstruction of a post-war area, like politics, finance etc. The knowledge for the planning and design of urban environment is available; however, it is difficult for planners and designers to fully grasp this body of knowledge. This is because of the sensitivity of the situation and the unique aspects of each post-war city.

Thus the city emerges as a potential space for intergroup contact and interdependence that may generate tolerance, progressiveness and creativity that may be conducive to peacebuilding. On the other hand, the closeness of the urban space keeps conflicting communities in the same everyday, transforming them into ‘intimate enemies’ thus having a potentially destructive role in peacebuilding (Bollens, 2012). The urban space is consequently Janus-faced, complex, and may facilitate or obstruct transitions towards peace.
2 Research questions

2.1 Research questions

The main design objective is to give the Bulevar back to the city and unite both parts of the city. By only searching for answers to the questions, there can be no problem solved. Two issues are summarizing my thoughts. The first one is linked to public spaces in the centre of the city centre and the second one is the “visibility” of the division line in the city. What means the division, in which context, by with factors and actors is this division between the two parts?

Secondly, this topic is focused on the change of meanings and practices related to the sites of everyday life. Based on the sub questions that are related with the topic we will understand the existing body of knowledge. We will be able to think and act according to the trends of post-war areas and the change of use by people. Besides this theoretical framework, the practice will also add value to these questions. The design therefore will be intermingled with the study for answers of the research questions.

2.1.1 Main question

How to create a new layer of public space in the city, by upgrading the existing socio-spatial patterns, to create new conditions to bridge the Bulevar?

2.1.2 Sub questions

Two issues are important. Firstly, the main task is to understand what division means in this context. Secondly, the current use of public place is needed for the investments of the Bulevar and the city itself. To answer the main research question the following sub questions should be answered:

| RQ 1: What causes the division in the city? | Why | Problem based |
| RQ 2: What are the use patterns of the city? | What | Data based |
| RQ 3: What does public space mean in the city and which design patterns are essential to create these public spaces? | What | Context based |
| RQ 4: How can these patterns been translated into a design to bridge the division line? | How | Design based |

Figure 2.1
The research questions are (a) problem based, context based, data based and design based.
2.2 Scope and research area

To understand the Bulevar, we have to look also to several areas, namely the western part, the Old City in the east and the Central district zone between them were the Bulevar is a part of. We will focus on the actual situation of housing and the usage at the road and the different infrastructure in the city and the meaning of the Bulevar within the city. Our main scale will be on the inner city around the river Neretva and the connecting bridges. We want to look at the so called ‘district area’ that is not defined yet in a zoning plan and that has the potential to be a second centre within the centre. The old town is just a part of it.
Figure 2.3: Research area, centre of Mostar
Scale: 1:10000
Source: City of Mostar, 2012
3 Methodology

3.1 City review

3.1.1 General information

- Literature studies
The literature that is available mainly contains current academic and conference papers about analysis of post-war cities and the specific case of Mostar. The purpose of this kind of literature is to review the trends and developments of the city and to let people think about new questions that should be answered to renew the city. The scientific value is good, but these documents provide valuable input for further developments on the city. Also public media is essential as literature, as reflection of society. To understand what the division causes (RQ1), several theories are needed.

Literature is mainly based on Mostar itself. Names as Pasic, Calame, Charleswood, Palmberger, Bollens, Makas and Yarwood are researchers, sociologists and urban planners that did studies on post-war cities in general or specific on Mostar. Adjacent to that general theory on public space will be used as written by Gehl, Suri, Alexander and Whyte.

- Case study review
By reviewing case studies we try to find similarities between these cities and start to explain if there is a general way to implement some strategies and use some tools to upgrade a post-war city. This information could have theoretical input and support for RQ4, by creating design tools and strategies for the specific case of Mostar. First we have to know the importance and transformation of the public space in these area. Particularly in divided and/or postwar cities, this transformation is mainly based on social, demographical and political segregation. This will result in an overview of threads and changes by the processes of transformation and how we can avoid or solve this in later project stages. The research will show if there are similarities between these cities and will help to create a better understanding of improving these cities towards a modern living based on current needs instead of just rebuilding a damaged city. It will be a previous literature work for further investments in the graduation project about the post-war city of Mostar (Bosnia and Herzegovina).

As support, a literature review paper is written during the graduation year. The title of the review paper is: Rebuilding the post-war city - Design tools and strategies related to public space to encourage divided post-war societies. This paper will review the literature regarding to changes on public space in post-war cities of the end of the 20th century. We often say that public space reflect the communities that surround
them; this can be both a good thing, and a bad thing. Therefore, the main focus will be public space and the main question to be answered is how the current state of public space in former post-war cities can be improved and which (design) tools and strategies therefore are needed. Post-war cities are rapidly reconstructed in order to make a livable city for the inhabitants. We can assume that not only by observing the condition of buildings or spaces, but also in the way the society has developed in these cities plays a role. Calame & Charlesworth (2009, p.9) are already introducing this problem; “Partitioned cities act as a warning beacon for all cities where intercommunal rivalry threatens normal urban functioning and security. Every city contains ethnic fault-lines or boundaries that give shape to ‘good’ and ‘bad’ neighborhoods and lend local meaning to “the other side of the tracks.” Typically -in times of reconstruction- there is a lack of urban research. Secondly, the behavior of people is changing, so the use of the city by its inhabitants is also changing.

3.1.2 Workshop NUT

It is hard to get information about the current situation of the city. Most of the data is lost during war and available information is based on the post-war situation. In order to uncover this information an event in form of a workshop is held together with professionals and urban researchers.

New Urban Topologies (NUT) is a project initiated by Färgfabriken – Center for Contemporary Art and Architecture, Stockholm Sweden. The program focuses on countries in which dialogue and discussion about urban planning cannot be taken for granted. It discusses various urban transformations; planning, migration, economic, social, environmental and political which all affect a city’s growth, its urban form and its socio-economic dimensions. The aim of the workshop is to rely on new approaches, urban planning and community engagement to promote transparency and cooperation and expand the range of topics and disciplines related to spatial planning. In the fall of 2010, Färgfabriken organized meetings in Minsk, Belarus and Chisinau, Moldavia. In the fall of 2011, they moved on to Skopje, Macedonia and Alexandria, Egypt. This year, the workshop will be in Mostar. By doing daily workshops and getting lectures from different perspectives we get an overview of what the current situation of the city is. This information will be used for RQ2 and RQ3.

3.2 Desk research on the case

3.2.1 Mapping analysis

Collecting and mapping data, which will reveal the position of the city in demographical, morphological, social, economical etc. issues. Beside existing data (that will be used for RQ1 and RQ2), we will get data from our observations and interviews on the site (that is relevant to answer RQ3 and RQ4). These data will be presented as maps.
3.3 On site research

3.3.1 Observations

By observing the behavior of (generally) pedestrians on public space a lot of information is gained about the urban environment. It will help to examine the obtained knowledge of the reviewed literature. The observations translate the theory into practical and real life examples. It enables to understand the users and the challenges which they have to face moving through the urban environment. Observation is also used to diagnose patterns in the urban environment. For RQ3 it is needed to gain this data with help of the method like the pattern language. We will create and apply the pattern language by observing certain places in the city.

- Quality criteria for public space (PPS)

Street activity and quality are critical for a vital urban life (Gehl et al., 2006). Streets and other public spaces that are linked to these streets has potential to improve the human activity and so the social interaction of them. It is crucial in such a case were human activity and sharing space is sensible, observe the human behavior. To combine this with the pattern language that will be created, observations can be done in public space within the city. The criteria will be used to value the successful spots in the city to determine the meaning of public space in Mostar.

- William Whyte

The focus of the observations will be on pedestrians. Since everyone is a pedestrian, everyone is able to experience urban environments by themselves. So does Whyte. He walked the city streets for more than 16 years. As unobtrusively as possible, he watched people and used time-lapse photography to chart the meanderings of pedestrians. What emerged through his intuitive analysis is an extremely human, often amusing view of what is staggeringly obvious about people’s behavior in public spaces, but seemingly invisible to the inobservant. “What attracts people most, it would appear, is other people” is Whyte (1980, p. 43) notify while talking about users behavior. In this case of the sensibility of gathering of different groups of people, it is crucial to ‘watch these people’. Throughout the progress of the graduation project, more and more knowledge on the topic is gained. This knowledge will be reflected on a daily basis by experiencing the urban environment by own activities.

3.3.2 Interviews

With the use of a touristic map of the city we will ask people on three spots were they come in the city that will be used to answer RQ3. These three spots are the following:

- One spot on a public space at the ‘west side’ (Rondo)
- One spot on a public space at the ‘east side’ (Brace Fejica)
- One spot on the former frontline the Bulevar (Spanish Square)

The aim of the interviews is to determine where people on certain times go unregarded to any information about them. Finally, we will get data about random people on the three spots and will look for overlapping areas within the city where everybody is going and which areas are used by different kind of people. From here, we can determine the ‘successful’ areas and look into detail what is making these areas successful.

As result of this framework, we want to reach the analysis and diagnosis part which will lead towards the design. However all the questions are interlinked at overlap each other, still they need particular information and will give specific input to the graduation project and process. Above, you can find an extension of the overview that is already given in chapter 2.1. It shows how the questions will be answered and in what type of material it will terminate. Also, below you can find a scheme where the questions are put into the categories that will be useful for further research of the project.

3.3.4 Design interventions
- Pattern Language (Christopher Alexander)

The book contains the detailed patterns for towns, neighborhoods, houses, gardens, and rooms. A pattern language is build up by singular patterns. Each pattern describes a problem which occurs over and over again in our environment. A group of patterns forms the basis for the diagnosis, because it translates the conditions for the urban environment of the users into patterns. The theory of Pattern Language will be used to create design instruments specific for the case of Mostar to implement these in the design.

![Figure 3.4 Research questions related to the methodology and use of material.](image-url)
How to create a new layer of public space in the city, by upgrading the existing socio-spatial patterns, to creating new conditions to bridge the Bulevar?

Gain background information, understanding the division line and the causes of the division (RQ 1).

Review the city and gain users data, movement of people and determine the successful places (RQ 2).

Relevant theory study about public space

Set up design criteria

Test the determined successful public space by using the design criteria and give a meaning of public space within this context (RQ 3).

Determine interventions areas and make a design for it by using the design criteria (RQ 4)

Reflection on the work, answer the research question.

Figure 3.5
Scheme of approach of and research questions.
4 Relevance

4.1 Societal relevance

Still, in a 'modern world' in the 21st Century there are places that are in conflict situations. Many cities, worldwide, have become aware of the importance of the post-conflict situation, especially after world wars. Changing of behavior of people and trends effects post-war areas and it is a task to rebuild a city. When we talk about the behavior of people, the main issue what behavior influences is public space. Moreover, the public space will get a dominant role in a city for interaction between different groups.

There are many social activities that take place on such as cities like Mostar and roads like the Bulevar. Normally, a central road through the heart of the city will be used in many ways, however in this case it is a bit different then just modernizing and renewing a city. The fact that this road was a frontline during the war has still effect on the people who use this road, psychologically as well as spatially. We will bring focus on aras that are a part of the city, but not functioning as it have to function.

4.2 Scientific relevance

Development of conflict management in divided cities is crucial for peacebuilding. The addition that this project will bring to the body of knowledge is a research on case studies of post-war areas. The challenge is to understand the relation between the different aspects in public space in the urban environment and how this can contribute to the city in such cities, taking Mostar as case study. We try to understand and develop the post-war cities and elements within these cities. And each post-war city is different than the other because of the difference in social terms. We can say that each project will be unique, but there a certain tools and strategies that can be used and can add value by developing different post-war area.

4.3 Involved disciplines

Disciplines involved in this project are Urban Design.

Studio: Urban Regeneration

Main mentor: Ir M.G.A.D. Harteveld, Chair of Urban Design

Second mentor: Ir Birgit Hausleitner, Chair of Urban Design - Theory and Methods

External advisor: Ir. Senada Demirovic Habibija Urban planning advisor at City of Mostar
**Bridge opens but Mostar remains a divided city**

Though Lord Ashdown has imposed unity on the Bosnian town, Croat and Muslim politicians continue to scheme.

*23/07/2004*

**Bureaucratic divisions create problems citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

Before the war I was proud to be from Mostar,” he says. “Today ashamed I’m part of this. Whenever I go somewhere and tell people that I am from Mostar, just ask me, I live on the east or west coast. Wrong done to me, but it is our reality.”

*25/06/2013*

**Bosnian Court Rules Against Ethnic Segregation In Schools**

A Bosnian court has ruled that the ethnic separation of students in some local schools amounts to discrimination.

*30/04/2012*

**Keep the hate alive**

Troubled water is just what Bishop Peric wants to flow between the Muslim and Christian parts of the sun-dered Herzegovinian capital.

*29/07/2004*

**Politicking paralyzes divided Bosnian town of Mostar**

When an audit uncovered a larger-than-feared hole in the public coffers, the Bosniak members of the council voted last week, without the Croats, for a ‘temporary’ financing measure for the first quarter of 2013 to cover the cracks.

*05/02/2013*
This part of the report contains the research part. The aim of the research is to focus on specific topics within the post-war city related to public space. It answers the research questions 1, 2 and 3, supported by theoretical analysis (literature) and practical analysis (observations and data collecting within the city). These questions are context based and data based.

The sub questions explores the possibility for reactivation of Mostar’s desaturated, damaged urban fabric in the politically, socially and ethnic contested city centre. It will examine the conditions of these buildings, the relation to the public realm in this state, and in what way it could be used in the plan by doing analytical and statistical research.

The final chapter includes a design catalogue with design patterns. These design patterns are based on findings of the previous chapters. This catalogue puts forward design principles for the built environment that can be used for design interventions in order to bridge the Bulevar, mentally but also specially.
5 What causes the division in the city? [RQ 1]

5.1 Division after war

Urban renewal plans need to respond to new conditions and requirements, caused by changes in the population and in social structure (Stouten, 2010). However, the post-war plans on the city of Mostar were solving issues of the pre-war conditions and are not based on the post-war situation. Mentioning that the division is creating a blockage for the city developments, we need to know the real background of this.

Very recently in the newspapers:

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — A bomb blast destroyed a monument to fallen soldiers of Bosnia’s Muslim-dominated wartime army on Monday in the southern town of Mostar, where divisions between ethnic Croats and Muslims still run deep.

Police said an “explosive device” had destroyed the lily-shaped monument in front of Mostar’s city hall in the early hours of Monday morning. Bosnia’s international peace overseer, Valentin Inzko, said he was “appalled” by the attack and appealed for calm. “This violence must not be allowed to spread,” Inzko said in a statement.

Home to around 70,000 people, Mostar saw heavy fighting during Bosnia’s 1992-95 war. Despite Western efforts to encourage reintegration, the town remains largely divided between Bosnian Muslims (Bosniacs) on the east bank of the Neretva river and Croats on the west, where the city hall is located.

No one was injured in the explosion. “Police are investigating the circumstances and hope to locate the perpetrator soon,” Srecko Bosnjak, spokesman for the Mostar police, said.
The monument to the Bosnian army was built last year, next to a memorial in honor of Croat veterans of the conflict. Post-war violence in Mostar has been largely confined to clashes between rival football fans, but political leaders continue to resist the efforts of Western overseers to unify the town. Each community has its own utility services, electricity provider and education system. Ethnic politicking has paralyzed the town more than once, and in October last year Mostar was the only town in Bosnia where local elections were postponed due to a dispute over how to hold the vote.
So, the reason that the city hall is not in use on the Bulevar is purely based on the monuments in front of the building. The tension between the groups are big. The Croats are not appreciating the monument made in honour of the Bosnian Army and the Bosniacs are not appreciationg the monument made in honour of the Croat defenders. This, and examples like this can simple cause empty and undeveloped areas. Gaffikin & Morrisey (2011) confirm that there are several conflicts. The division is caused by several aspects that are all related to each other and effect each other.

Political division
The reason behind the conflict is political. The ideologies of a government can impose a certain manner of thinking or division amongst its inhabitants, forcibly creating different classes and spatially dividing their own city.

Spatial division
First there will be a description about the former front-line and then we distinguish the term division into several types of division and look what they contribute to the physical separation. Morphological set up of the city makes it possible to understand the spatial aspect of division.

Social division
Starting with the ethnic division, several aspects linked to this, demography and socio-economy will be discussed in this part. Ethnic conflict refers to the differences in culture and religion between communities. This is often not directly related to politics, but permeates it. The small scale at which it takes place (intra-community) gives it higher chances of erupting in violence. Inhabitants are personally confronted with it daily. The increased polarization of rich and poor in contemporary society is only increasing. Gated communities, ghettos, slums, and global economic processes continue to sustain this division. The southern hemisphere is experiencing the highest need to address this issue, as here the contrast between rich city and poor slums is extreme.

Methodological division
Ideas about how the city can be seen and how the city functions is divided. Different interpretations about the meaning of the city is explained.
5.2 Political division

Today’s Bosnia and Herzegovinian political system

Today, Bosnia and Herzegovina, a member of the United Nations since 1992, is one of the states that have emerged from the dissolution of Yugoslavia. It is a sovereign and independent state made up of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and the Serbian Republic. Only the District of Brcko does not belong to either of these two entities and is a small entity in the north of the country. The Bosnian Federation and the Serbian Republic have their own political system with party leaders and governmental orders. Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina has the government, jurisdiction and responsibility which are not within the exclusive jurisdiction in the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mostar’s politics

In the post-war period (just after war) with the Dayton peace agreement Mostar was divided into six municipalities and the District area till 2004. The six municipalities were divided into three with majority Bosniacs (Bosnian muslims) and three with majority Croat population. The six municipalities were self-governed entities and responsible for all issues which need to be regulated within the municipal competence, thus resulting in the development of parallel management plans (often in conflict and in significant wastes of resource). This complex administrative framework at Mostar generated many difficulties in the post-conflict urban planning, especially in the field of environmental management.

It was just district area that was an element where urban unification supposed to start. There was a proposal of a Masterplan for this area, unfortunately it was never adopted because of the conflicts between the municipalities (with focus on the division).

The city had for long years two mayors. In 2004 the Office of the High Representative (OHR) abolished the six municipalities in favour of one municipality for Mostar and imposed a new political framework to ensure a more democratic system of governance. It was based on complex power-sharing system between Bosniacs and Croats aiming to reunite the city. These power-sharing mechanisms were based on the pre-war census of 1991 and included election regulations for:
- the city council,
- indirect election of the mayor of Mostar,
- and the principle that public servants were to be appointed according to ethno-national proportions.

With this, most executive powers in Mostar were transferred to the strengthened city council, which basically forced the ethnic parties to work together for the first time since before war (OHR, 2004).

However, the imposed power-sharing framework did not manage to mediate the conflict and did not help transforming the two ethnocracies into one shared yet paralysed political system due to an abundance of
vetoes and political stalemates (Rafitbegovic 2011). A clear example at this point is the 16 failed attempts to elect a mayor after the 2008 elections, which forced the OHR once again to intervene.

Nowadays, predominately in the city, the HDZ represents the Croat community and the SDA represents the Bosniac community (Scotto, 2004 p.106). Both parties have their origins in the early 1990s and had been active during the war. They are legitimate political forces even though their war time histories have not yet been reconciled. The parties connections to war veterans and war criminals as well as to the powerful elites from war times is or was tight (Schmidt, 2004 p.3). Even though they have undergone a major shift away from radical positions to more democratic positions, the orientation and the electorate are ethno-national.

So, at the present, the city has been unified in order to ensure more efficiency in the urban management and to promote the integration of the ethnic groups. However, all parallelism has not been overcome yet. The political tensions still overlap with ethnic divisions, and the dominant political parties are still mono-ethnic and operate in an ethnified discourse that depicts the Bosniacs and Croats as ‘enemies’.

Figure 5.8
The Croatian party in Mostar, HDZ.
Source: author, 2012

Figure 5.9
The Bosniac party in Mostar, SDA.
Source: author, 2012

Figure 5.10
‘To je To: Novi Most u Mostaru’
That’s That: The New Bridge in Mostar
Source: Đoko Ninković, 2003
5.3 Spatial division

Bulevar as the frontline

The two km long Bulevar (nowadays named 'Bulevar Narodne Revolucije') was Mostar’s major traffic artery since the turn of the 20th century and served as an informal threshold between old and new sectors of the city. Though few architectural landmarks of any artistic significance could be found along its length, thousands of Mostar’s prewar residents - of all ethnicities - lived in the buildings along this boulevard, drove its length through town, and routinely crossed it on their way to work, home and entertainment (Calame & Charleswood).

As previously mentioned, the dividing line that split Mostar into eastern and western sections was clearly demarcated: the Austro-Hungarian Boulevard, lined with unremarkable apartment complexes and institutional buildings. After a very pre-industrialized Ottoman period, the Austro-Hungarians also revived the
economic fortunes of the town by initiating industrial production in Mostar. Industrial zones were created to the north-west of the city, and a new railway line connected the inner city to these (Yarwood 1999; Pašić Pašić 2004). At that time the present-day Bulevar was the line of the railroad tracks leading to the station. According to Plunz et al. (1998), “The tracks separated the city from the new garden extension to the west that was the province of the Austrians” (p.14). 10,000 Austrian officials formed a new social group in the city. In March 1992, local Serbs organised the blockade of Mostar’s railway. So it was reasonable that the division line during the war was on the Bulevar itself.

The political division resulted in a physical division of the city into two parts; a predominantly Muslim, mainly one on the eastern side of the Neretva, composed of the three municipalities North, Old Town and Southeast and the predominantly Croat part on the west side of the Bulevar encompassing the three municipalities South, Southwest and West. Besides, a small so called Central Zone (District area) where the
The fault line separating east and west is the main road that cuts through the city from north to south. There are few buildings of any architectural significance but it is an essential piece of the fabric that dictates everyday life in Mostar. ‘Despite the self-evident functional, metaphorical and political significance of the Bulevar, it was consistently passed over as a project site by foreign donors more attracted to the tragic aura of the historic core’ (Calame & Pasic, 2009).
Former City Hall is empty, not in use because of political issues.

Jubilee primary school built in 1902, currently reconstructed to its original form and use.

Residential buildings of east Mostar remains as they were prior to the war. Although damaged they are habitable.

The site of the proposed synagogue remains an empty plot filled with just a porter cabin as a make shift sacred space.
After war the Hungarian Bulevar Narodne Revolucije (Boulevard of the People's Revolution) which for the Croats became Bulevar Hrvatskih branitelja (“Croatian defenders”). Thus the Boulevard once named after the People’s Revolution was renamed in honour of the Croat defenders who 50 years later fought for the Croat national independence. (Palmberger) And for the Bosniacs it became simply Bulevar, as it was actually called in everyday conversations, and still is.

Senada Demirovic (senior city advisor - city of Mostar) explains that even after the war the route still marks a barrier between the two societies. The four lane carriageway was constructed in the 1960’s and whilst it was a barrier to the movement of people pre-war, it is now even more of a barrier post-war as it acts as division in the city – creating two territories on either side and a bleak landscape between(Place blog).

Figure 5.15. Redevelopment of the Bulevar with support of the Dutch government. Started in 2000 till present. Source: author, 2012
In general there can be said that the west side of the Bulevar has morphologically a different character than the east side. To understand this, we should go back to the formation of the city during time. The old core is in the east side and the west side is an extension of this centre during time.

Through history it is always been a strategic line in the city. After the growing economy during the Ottoman occupation, Austro-Hungarians also revived the economic fortunes of the town by initializing industrial production in Mostar. Industrial zones were created to the north-west of the city and a new railway line connected the innercity to these (Yarwood 1999; Pasic 2004). The railtrack was on the Bulevar itself at that time.

Settlement to 1488 (beginning of the Turkish occupation) and development to 1475 (first mentioning of the town in Turkish documents).

Development to 1588 (building of the Old Bridge).

Development to 1620.

Developments to 1700.

Developments to 1878 (end of the Turkish occupation).

Developments to 1918 (end of Austro-Hungarian occupation). City grew towards west of the former frontline.

Developments to 1997.

Figure 5.16
Spatial development of the city.
5.4 Social division

Ethnicity

Since before war, many maps proposed to create alliances in form of cantons within the country. Although ethnic distribution did not matter in the proposals. The three cities Banja Luka, Sarajevo and Mostar are each unofficially attributed to one of the three constituent people in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Palmberger). The association of the Banja Luka region as a mainly Serb-dominated canton, the Tuzla and especially Sarajevo regions as predominantly Muslim cantons, makes the region of Mostar as a Croat-dominated canton. This is one of the reasons why the Croat ethnicity in Mostar has tensions to own the city.

In Mostar, the number of Serbs dropped drastically to less than 5% and Croats made up the largest group, outnumbering Bosniacs who had been more numerous before the war (Sommers 2004).

Lost identity of mixed marriages

Interethnic marriage is an institution between members of different ethnic backgrounds (Bosniak, Croat, Serb, Roma, etc) which is established in BH, a multiethnic country consisting of three main ethnic groups. Mostar was used to be (as before war) the city with the highest number of ‘mixed’ marriages. In the city interethnic marriages where a straightforward and positive message that is sent to the society. Perišić (2012) believes that war crimes and establishment of new value systems, in order to legitimize those crimes, had a crucial role in today’s perception of “mixed” marriages.
The fragmentation of country, political instability, segregated schooling system and religious interference could show that persons involved in interethnic marriages are humiliated and socially excluded from society.

Post-war refugee movement

4,670 Croats moved from east to west in 1995. In the same year, 3,763 Bosniacs moved from west to east. Besides that, 25,000 people left Mostar at all as refugees. In the direct aftermath of the war, resettling refugees and internally displaced persons as frontier populations became a tool to dilute the shared Mostarian identity and reinforce the ethnic identity, to colonise urban space and foster confrontation and to ensure territorial control (Federal Statistics Office, 2013).

After the break of ex-Yugoslavia the people who called themselves 'Yugoslavian' had to change their nationality. Still, people who moved from Bosnia and Herzegovina to other countries and did not go back call themselves 'Yugoslavian'.

Figure 5.21
The post-war refugee movement
Source: provided by Federal Statistics Office, 2013
Socio-economics: A shift from socialism to a market economy

Mostar’s current socio-economic development undergoes several processes. There is the shift from socialism to a market economy and from war to peace. Consequently, there is the postponed transition from a socialist to a market economy and the process of conflict recovery.

The Bulevar was not only the largest and most important avenue in the city, but it is also provided a corridor for economic growth, because it is more accessible to vehicles than the narrow and winding streets of the medieval Ottoman neighbourhoods to the east. Industrial expansion benefited from production methods and management techniques introduced by the Austrians. Railroad tracks appeared along the Bulevar to facilitate street cars and passenger trains from the Dalmatian coast (Calame & Charleswood, 2009, p.106).

Before the war there was investments in tourism, alumina tobacco industries, the famous soko industry and more. Along with timber and coal, attention was also paid to development of vineyards. During the war, the production stopped. After war there was a switch towards tourism and services and the factories in the city closed and moved outside the city.

Prior to the 1991-1995 Bosnian War, Mostar relied on other important companies which had been closed, damaged or downsized. They included SOKO (military aircraft factory), Fabrika duhana Mostar (tobacco industry), and Hepok (food industry). Mostar’s economy relies heavily on the aluminum and metal industry, banking services and telecommunication sector.

The economic development of BiH, where unemployment is at a very high level (the unemployment rate is around 40% of the active population), requires a minimum base of technological research, which the country is presently unable to perform either in public or in private laboratories for lack of resources and manpower. This is without doubt a most severe handicap for the future (Papon and Pejovnik; 2006; 33.)

So basically, two different economies divide the town. The western side is based on trade and industry, while the historic centre in east is based on tourism (Dalessio). As a result of this subdivision, Mostar divided even health care institution, schools, universities, transportation systems, and even municipality infrastructures in the water and waste related sectors (Pyle et al., 1998).

Another important issue is the housing market and the development of residential areas. The transition from the socialist to free market let to the privatisation of nationalised properties, which often resulted in ownerships being disputed in longwinded juridical proceedings which causes a gap in reconstruction of buildings. Illegal construction boom in the post-war period due both this aspect and the lack of strategic planning is the result.
5.5 Methodological division / division in interpretation of the city

The way Mostar is being promoted today allows one kind of reading of the city, and unfortunately, creates a fake image of what it really is: an 'unicultural' image. The selective past (reduced to the Ottoman period), heritage and identity issues and the fragmentation of the city are clear examples of this. The ‘Old Bubble’ represents Mostar to visitors, so they do not see how rich the history of the city is, with different periods, perspectives and ethnicities. And most of the locals cannot cope with this image, because they do not feel it reflects their reality (UN Urbanism). For this part we are reviewing the paper of Makas.

The effect of the war has been a disastrous one, with a huge, expensive bureaucracy that has forced its citizens to maintain separate schools, separate utilities, and separate health care systems. Makas (2006) is talking about the local visions of Mostar’s urban identity and the overlap with international community’s images of the city. She examines who is advocating these often contradictory postwar visions of Mostar and the rationales behind them, as well as links these new civic identities to specific building projects and physical changes within the city. We will look on the four concepts they use -primarily on local visions of Mostar’s post-war identity- to focus on future development.

Croat City
The growing population of the Croats ensures supremacy. The Muslim part is described as a 'ghetto' by maintaining a blockade, economically as well as military. Buildings like churches Jubilee Cross, high buildings, monuments are renovated to show this power. And as remarking this power they great a central zone, the Rondo Square, ‘the square of the great Croats’.

Divided city
During the war 90% of the centre was shelled and 1/3 of the buildings were destroyed. This has consequences for various topics, especially the political, demographical and psychological division. Geographically the city was separated in two and the Bulevar was the borderline. The Western part of the city Western part of the Croats, Eastern part of the Bosnian. Though each 'side' was composed of three separate municipal units, they often acted in unison, and the three Croat Majority municipalities even signed a formal agreement of inter-cooperation. In practice this meant the continuation of a Croat west Mostar and a Muslim east Mostar, and a city as divided as Cold War Berlin, with as clearly demarcated ‘sides’. The central zone was a place where it was forbidden to renovate buildings that belong to one particularly groups. Examples of these buildings are the Catholic Cathedral, the Old Synagogue of Mostar and the Croatian National Theatre.
Two Cities
Different from the idea of ‘divided’, the city can be explained as two different cities. A divided city is unnatural and presumably temporary, but viewing east and west Mostar as two separate cities in the immediate postwar period implied the situations irreversibility and an acceptance of the status quo, whether reluctantly or triumphantly. West Mostar was seen as Las Vegas. It had a better starting position for recovery and there were major resources available. East Mostar was like Hiroshima. It was much less damaged and better financial resources. Another main reason is the persistence of parallel institutions.

Model United City
We talked earlier about the importance of the bridge. In 2003 started a reunification with both national and international actors. The idea was to restore the bridge to stimulate the multiculturalism and reconciliation. It has not just been the international community who has advocated Mostar’s continued identity as a multicultural city in the post-war period. Though the overtly separatist projects of Mostar’s Croat community have dominated the city’s skyline and local debates, the New Old Bridge is not the only site in Mostar argued to represent a shared or unified city. A few other locally supported projects have been couched in similarly reconciliatory and multicultural language, including a proposed new Jewish Synagogue and Cultural Centre and a monument to Chinese film star Bruce Lee.
5.6 Changing society

The interpretation of the city helps to define approaches to increase social interaction. The city does not function as one city. The importance to focus at the first place to the background of the divided society in Mostar is not hard to understand. The choice of the Bulevar as division line is strategically logical. Division in society and higher organizations influence the urban setting of the society.

Mostar can be seen as a mix of several interpretations. A model united city that is not finished yet with multiple cores could describe Mostar. The West part of the city is seen as an extension of the old core, while it has a different character. The solution for these urban problems can be found in adopting approaches to increase social interaction related to public space. The next chapters show what role public space has to get those approaches and how that will develop and been implemented.

The cartoon below shows how the war affects Bosnians. Since Yugoslavia was divided into different parts, Bosnia and Herzegovina and other ex-Yugoslavian countries are divided into several nationalities. Armies exists of a mix of these nationalities. During war they could not really be sure if they can really consider themselves as Bosnian Serbs or Serbian Bosnians.

Figure 5.25
Cartoon that tells about questioning of identity: “I forget - are we Bosnian Serbs or Serbian Bosnians?”
Source: Human Condition, 2013
6 What are the use patterns in the city? [RQ 2]

6.1 Project location: Mostar

Mostar is a city that went through a lot of shifts of political leaderships that influences the city in spatial and in social sense. The first document that names the city was written in 1474, only eleven years after the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans. The bridge is at the heart of the town’s identity: Mostar means in fact “bridgekeeper”. Bosnia was added to the Ottoman Empire as a province and ruled by a pasha: an administrator of elevated rank. Following this occupation, Mostar was transformed, in a matter of decades, from a minor river crossing to a thriving colonial crossroads. As Ottoman administrators strove to integrate local inhabitants into their empire and extend their influence, architecture expressed important social and economic changes in Mostar. During the Ottoman period, the Stari Most was built to replace a precarious wooden suspension bridge that had spanned the river. Facilitating travel, trade and the movement of military troops, the Stari Most became a symbol of the benevolence and power of the Ottoman Empire; it insured Mostar’s primacy as the capital of the county of Herzegovina. Mahallas (Ottoman neighbourhoods) developed quickly on both banks of the Neretva during the Ottoman period. One- and two-storey houses were anonymous at the street level but rich and expressive within.

Then, Bosnia was made a crown land of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1878, a move calculated to avoid a Serbian takeover. Though Mostar’s city council aspired to autonomy, it cooperated with the Austro-Hungarians to implement sweeping reforms in city planning: broad avenues and an urban grid were imposed on the western bank of the Neretva, and significant investments were made in infrastructure, communications and housing.

After World War I Mostar’s eastern bank was burdened by inadequate infrastructure, the city expanded on the western bank with the construction of large residential blocks. Commercial buildings in the functionalist style appeared on the historic eastern side of the city as well, replacing more intimate timber constructions that had survived since Ottoman times. In the 1970s and 1980s, a healthy local economy fueled by foreign investment spurred recognition and conservation of the city’s cultural heritage.

This chapter starts with a general analysis about the city to make it possible to understand the findings of the interviews that follows. The analysis exists of green and water structure, land use, roads and nodes, foothpath and cycleways and public interests and active frontages. After this general analysis results of interviews that are held in the centre will be shown.
Green and water structure

The green structure of Mostar is especially noticeable when you view the city from the west hills or the east hills (Podvelezje). You can clearly see that the city is embedded into green hills as suburbs in forest. The hills around the city exist of nature parks and fields where the inhabitants from time to time go to plant vegetables.

Mostar’s long riverline is a great asset for the city’s inhabitants and a key part of its identity. Around 70% the quays are green, and these environments have huge value for the people of Mostar and for flora and fauna. The upper stream of the Neretva is strong and is almost the coldest river water on the world, often as low as 7-8 degrees Celsius in the summer months. Neretva also has some endemic and very delicate, fragile life forms that are almost extinct. On the other hand, the Neretva can be seen as the natural divider in the city.

Before the war, tourists flocked to an elegant city of fine stone buildings and lovely parks.

The parks in Mostar have vanished as well. Every one of them was converted into a cemetery, and almost every gravestone is marked by a single year: 1993. That is why there is no connection between these green structures and they serve themselves. The city parks are fragmented and are not connected with the riverbank. Many buildings are still ruins and look like skeletons with trees and plants growing all over them. The ruins thus provided for many examples of green in the city, but with a very morbid aura around them.

Innerblock green has a different character in west than in east. Semi-private and private gardens in east are for private buildings, while in west residents share building block garden.

When they walked in the area they saw a lot of open spaces – in other words “lost spaces” that can be used at the riverbank.
Figure 6.6
Innerblock greenery: it is a public space that mostly used by the residents of the buildings for which it was primarily designed for.
Source: author, 2012

Figure 6.7
Source: Mostarpanorama, 2013

Figure 6.8
Landscape greenery: Podvelezje: one of the highest areas around Mostar where you can see the whole city.
Source: Visit Mostar, 2013

Figure 6.9
Green and water structure in Mostar.
Scale 1:15000
Land use

Clearly seen is that the core exists of public facilities and towards the suburbs there are areas with only residential purpose. The division in landuse lays in the facilitation of residential areas. The West side is build up in a more mixed environment where every neighbourhood has there own local public facilities within a certain diameter, while in east the public facilities are more centralized. Reason for this is the opbouw van de stad during time, where the Ottoman period was build up with central craftshops and houses that were private. While in the west the extension is more modern in Austro Hungarian time.

Secondly, west Mostar is dominated by a series of mass housing projects built between 1950 and 1990. Many of these buildings survived the war with little damage as the west was drastically less damaged than the east of the city. However, most of the buildings here are covered in bullet holes and cracks.

As the terrain becomes steeper on the east side of the city the dense ottoman city fabric filters out into a suburban/rural environment. The buildings, most of them having been reconstructed by the residents themselves, are made up of various mismatched elements that have been added in a bit-by-bit process of reconstruction. Most of the buildings here have been restored (to a low standard) and are occupied. The ruins that reside further up the steep ground tend to have been abandoned in the years before the war as people moved away form the rural areas and into suburbia.
Figure 6.13
Public activities along the riverbank.
Source: Mostarpanorama, 2013

Figure 6.14
Buildings that are not reconstructed yet and are not in use.
Source: Mostarpanorama, 2013

Figure 6.15
Land use in Mostar.
Scale 1:15000
Network of roads and nodes

Mostar is embedded in hills in west and east. The city is growing towards the north and south direction. That makes the traffic structure parallel to this north-south line and the east-west directions as minor connections. Both in West and East are main roads that connects the local roads to the larger network. The M-17 goes along the hills towards the north direction (Sarajevo) and the south direction (Dubrovnik).

Central nodes are mainly situated in the west part on the city. Those are the main traffic nodes in the city that connects all important traffic roads and users together. Some of them are well organized, like the roundabout on the Rondo, but some are very chaotic. The city has a straight road structure in roads in the west part. Large lanes are connected to the main road and the Bulevar. Same goes for the east part, but the local network exists of small scaled and organic forms in east side.

Due to the structure, car movements are concentrated on the main roads parallel to the river, and traffic in the smaller neighbourhood parts is prevented, ensuring possibilities for social use such as pedestrian movement. Crowded traffic nodes are mainly in west, because of the straight wide main roads that are meeting each other on several points.
Figure 6.19
Tito's street is Mostar's longest street. It spans from the north to the south and is directly connected to all of Mostar’s bridges. On it lies the Bus and rail station, national theatre, Old town and other important facilities.
Source: Visit Mostar, 2013

Figure 6.20
Kralja Tomislava or more known as “avenue”, and it is one of Mostar’s longest streets. It is connected to Bulevar thro Zvonimira street. Here you can find many coffee places and restrauanutes. Near by, you can also find “Dom kulture” and Partizan monument as well as the Rondo shopping mall.
Source: Visit Mostar, 2013

Figure 6.21
The road structure.
Scale 1:15000
Bridges over the Neretva

The bridges over the Neretva can be divided in functioning. The bridges Carinski, Tito and Lucki are serving the larger network of roads in the centre, while the Old bridge and the Bunur bridge are part of the smaller structure of pedestrian paths.

The Carinski Bridge was built in 1917. It was at first built to be a rail bridge but is today one of Mostar’s most trafficked bridges. It connects the train/bus station with the west part of the centre. This bridge rises 54 meters above Neretva and it spans it with two vaults. As all of Mostar’s bridges this one was destroyed in 1992. It was after the war the first bridge to be rebuilt in 1996.

The Tito Bridge (or the Musala Bridge) is Mostar’s second oldest bridge. It was built in 1882 in the name of the Austrian emperor, Franz Joseph. That also came to be the name of the bridge in its early years. Since then the bridge has been called Tito’s bridge (1945-1992), that is until it’s destruction, and since 2002 the bridge is called Musala after the square Musala on the east bank of the river. It is the link between the square and the Spanish Square.

The Bunur Bridge is Mostar’s newest bridge. When built during the war this bridge was the only link between Neretva’s two banks after a time with no connections at all. After the war the bridge was reinforced with steel pillars and got asphalted to live up to the standards of a modern bridge. The bridge is not accessible for cars and is a shortcut between main streets of two neighbourhoods on both sides of the river.

According to the inscriptions in the Old bridge, it was finished in 974 ah. or in 1566 ad. The building of it however started nine years prior. It was built by Mimar Hajrudin, student of the great Turkish architect Sinan. It had been standing for almost 500 years when it in 1993 was blown up in the recent aggression on Bosnia & Herzegovina. In July 2004, eleven years after it’s destruction it rose up again, elegant and beautiful as ever. Today it is the most known picture of Mostar.

The Lucki Bridge was built in 1913 during the Austro-Hungarian period. It is said that it was financed by Mostar’s most known mayor thru all times, Mujaga Komadina. When built this was worlds longest single span bridge. It spaned over Neretva with a length of 72 meters. Like all the other bridges this one was not spared. More exactly when the war began this bridge was the first one to go. 13 Years later this bridge too was restored and now looks exactly the way it once did. The bridge is an important connection to the suburbs and entrance from the south of the city.
Figure 6.25
The Old Bridge.
Source: author, 2011

Figure 6.26
The Lucki Bridge.
Source: Visit Mostar, 2011

Figure 6.27
Bridges over the Neretva.
Scale 1:15000
Footpaths and cycleways

Some paths are just accessible by pedestrians, some are open for cars but no car enters the area and is mainly used by pedestrians and there are lanes that are accessible for cars and pedestrians, like the main roads in the centre. Car free streets are mainly situated in the east part, especially in the Old Town.

None road in Mostar has signs and space for bicycles. There are no special cycle paths reserved in the city or marks on the road available. In this sense we can say that it is not very promoted to ride a bike. However, locals and especially students are interested in cycling, especially in the campus area in the north of our research area. The scale of the city makes it possible to ride a bike. However, there are few roads that are been used by cyclists. These are mainly the large lanes or car roads. The Buna bridge is closed for high traffic. You can see a lot of cyclists on this bridge. The bicycle is not only needed in the city, it is also popular as sports. Especially tourists use the landscape to travel by bike. The hills around the city makes it possible to do this sport on local level (suburbs) but also on regional level (routes towards Konjic).
Figure 6.31
Kujundžiluk is a car free pedestrian zone and one of the oldest parts of Mostar with numerous small crafts shops who enliven the streets with the buzz of their daily activity. You wind along a small, pretty, cobbled street, dating back to the middle of the 16th century, where characteristic crafts shops and traditional restaurants are found.
Source: Visit Mostar, 2013

Figure 6.32
Brace Fejica street is a pedestrian street. It is directly connected to the old town, and is also linked to the Musala square, and Tito’s street- also known as the main street. In this street you can find Karadžozbey-mosue and Biscevica house (turkish house).
Source: Visit Mostar, 2013

Figure 6.33
Footpaths and (possible) cycle paths.
Scale 1:15000
Morphology

Active frontages are mostly public buildings with as purpose to shop or supported facilities. The points are in general recognition points. Readability is not only determined by space in the city but also by buildings and bacons. These are the names that people say if you ask for a route. Picturesque cafés and discotheques came back to life after war along the banks of the Neretva while the apartment buildings along the Bulevar - the city’s real partition line and political fulcrum - remained dark (Calame & Pasic, 2009).

Inactive facades and building are trough all the city. The exist of old ruins from the war and constructions after war that are not finished. Those are private owned as well as in the hands of the government. Divers political reasons as well as the migration of owners makes it possible that those areas cant be developed.

Analysis of the current situation, it was found that in the historical city area objects have the following uses: residential, commercial, utilities, education, hospitality and tourism, public and cultural, administrative and religious. Research shows that the largest number of residential buildings has purposes (54%). The percentage of unused (destroyed) buildings is very high, 17%. Share commercial buildings, craft workshops (stores) and recreational and touristic facilities are 21% (figure 6.34).

Analysis of the current state of the 2009th year, 19% of the buildings is not traditional character or has a negative impact on the environment, while 28% have a negative impact on environment in terms of the degradation of the value of the traditional character of the historic metropolitan area of Mostar. Most facilities have landscape value (37%), authentic character that are consistent with the typology of the surrounding buildings. Compared to research from the 2005th The 13% of the buildings lost to significance, 89% open space is increased impact on the environment, and 3% have a higher architectural significance (figure 6.35).
Figure 6.36
Morphology in the centre.
Scale 1:15000
Public interests and active frontages

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Inactive facades and building are through all the city centre. The exist of old ruines from the war and constructions after war that are not finished. Those are private owned as well as in the hands of the government. Divers political reasons as well as the migration of owners makes it possible that those areas cant be developed.

‘Picturesque cafés and discotheques came back to life along the banks of the Neretva while the apartment buildings along the Boulevard—the city’s real partition line and political fulcrum—remained dark’ (Calame & Pasic, 2009).
Figure 6.40
Hotel Neretva as unactive building on the Musala Square.
Source: author, 2012

Figure 6.41
Ruins along the Bulevar.
Source: author, 2012

Figure 6.42
Ruins of an old synagogue along the Bulevar.
Source: author, 2012

Figure 6.43
Active and unactive frontages in Mostar.
Scale 1:15000
6.2 Division vs Connection

In the current situation, the river works as a green divider in the city. It can be seen as an unique element in the centre. The landscape is fragmented and not connected to each other. Types are forest green, city park, inner block green, sport fields and organic landscape. The traffic structure follows the river direction. There is a strong north-south traffic connection. Three main roads are situated on this direction. The Bulevar is one of them. The east-west connection is less important and less dense in the city.

The pedestrian path is the only structure that has no division. Pedestrianized east-west connections are strong. Bridging the river is possible at five points (from north to south);
- Carinski Bridge: most dense car bridge that leads to the station area,
- Titov Bridge: leads to the Musala Square,
- Bunur Bridge: pedestrianized bridge that is also used by cyclists,
- Stari Bridge: the Old Bridge,
- Lucki Most: dense bridge that is the south entrance of the city for cars.

All bridges have sidewalks for pedestrians. Although the bridges Carinski, Tito and Lucki are serving the larger network of roads in the centre, while the Old bridge and the Bunur bridge are part of the smaller structure of pedestrian paths.

Housing types differ in east from west. Residential buildings in east are small scaled and have private gardens and garages, while in west the housing typology is build up as apartment block with public plinths. This affects the living area of both sides. The east part has residential neighbourhoods separated from public facilities. They have to travel to an area with public facilities, while the west part exists of public facilities within the building or building block.
The steps towards the design task in the following chapters contain for sure the relation and switch between public and private areas. The participants of the interview (that is shown in the next part) are firstly asked how often they seek privacy on the aspects you can see below. This indicates a meaning of public space and the balance between public and private in Mostar and in what kind of environment people prefer to meet with each other. While the participants indicate their houses as private areas, public facilities in town are the place to meet for them.

Figure 6.44
How often do you seek privacy?

20% of the people meet at a cafe
20% of the people meet in a mall
10% of the people meet at a park
40% of the people meet at street or at a square
6.3 Interviews

Although there are no data available regarding the effective usage of public spaces in the city, it is widely acknowledged that the accessibility and openness of these spaces is determined on an ethnic basis. This fact led us to think about a way to engage the population in the discussion about the lost public spaces in the city and to bring public attention to the issue.

We are focusing our analysis on the competing views and competing forces of separation and integration in the postwar Mostar public space. This means primarily to look at the developments and changes of the urban space and at the perception of these changes by the local inhabitants. The aim of the interviews is to determine where people on certain times go unregarded to any information about them. Finally, we will get data about random people on the three spots and will look for overlapping areas within the city where everybody is going and which areas are used by different kind of people. This is been done by asking people to draw their routes on the map we gave them. While they were drawing they were telling about what important notes are to know, like ‘here is my house.‘, ‘this is a very nice cafe...‘. From this, we can determine the ‘successful’ areas and look into detail what is making these areas successful.

Aim of the interviews

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With the use of a touristic map asking people on three spots were they come in the city. These three spots are the following:

- One spot on a public space at the ‘west side’, the Rondo
- One spot on a public space at the ‘east side’, the Brace Fejica Street
- One spot on the former frontline, the Spanish Square
Questions

Question that are asked are:
- Where do you visit daily?
- Where do you visit weekly?
- Where do you visit monthly?
- Where do you visit yearly or once in a while?
- If you would meet a friend, what is your meeting point in the city?

Hypothesis and expectations

We are wondering if it is true that there is a division of the use of the city by people that we capture on one side of the city. We expect that the use of the city is indeed divided and expect that the people in east are using the old part of the city and the west are staying in the west. We do not know the situation on the Spanish Square, but if it is true that the central meeting point is this square, then we would not see a lot of division.

Figure 6.45
Map that is been used during the interviews. The three spots where the interviews are held are marked.
A: the Rondo
B: Spanish Square
C: Brace Fejica street
Source: City of Mostar, 2012
Interviews on the Rondo [West]

The daily use of people are the wide lanes in the west with mixed facilities along them, like shops, cafes and offices. Also the Zrinjavac park is a central area that is been walked during day, especially by eldern. Old people like to walk the whole city as and have a daily route they walk. The east-west connection is created by this group of people and is mainly from the Spanish Square, over the Musala Bridge to the Musala Square and at the old bridge area.

Regular people go to east once a week or once a month. It is basically the old town that they visit. Weekly visits are also towards the northern suburbs and club ART for students and people who go out on weekends.

Monthly movements are mixed. The interviewers go to the suburbs or cities in the region one or two times a year. These are basically in Croatia or the west part of Bosnia & Herzegovina.

Meeting point are the Rondo itself, the Spanish Square and the big mall in the new centre. The Old Bridge is also a meeting point, but with the purpose of meeting, greeting and moving together back to the west. Also, people meet at several corners of the Bulevar.
Interviews on the Spanish Square
[Former frontline]

The whole city is been used by the interviewers. Daily use is in a loop, mainly around the Rondo, the Spanish Square, the Musala Square and the Brace Fejica street towards the Old Town and back to the Rondo. Students and young people are going weekly to club ART in north. The crossings over the Bulevar is on the Spanish Square, the north part over the northern bridge (Carinski Bridge) and the Old Bridge area.

People go once or twice per year to the villages on the hills around the city to their seasonal houses to have holiday or fieldwork to do, for example Podvelezje. They prefer a landscape environment. A visit to the city cemeteries is a yearly event.

The meeting points are the Rondo, the Spanish Square, Mepas Mall, Musala Square and the Old Bridge.
INTERVIEWS ON THE BRACE FEJICA STREET [EAST]

The interviewers stay mainly on the east part. The Brace Fejica Street and the Old Town are the most popular destinations of this area. The shopping streets parallel to the Neretva have local shops for local residents. For weekly shopping, people go to the Mepas Mall on the west or to big malls in the northern and southern suburbs. Another east-west connection is mainly from the Spanish Square, over the Musala Bridge to the Musala Square and at the old bridge area.

Weekly patterns of people exists of going to the suburbs and little villages outside of Mostar, for example on the hills at Podveležje. The mainly go to rest or work on the fields. Students and young people are going weekly to club ART in north.

Mostly, people use during all year the east part.

The meeting points are mixed over west and east and are on the Rondo, the Spanish Square, Mepas Mall, Musala Square and the Old Bridge. Interesting is that people like to meet at the corners of the bridges.
Figure 6.56
Daily use in East.

Figure 6.57
Weekly use in East.

Figure 6.58
Monthly use in East.

Figure 6.59
Yearly use in East.

Figure 6.60
Overview use in East.
Scale 1:15000
6.4 Results and conclusion

Findings on division is not only based on ethnicity

1. All of the people (100%) visit the Old Bridge and the Old Town, at least once in a week.
2. People in west uses the whole city, while the people in the east mostly stays at the east part.
3. The division is not only based on ethnicity, like we expected. The city is spatial very logical build, where the two ‘sides’ have different functions. To read the city as a whole with a centre and an extension is easier to make future plans. So instead of seeing the city as a parted city by ethnicity, we can better call it a divided post-war city with contesting communities.
4. There is a difference in language on the both parts. The west speaks Croatian while in east the language is Bosnian. It is easier to contact people with old Ottoman words and people speak less English in east.

Findings on meeting discovers the culture

1. There is an overlap in meetingpoints of all the interviewers through the whole city. These are the Brace Fejica Street, the Old Bridge, the Rondo, the Musala Square, the Spanish Square and Mepas Mall.
2. On lunchtime people have time to see friends and family, they are meeting each other.
3. People are working the whole day, so spending a lot of time in the same area during the day. Even inbetween they stay at the same area to relax.
4. There is tension to travel by bike through the centre, especially by youth and students that are going to the north campus, but there are simply no bicycle paths and space reserved for bicycles.

On prayertime, especially on the east it is less crowded on streets.

Meetingpoints

1. The Spanish Square is used by 32 of 45, generally a crossroad for people that comes there especially daily and weekly, a cross road instead of special visit. The Spanish Square has become the mark of division. ‘After the war... the square remained a non-place, and clearly stood as a limit for the locals, who did not cross it’. (D’Alessio, 2009) Its neutrality amplifies the segregation that the central zone defines. It is not a square where people spend so much time.
2. Mepas Mall is especially used by the youth and people who are out during the evening. However, the users are mixed and are coming from all over the town.

Figure 6.61
The successfull spots that will be analysed.
7 What does public space mean in Mostar and which urban design patterns are essential to create these public spaces? [RQ3]

7.1 Introduction

Though the findings on city users and their east-west movement is clear, there is still no definition of public space in the context of Mostar. The aim is to set up a conceptual framework for successful public space and use this as a design tool in the project. To answer this question, we need help of a literature study in the field of public space quality linked to social performance. To do this, the determined successful public space from the interviews will be tested on the public space criteria. Out of this research, the important aspects for people related to public space is determined.

7.2 Watching places

Urban space is one of the components of city that forms and transfers during the history of a nation in several periods. Remarkable periods such as the war in Mostar has very crucial influences to urban space. Zoker identify urban space as: “an organize, ornamented and ordering structure like a body for human activities an base on clear and identified rules such as: relation between form and surrounding facade and being similarity or variety of them, proportion of facade to wideness and length of space, the angle of passage or routes that reach to squares and finally the situation and place of historical buildings, waterfronts and fountains or other 3D elements that we can emphasis on them.

Figure 7.1
Men playing chess at the Spanish Square.
Source: Flickr, 2012
Over the years, there has been a split of sorts amongst urban designers over what constitutes urban quality or the sense of place. The writings of Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch, Gordon Cullen and Christopher Alexander became authoritative works for the school of Urban Design.

There are those such as Cullen who place greatest emphasis on physicality - design styles, ornamentation and featuring, the way buildings open out into spaces, gateways, vistas, landmarks and the like. This is the rational objective classical view of urban design. He says that we should connect buildings, trees, water, traffic, advertisement signs and so on with each other in a manner that create a "demonstration of art of city" because city is an exciting happening. If we notice the specialists that a good city need to them, we see that several specialists such as socialists, engineers, traffic specialist and so on all should cooperate with each other in order to gather countless elements to create a sound, functional structure. Cullen knows this as "a great promise in human beings". Then Cullen says that if finally the city looks spiritless and gloomy so this city hasn't answered the requests of people and is a failed experience. So Cullen knows the solution of this problem in enriching the visual sense of people, because according him people percept their environment by visual ability or visual sense.

Jacobs’ Death and Life of Great American Cities (1961) is based largely on behaviour observations that Jacobs made while a resident in New York’s Greenwich Village. Her perspective enabled her to describe empathetically what it is like to live on a street where people look out their windows at passers-by, children play on the sidewalk in view of neighbors and parents., and shopkeepers serve as news outlets and street guardians.

Others such as Alexander or Lynch stress the psychology of place, bound up in the notion of ‘mental maps’ which people use as internal guides to urban places. In doing so, they rely on their senses to tell them whether a place feels safe, comfortable, vibrant, quiet or threatening. According to Lynch if a city have a legibility, Imageability or complete clearance look noticeable, good manner and honorable. This city invites ears and eyes to itself much more. This is the romantic subjective view of urban design. Both are very crucial in this context. So remarking qualities and looking to behaviour are crucial aspects to use in this research.

7.3 Defining good public spaces

But how can we define 'good'? Or more important. What makes these places in the city 'succesfull' places in terms of exchange and interrelating people?

"Culture and climates differ all over the world, but people are the same. They will gathering public if you give them a good place to do it. If activities and people are assembled, individual events will stimulate one another."

Consequently, like Gehl said: “A good city is like a good party: people stay longer than they planned to because they are enjoying themselves” (Bliss, 2010). So, not only do happy people spend more time in the city centre, bringing more vitality and quality to a place they also spend more money which stimulates the urban economy.

In his book ‘Life between buildings: using public space’ he is highlighting the small scale social contact between people in the city, especially pedestrians. Gehl distinguishes between necessary/functional activities, optional/recreational activities and social activities in public spaces. While necessary activities take place regardless of the quality of the physical environment, optional activities depend to a significant degree on what the place has to offer and how it makes people behave and feel about it. The better a place, the more optional activity occurs and the longer necessary activity lasts. Social activity is the fruit of the quality and length of the other types of activities, because it occurs spontaneously when people meet in a particular place. Social activities include children’s play, greetings and conversations, communal activities of various kinds, and simply seeing and hearing other people. Communal spaces in cities and residential areas become meaningful and attractive when all activities of all types occur in combination and feed off each other. Gehl does not zoom in to the techniques used when establishing the small scaled contact. He merely shows the importance for the urban environment, the functionality of these contacts. Gehl, therefore links his research by referring to research conducted by William H. Whyte with the book ‘The social life of small urban spaces’ and the research ‘Project for public spaces (PPS)’.

### 7.4 Rating Social Performance

In the late 1960’s, Whyte began applying direct observation techniques from the social sciences to the study of urban spaces. Direct observation was the most fruitful technique and the user experience was the most important aspect. Through field observation, film, and time-lapse photography, Whyte provided the foundation for our current understanding of human behavior in public spaces. His work identifies physical elements that tend to produce success, such as a variety of seating and its proximity to busy paths, elements that may not, like proportion, and the famous finding that “what attracts people most, it would appear, is other people (Whyte 1980, p. 19).

### 7.5 Quality criteria for successful places

If we were to combine these approaches we would see that urban quality must be considered in much wider terms than the physical attributes of buildings, spaces and street patterns. To be sure, there are many physical elements which, if combined properly (with each other and with the psychology of place) produce urban quality: architectural form, scale, landmarks, vistas, meeting places, open space, greening and so on. Yet the notion of urban quality is clearly more importantly bound up in the social, psychological and cultural
dimensions of place.
These architects have in common that there must be a correspondence between the dimension of a public space and a sense of place (Cullen, 1961).

In evaluating thousands of public spaces around the world, PPS has found that successful ones have four key qualities. They developed The Place Diagram as a tool to help people in judging any place, good or bad that will be used in judging the chosen public spaces in Mostar:

![Place Diagram](image)

**Comfort & Image**
Comfort and image is related to how public space is physically arranged. Whether a space is comfortable and presents itself well – has a good image – is key to its success. Comfort includes perceptions about safety, cleanliness, and the availability of places to sit – the importance of giving people the choice to sit where they want is generally underestimated. Good maintenance, for example is considered a positive condition, which influences positively over the perception of comfort and the image of security of a place. Subsequently, the character and charm of public places can be easily recognized and attract greater amount of people to the setting. Generally these spaces provide choices for sitting or walking and provide a favorable image of community life.
Aspects you can focus on are like;
Does the place make a good first impression?
Are there more women than men?
Are people taking pictures? Are there many photo opportunities available?

Access & Linkages
Accessibility can be described as the ability to reach other persons, activities, resources, services, information, or places, including the quantity and diversity of the elements which can be reached. You can judge the accessibility of a place by its connections to its surroundings, both visual and physical. Particularly access is related to the possibility of a place to be visible from far distances of the context and which are places easy to get to. Circulation therefore is easy, physical elements in the space are functional and safe for people. Favorable spaces provides access for the physically challenged, for pedestrians and have ample parking spaces and connection to public transportation systems.
Aspects you can focus on are like;
how is the accessibility for people with special needs?
Is it easy to walk for people?
Is there a variety of transportation?

Sociability
Sociability in public space is based on people’s need to affiliate and interact with others. This affiliation involves people participating in a supportive social system in order to acquire psychological comfort (Lang 1994). Sociability not only increases vitality in public spaces but also allows people to connect and to exchange information. This is a difficult quality for a place to achieve, but once attained it becomes an unmistakable feature. When people see friends, meet and greet their neighbors, and feel comfortable interacting with strangers, they tend to feel a stronger sense of place or attachment to their community – and to the place that fosters these types of social activities.
Aspects focus on are like;
Does a mix of ages and ethnic groups that generally reflect the community at large?
Is there a mix of groups?
Do people talk with another?

Uses & Activity
Uses and activities, when attractive for people, are the main reason for people to go to public space again and again. Activities are the basic building blocks of a place. When there is nothing to do, a space will be empty and that generally means that something is wrong. Activity is very much the product of two separate but related concepts: vitality and diversity. Vitality is what distinguishes successful urban areas from the
others. It refers to the numbers of people in and around the street (pedestrian flows) across different times of the day and night, the uptake of facilities, the number of cultural events and celebrations over the year, the presence of an active street life, and generally the extent to which a place feels alive or lively. Indeed, successful places appear to have their own pulse or rhythm, a life force or elan vital. But this can never be taken for granted, as there are now many examples of previously lively places which have become dull and inert. In the long-term urban vitality can only be achieved where there is a complex diversity of primary land uses and (largely economic) activity.

Aspects you can focus on are:
Are people in group?
What kind of activities are there?
Which part of the space is used by doing the activities?

7.6 Succesfull spots in Mostar

In the following part the succesfull spots in Mostar will be analyzed and rated. Below you can find the overview of the spots.
Figure 7.4
Brace Fejica Street.
Source: author, 2012
**Brace Fejica Street**

*Comfort and image*

The direct area exists of thousands of streets and alleys which make up part of its history, such as Biscevica sokak, the street with the famous Turkish house and the historical Brankovac district, with its houses and courtyards belonging to the oldest families of Mostar, built in Ottoman style.

The Brace Fejica street is one of the most commonly used streets in this area and is well known by people. This has two reasons. A lot of people from the neighbourhood are working on this street and it is the central shopping street on the east side of the river. Following the crowd brings you to this car-free street. There is a low possibility for overview, because it is not so wide and the buildings along it are relatively high. The area is only for pedestrians, but you would not know if you do not know the city. Rarely there enters a car. The pavement is of asphalt and looks like it is made for cars. It looks like people walk on a car road. We notice some small parks around the buildings, but they are often very dirty and must be cleaned up in order to be used again.

![Figure 7.6](image6.png)
*Brace Fejica Street situated in its neighbourhood.*
*Source: City of Mostar, 2012*

![Figure 7.5](image5.png)
*Brace Fejica Street situated in the city.*

![Figure 7.7](image7.png)
*Brace Fejica street is not visible, because it is a small street with large scale buildings along it. The Karadozbeg mosques gives a nice few over the street.*
*Scale 1:4500*
The commercial boards on the facades of the buildings gives direction and impression of what you can find on the street. By recognizing shops and open facades, people like to do window shopping. People first walk by the shops and do window shopping, because of the wideness of the street. They decide at the last moment to enter a shop or a cafe. Landmarks are mosques on the corners of the alley's. Karadjozbegova mosque is the most prominent building on the street and right next to it there is a cemetery with the tomb of Osman Dikic, a famous Bosnian poet.

Figure 7.8
Public messages are been used to show what people can find on the street.
Source: author, 2012

Figure 7.9
Karadjozbegova mosque, situated prominently on a corner of the street.
Source: Flickr, 2012

Figure 7.10
The street is characterized by its public buildings with open facades. Attractive points are Karadozbeg mosque, the central cemetery at the centre of the street, and the famous historic restaurant that is hidden in one of the side streets.
Scale 1:4500
Access and linkages

The street is open for traffic, but car access is very limited and restricted. We can almost say it is a car free street. Instead of that, the alleys to the main street (Marsala Tita street) are used by them. In that sense it is an open street but safe for pedestrians. Many people nearby use the space, for example office workers and employees of the shops itself. There is a good possibility for walking. There is no detailing in the design of the street, it is more functional based to reach the shops instead of spatial designed. During peaks it is crowded, but still there is enough space for people who are moving at the street.

The street can be accessed from different side alleys from west that are connected to the waterfront. However, those streets are kind of ‘secret’. This gives a feeling that the main street is not and can not be seen from other streets and edges. Also because of the strong facades.

Brace Fejica can also be accessed on the other side from wide streets that are connected with the main city road, the Marsala Tita street.
Sociability

There is a high range of social interaction on this street. It is a vibrant, active and definitely a meeting place. You will find visitors, but especially locals here. People who are working in the shops, are staying during the day for lunch and coffee with friends at the same street. Above the shops there are houses available or hotels to rent. Because of the presence of a lot of people it is crowded, so there is social controle. There are wandering people and dogs, but they are not active and are waiting along the street.
Uses and activities

There is space to stop but no possibility to sit somewhere on the street itself. The street is in common use for pedestrian flows. There is a huge amount of people walking through the area every day. During night it is not dense but you can always find people in this street. The buildings on this street are filled with local shops. It presents both cultural and regular food. There are a lot of restaurants and cafes available, especially on the higher storeys. The functions are mostly electronic and clothing shops. Along the shops there are several possibilities to eat and drink outside.
Figure 7.15
Stari Most and the Old Town
Source: Author, 2011
**Old Bridge**

*Comfort and image*

This is the most known place in Mostar. The Stari Grad (the Old City) is since 2005 UNESCO world heritage. With the Old Bridge, famous mosques, towers and churches they create an assemble of rich history and culture. The urban form is characteristically Ottoman, with a clear division of business (bazaar) and residential districts (mahalla). The bazaar in Mostar was the centre of manufacturing, commercial and social activity during the Ottoman period, and it is estimated that it attained its peak in the mid-sixteenth century, around the time when the bridge was build (SURI 3).

The Old Bridge has a crucial role in connecting the parts of the Old City and it is seen as the physical expression of the Bosniac identity. From the moment you enter the city from south along the river, you can see the landmark from a large distance. From a lot of bridges and streets in the neighbourhood you can see the old bridge.

Figure 7.16
The Old Bridge situated in the city.

Figure 7.17
The Old Bridge situated in its neighbourhood.
*Source: City of Mostar, 2012*

Figure 7.18
Swedish army are practising in an open area at the riverbank right under the bridge.
*Source: author 2012*

Figure 7.19
The bridge has a high range of visibility from the surrounded environment.
*Scale 1:2500*
The area is car free. The bridge itself has an unique value in the city. It is made in Ottoman period and has incredible complex but beautiful construction. The curved bridge gives a natural feeling and mixes well with the organic form and flow of the river. In 1993 the bridge is destroyed and in 2004 it is rebuilt. As much of the original white limestone as possible is salvaged from the bed of the river below. The rebuilding of the bridge is seen as a symbol of the reunification of Mostar.

Except the historical value of the area, the sight itself is beautiful because of the organic form of the river and the landscape.

The bridge can be seen as a part of the Old Town. You can notice this because of use of similar materials of the construction and the pavement. It is a pleasant walking path. if you want to buy some locally produced clothes, jewelry, souvenirs and wine, then you should definitely visit the Old Town and its large souvenir bazaar. Best bargains are engraved plates and coffee sets, various carpets, antiques, paintings and many interesting souvenirs can be found. The architectural attractiveness is not less important. Small scale, colorful facades with old doors and windows.
Access and linkages

The main street towards the bridge, with winding narrow streets perpendicular to it leading down to the river. Both sides of the bridge have towers at the ends. One of them is open for visitor. There is no other traffic then pedestrians. When it rains, the pavement gets wet and slippery and that makes it unfriendly to walk. For bikes and disabled people the area is not or hardly accessible.

Figure 7.24
The stairs of the Bridge does not give the opportunity to access for disabled people.
Source: author, 2012

Figure 7.25
Pavement in the Old Town makes it difficult to enter the area for others then pedestrians.
Source: author, 2012

Figure 7.26
The area is only accessible by foot by both sides. It is a car free zone but is easy reachable by parking the car on the main road.
Scale 1:2500
Sociability

Social interaction is very high on this place, because of the historical and cultural value. Large groups are walking the area and staying for a while on the bridge. There is a lot of interaction in and between these groups like sharing thoughts and emotional moments, inform each other about the area. That makes it a social place and especially a source of pride for the community.

Social controle is high, because people work outside. Even during the night it is safe to be on and around the bridge. You can always find people that are walking around.
Uses and activities

On and around the bridge there are no places to sit. A large amount of groups enters the bridge to listen to the tourist guide and to make endless amount of pictures of every spot and edge they can see. Traditions show the importance of the bridge. Jumping of the bridge as annual event and during summer can bring a lot of money for the jumpers. First they collect money from the visitors and when they think they have enough they jump off the bridge as show for the tourists. Besides this event, also for private events and celebrations, people use this richful urban environment. There is been told over decennia that when a girl and a boy is dating, the boy has to jump off the bridge to prove his love for the girl. During weddings it brings luck to walk over the bridge with the guests.

Figure 7.29
Annual bridge diving festival, held over the final weekend of July that sees young athletes compete to see who can perform the best dive from the iconic bridge into the waters of the Neretva river some 24 metres below.
Source: author, 2012

Figure 7.30
One tells that it will bring luck and happiness if the bride and groom are crossing the bridge on their wedding day.
Source: Halil & Menekse, 2010

Figure 7.31
Uses and activities on the historic bridge.
Figure 7.32: The Rondo. 
Source: Klix, 2008
Comfort and image

The new part of Mostar was laid out according to European principles, with wide streets and boulevards, and single-family villas. With all the development activity taking place outside the historic core and new infrastructure and public facilities located in the new city centre on the western bank of the river, the Rondo became an important traffic node. It is one of these main structures that determines a large area of urban fabric.

The Rondo is a roundabout that brings several main streets together. It is clearly visible from the surrounding streets from a long distance because of the straight structure of these streets. It is a typical Hausmann sort of design. The diameter of the square inclusive road is and inclusive pedestrian paths is. These measurements show that there is a lot of area reserved for pedestrians and even for car parking on the roundabout. The buildings along the square are mostly three to four storeys high and are not directly situated along the road but on a green settlement. The open and green character makes the Rondo a central spot in the city.
Because of the wide pedestrian paths around the roundabout, there is enough space to walk around the roundabout. Pedestrian flows are high, especially elder people who wants to make a walk through the park are passing by on daytime. However, the paths has no quality to stay on. There are no benches or other objects available. Although, people use the curbs to sit on. So, there can be said that green gives an aesthetic quality to the traffic node. The buildings that are facing the square have a public character and support cultural and social activities. The theater is the best example of this. Croatian Lodge "Herceg Stjepan Kosača" (Hrvatski Dom Herceg Stjepan Kosača") is a city sponsored public institution in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina which promotes, assists and organizes educational, recreational and art events such as dance classes, puppet shows and exhibitions. Known is that this building is used by both ethnic groups, the Croats ans Bosnians in Mostar.

Another aspect that makes this place attractive is the fact that the city Park Zrinjevac is located next to the square and creates a boundary between the Rondo and the Bulevar. So, the park functions both as a retreat from the busy city life and as a shortcut between two central points.
Access and linkages

The level of permeability is very high and the square can be accessed from all sides by car and pedestrians. However, there is no parking place on the square itself, but next to the public buildings. The roundabout is highly integrated into the surrounding environment. The green environment helps to enlarge the open space, that causes more accessibility and visibility, especially in the walkable area. The inviting character by green elements and pedestrian paths towards the buildings like the theater makes the square more interesting.

A lot of public buildings need parking lots. Because of lacks of car parking, people park on the edges of the square. A second issue with cars are the crossing roads of the pedestrians. They have to cross six traffic roads, but there are marks on the roads to help the pedestrians crossing from one side to another side.

Figure 7.41
The Rondo has a good accessibility from all the streets. In addition to that, it is a central traffic node in the city that is connected with a higher traffic structure.
Source: author, 2012
**Sociability**

The public realm is high. One of the streets that ends on this square is the Lenjiovo Setaliste. This is the car free connection between the Rondo and the Spanish Square. There are several groups, like school children that are going to the Gymnasium on the Spanish Square, people who are outside to take a walk towards the eastern part of the city or to shop, especially elder people.

The pedestrians has enough distance from the high leveled (car) traffic. The social controle is very low on this spot. Because of low lightning, public buildings that are closed during night and a lot of trees it is hard to walk at night time along the roundabout. Signs are available on the edge of the central park to warn you for possible violence. However there is a lot of noise because of the traffic, green trees are been used to demp this. Big trees provide shade from the hot sun.

![Figure 7.42](image1)

*Sign board with warnings at the entrance of Park Zrinjvac.*
*Source: author, 2012*

![Figure 7.43](image2)

*Rondo.*

![Figure 7.44](image3)

*Public realm scheme of the Rondo.*
Uses and activities

Necessary activities include going to school and work because of a lot of buildings for education and work. Examples of optional activities are taking a walk because of the green environment. Because of the centrality also taking the bus. However, there is a lack for these activities. Students are using the park to come to cafes during lunch time. There is a high level of social activities, caused by a lot of cafes and other public buildings around the square. There are daily activities at the Croatian Institute.

Figure 7.45
The green settlement makes it available to shoot nice photographs.
Source: author, 2012

Figure 7.46
The Rondo is a popular place to gather with friends to grab a plate or just drink some coffee.
Source: Flickr, 2010

Figure 7.47
Uses and activities on the Rondo.
Photo: author, 2012
**Musala Square**

*Comfort and image*

The thousands of streets and alleys which make up part of its history, such as Biscevica sokak, the street with the famous Turkish house and the historical Brankovac district, with its houses and courtyards belonging to the oldest families of Mostar, built in Ottoman style. The main square in the eastern part of the city. It was built in the Austro-Hungarian era that gives a high historical value to the square. It is known as the meeting point for the people who lives at the east bank of the river.

There are a lot historical public buildings around the square, but the buildings and the space needs the be repaired. We notice some small parks around the buildings, but they are often very dirty and must be cleaned up in order to be used again.

The long end is 75 meters and the short end is 24 meters of the square. Considering the height of the surrounding buildings, which are four floors high, and the road that is bordering the square, it has a reasonable proportion and open character. Trees and the fountain in the middle helps to retain the human scale, however the fountain does not work and is the most of the time empty.
The square is situated near the Neretva and an old hotel, one of the most beautiful buildings from the Austro-Hungarian period, which was heavily damaged in the last war. Should soon begin the renovation of the hotel. The cultural/historical value of this area is high and that is the main reason why people meet at this square.

However, the active facades are not along the square itself, but on the other side of the main road that leads to the local shopping street.
Access and linkages

The square is accessible from the main road that connects the place with the centre by crossing the Musala Bridge by cars and pedestrians. There is a big parking possibility along the square, what makes it easy to reach the place by car.

The Brace Fejica street ends on this square. People pass by the square during working hours.

Figure 7.55
The edges of the square arise from parking places for cars.
Source: S. Brkan, 2013

Figure 7.56
The Musala Square is accessible from every side, however the side along the main road is more accessible and more in use.
Scale 1:2500
Sociability

The place is sociable because it has a historic quality and a very good centrality in the city. People are in groups of two or three and use the square to walk through or go to the mall that is situated along the square. The clear designed paths make it friendly to walk on and gives a secure feeling.

Figure 7.57
Public realm scheme of the Musala Square.

Figure 7.58
Musala Square.
Uses and activities

There are cafes on the edges of the square. On the middle there is a mall that is open till 21 h. There are no public cultural events to be found at this square.

There is a lack of people that spends time on the square. It can be said that it is more a 'meet, greet and go' point. This is an aspect where the square is lacking and it influences the use.

Figure 7.59
Terace on the Musala square
Source: Flickr, 2013

Figure 7.60
Uses and activities on the Musala Square.
Photo: S. Brkan, 2013
Figure 7.61
The Spanish Square,
Source: Mostarpanorama, 2013
**Spanish Square**

*Comfort and image*

The new town was laid out according to European principles, with wide streets and boulevards, and single-family villas. With all the development activity taking place outside the historic core, and new infrastructure and public facilities located in the new city centre on the western bank of the river, the flourishing old town began to die a natural death in the nineteenth century (Suri). The Spanish Square is the most central situated square in town. It is known and used by almost everyone. The title is a tribute to the Spanish soldiers who died during their mission in Bosnia.

This square is central situated in the city. It is quite widely known and has therefore a certain 'public familiarity'. The diameter of the area is around 30 meters. It is open in all almost directions and is not covered by walls or trees on the edges. That gives the possibility to see what is happening around and on the square, but also the other way around. On the square it is possible to see what is happening around. Buildings around remark the importance and availability of the public space.
The square is open in all directions except the west part where the park is starting. A few old buildings are creating the separation between the square and the central park. From all other directions the square is a central point in experience and view.

There is been made an extensive design for this area. There is a memorial in name of Spanish soldiers and a design for a park with a fountain. The traffic causes crowd and noise. But because of the large area it is easy to talk with each other.

The open public space on the north is where the sections of the front line link together and thus it is of key importance to the rehabilitation of the city. Before the war the square was know as 'Hit Square', named after a large department store. Outside of this store was a public space that was very popular in the everyday lives of Mostarians. Religious and nationalist projects have dominated the reconstruction on this spot that is still not finished. Despite this, the area remains an impartial place in the conflict and has become weakened and unused as a consequence of its neutrality. In the term 'neutral space' Zuljevic (2011) is referring to a place that is not associated with any particular group and is equally used (or in this case unused) by the citizens of the east and west.
Access and linkages

The level of permeability of this square is very high. The square can be accessed from all sides. It is easy and free to walk on the square, because there are no given directions. However, this causes difficulty with determining where to stand on the square while waiting for other people. People like to have a border in the back while waiting. Only on the park around the fountain and this makes it more comfortable to stay at the square. It is filled with benches and green elements. This is been used a lot by people who are meeting on that spot or just crossing by to take a breath.

Figure 7.70
Pedestrian paths and traffic lights are needed to pass the four laned traffic road towards the Spanish Square.
Source: author, 2012

Figure 7.71
Signs along the main road, (on the edge of the square) on the edge of the square give direction for the car towards the cities near to Mostar.
Source: author, 2012

Figure 7.72
Good accessibility and visibility from all sides.
Scale 1:2500
Sociability

When there are protests, this is the central square where people gather. The paved area becomes a recreational meeting ground for young and old, for citizens and tourists. It is an aesthetical, historical and political space for living. It invites the unexpected and provides a useful space for the occasional events. That is making it sociable, however it is unpleasant during special days. There is a high density of violence and crime. The peak hours during regular days in the pedestrian flows are right before and after working hours in the evening and during the weekends it is less crowded. The Gymnasium that is situated directly at the square determines the weekend density on the square.

On the other hand, there comes no end with the conflicts between several groups from Mostar.

The United World College in Mostar broadens this special mission by offering the same opportunities to the young people from all over the world, especially those coming from other post-conflict countries, particularly from the Balkans.

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Source: author, 2012

Source: author, 2012

Public realm scheme of the Spanish Square.

Figure 7.73

Figure 7.74

Figure 7.75

Figure 7.76
Uses and activities

Daily activities such as walking by, waiting for the bus etc. The centrality and the large area makes it possible that public events, like cultural events, celebrations or political protests in the city takes place on this square. Public cultural events, special organization and celebrations, protests are held on this square. Formerly Hit Square this was one the social hub of central Mostar, it is the natural point where east meets west and hence is a key place of integration. Today it is a major traffic junction dominated by ruins however, there are signs of progress such as the Gymnasium integrated school.

However, drunks, drug-users and beggars, together with people stripping anything of value, frequently occupy the ruins situated on the Spanish Square and many individuals use these spaces as public toilets and shortcuts. This disparity in use, imposed by the treatment of the urban grain, creates further segregated communities that consequently increase the friction of contested ideas in Mostar.

The former Glass Bank in the Spanish Square, for example, has become an open-air graffiti museum. Beggars from the Roma community use the ruins as a shelter. A taxi rank occupies a corner of the Spanish Square directly under a ruined building providing the perfect place to wait.

Figure 7.77
Annual chocolate riots at the Spanish Square.
Source: Mostarlife, 2011

Figure 7.78
Uses and activities on the Spanish Square.
Photo: Klix, 2008
**Mepas Mall**

*Comfort and image*

Mepas Mall is situated in an area that has after war no zoning plan, and is therefore the most undeveloped (but with a lot of potential) area within the city. Slowly it is being built. Mepas Mall is one of the developments. Next to it there has been building a sport complex. Indoor public space.

The building typology is clearly from the modern time and is large of scale. The design of the building itself is exclusive in the area. That makes it very visible. On the west and east corner of the building there is well known brands written in huge letters. Also the name of the mall is written on every facade. The upper floors are made from glass. This is the most used and best known mall in the city centre. The main entrance is facing the main road. The facade is very active. There are huge boards with the name of the mall and popular brands. The building itself has a ground surface of 1500 m² and is has eight floors.

![Figure 7.80](image)
Mepas Mall situated in the city.

![Figure 7.81](image)
Mepas Mall situated in its neighbourhood.
*Source: City of Mostar, 2012*

![Figure 7.82](image)
The mall is a very visible building in the neighbourhood because of its height, situation and design.
*Scale 1:2500*
Attractivity

In the building there a lot of activities to do and meeting places made. Exclusive activities and a mix of facilities makes the building (and the area) attractive.

Figure 7.83
Mepas Mall facade design.
Source: author, 2012

Figure 7.84
Mepas Mall facade as attractive (indoor) public space by itself.
Scale 1:2500
Access and linkages

The building has an open and transparent plinth that invites people inside, however once you are inside, the introvert character causes a similarity of activities inside the building. The opening hours are till 9 every day. There is day and night movement around the building.

Figure 7.85
The building is on two sides accessible. Those sides are the most open facades and are facing the main roads.
Scale 1:2500
Sociability

Social interaction are both in and around the building essencial. In and around the building is security available. Opening hours till late causes social control and gives a safe feeling while walking in the area. People pass by the square all day, but at certain times of the day before and after working hours, the flow of people is the most dense. People are mainly in groups of four or five.

There is enough lightning on the road next to the building, what makes it safe to walk there.

The cafes on the groundfloor gains customers due to its location in conjunction with the pedestrian path along the mall and in turns its customers add sociability to the mall itself.

Figure 7.86
Interior of Mepas Mall. A large atrium brings people together.
Source: author, 2012

Figure 7.87
Mepas Mall.

Figure 7.88
Public realm scheme of the Mepas Mall.
Uses and activities

We are more interested in the outdoor public space than the interior of the building. In front of the building there are a lot of social interaction. Open space before the building is used as terraces from the MacDonalds inside the building, where people are having meal. In these shopping malls, you can find many western clothing brands and grocery store. If you want to go to bowling there are two bowling possibilities in Mostar and one of them is in the Mepas Mall. Like this, there are a lot of exclusive activities available.

The building is used during both the day and the evening, throughout the week and the weekend, in the summer and the winter by everyone who wants to shop. During day people walk with bags in their hand in and out the store, while in evening most of the people go to the cinema or to eat and drink.

Figure 7.89
The famous cinema of the city: Cinestar in the Mall.
Source: Klix, 2010

Figure 7.90
Fashion show in the Mall.
Source: Klix, 2010

Figure 7.91
Uses and activities in front of Mepas Mall.
Photo: author, 2012
Figure 7.92
Matrix of the design criteria for the six spots.
The quality of the spots, in how far they are successful can be measured with the level of success as indicators that is divided into:

1. high level of comfort with the current situation
2. fairly comfortable with the current situation
3. average level of comfort with the current situation
4. low level of comfort with the current situation

High level of success is argued by the high level of services and facilities that might generate or influence the people flow within the urban setting. It is confirmed by the high level of intensity of people movement and the facilities that are supporting this movement.

Fairly successful means that people are satisfied with what they can find and how they can act on the spot.

Average level of success is argued by the average level of services and facilities that might generate or influence the people flow within the urban setting.

Low level of success indicates that maintenance is needed.

Figure 7.93
Scores of the successful public space in the city.
7.7 Conclusion

Activities

1. Public facilities are important, because people are in search for cafes around these spots (interview, ze gaan eerst afspreken dan naar cafe, of direct naar cafe langs deze spot afspreken).
2. There is a low level of weekend activity, because people like to spend their time at home in weekends.
3. There is a high level of day activity. Mostarians are during the day a lot outside.
4. There is an average level of evening activity. Inhabitants of the city like to go to home in evening to spend their time. They meet in evening usually at home. It can also be connected to the opening hours of different public facilities like shops and cafes. Local shops close early in the evening, while international and big malls close late in the evening.
5. There is a low level of night activity. Especially around the Bulevar there are not a lot of pedestrians to find on the streets. Although, a lot of car movement can be find. Dark paths makes it unsafe to walk on your own through the city. There are wanderers and dogs that are walking on the streets. Central parks are not well lit and covered with trees.

Scores

The Brace Fejica Street scores in general on all the aspects very well. Especially on Sociability the street scores above average. There is a lot of possibility to socialize, because of the terraces along the shops and the wideness of the street itself. The street begins at the Musala Square and ends at the Old Town.

The Old Bridge scores high on Comfort & Image, because it is a very attractive place. There is no one who enters Mostar and do not visit the bridge. However the accessibility for disabled people is not very well, centrality is more important than comfort.

The Rondo is a large traffic node that connects the main roads of the city in west. The large area either for cars and for pedestrians makes it a liveable area with a lot of light and space. Although, there is no furniture on the wide sidewalks. Large trees and public facilities provide the people to spend time along the square.

Musala Square is a central node along a main road and a bridge. This is the most known square in east. It has potential to become a great square, but in the current situation it is not a very liveable square. People eat each other and go to another place in the neighbourhood. The density of activity is low.

Spanish Square is the most central square in the city centre and is situated along the Bulevar. It is a very important strategic node that connects (or divides) west with east. Political and cultural events where people come together proves this. The square has a large size and that makes it uncomfortable to stay. People like to hang out on the edges of the square or use this place to pass through. The public space is very good accessible from all sides.

Mepas mall is scoring very well on each aspect. People like to have the possibility to shop well known and
international brands as well as cultural domestic products. Musala square scores low. However, it is used by a lot of people. The reason herefor is twofold. On the one hand, it has a big historic value and on the other hand it is close to the outside shopping area in the east. People can park there cars here and shop around in the area.

**Definition of public space in Mostar**

Public space in Mostar promotes social activity, cultural and historical value and centrality.

- **Promotion of human contact and social activity**

  Postmen do not need house addresses to deliver mail to a person. This example is just one of many that shows that a lot of people in the city centre know each other, even they live on the ‘other side’. People like to meet and greet each other. They are flexible in meeting and do not need to make an appointment as usual in West European countries.

- **Reflection of the local culture or/and history**

  Historical and cultural values are important for the people. They are aware of cultural importance and they express this in public space.

- **Centrality**

  Centrality is above comfort. Even they are not a lot benches to sit, people make room to relax and find a way to sit. it does not bother them if there isn’t possibilities to sit.

- **Maintenance**

  The regulation plan of Mostar 2007-2017 is focused on maintaining areas instead of building new areas. 67% of the buildings need to be maintained, while the percentage of objects that need minor repair is 5%. Just 6% is based on new constructions. This can not be ignored when defining an intervention program for public space.

**Figure 7.94**

The regulation plan of Mostar 2007-2017 shows that the plans exists for 67% of maintenance of buildings or public space.

*Source: BIMTAS IMP, 2009*
In this chapter we determined what aspects people most value as public space. These were based on centrality, historic values and social activities. People first aim these aspects. Nevertheless, it is hard to ask random people on street to rate streetscapes with regard to several terms they do not know exactly about, or has another perception about the city or areas. Perception is the process of attaining awareness or understanding of sensory information. What ones perceives is a result of interplays between past experiences, one’s culture and the interpretation of the perceived (Ewing & Handy, 2009).

As example, a conceptual framework considers the role of perceptions as they intervene (or mediate) between the physical features of the environment and walking behaviour (see figure below). Physical features influence the quality of the walking environment both directly and indirectly through the perceptions and sensitivities of individuals.

Urban design qualities are different from qualities such as sense of comfort, sense of safety and level of interest that reflect how an individual reacts to a place - how they assess the conditions there, given their own attitudes and preferences. Perceptions are just that, perceptions. They may produce different reactions in different people. They can be assessed with a degree of objectivity by outside observers; individual reactions can not.

All these factors -physical features, urban design qualities and individual reactions- may influence the way an individual feels about the environment as a place to walk. By measuring these intervening variables, researchers can better articulate the relationship between physical features of the street environment and walking behaviour. So, however the public space is valued by interviews with people, the patterns will be supported with my own expertise as urban designer based on help of theorists.

![Conceptual framework for walking behaviour and influence of individual reactions](source: Ewing & Handy, 2009)
8 Intervention patterns

8.1 Patterns as design principle

In this chapter the intervention patterns are presented in form of a pattern catalogue. These patterns are based on the method of Alexander, but is translated to the specific case of Mostar. One of the aims of this pattern catalogue is to translate findings from literature, empirical and design research into comprehend-ible spatial interventions which are usable for practitioners in the urbanism field. One of the approaches used is that of Christopher Alexander, the founder of the pattern language.

Before Christopher Alexander wrote his book “A Pattern Language”, where he describes templates to capture experiences as method, he wrote already about patterns without calling them like that, but talking about them like relations. We can read in his paper that he wrote together with Barry Poyner (1968) that he is already introducing patterns, but more as a system of tendencies for design programs and he is talking about users needs that need to be answered in a design. These users needs can be called differently, depending on the discipline. But the most important thing is that he replace the idea of need by the idea of what people are trying to do. Every statement of a tendency is a hypothesis. Tendencies can conflict Under certain conditions, tendencies conflict. In a conflict situation, the tendencies cannot take care of themselves, because one is pulling in one direction, and the other is pulling in the opposite direction. Under these circumstances, the environment does need design; it must be rearranged in such a way that the tendencies no longer conflict. Back to the Pattern Language, the elements of this language are entities called patterns. Each pattern describes a problem which occurs over again in our environment, and then describes the core of the solution to that problem, in such a way that you can use this solution a million times over, without ever doing it the same way twice (p.10).

It is crucial to make a step from the findings of the analysis and literature into spatial interventions. Therefore, a design catalogue has been set up describing and visualising the found design principles. The patterns in this thesis are set up in order to enhance the social interaction in the case of Mostar and is mainly based on pedestrians. They give directions for spatial interventions. Through implementation of the patterns as design instruments, it enables designers and planners to understand the urban environment in case of Mostar and make design decisions that correspond to the needs of this urban environment.
The pattern field illustrates possible connections between the patterns that are been set up for this project. The horizontal axis represent the scale of a pattern. The vertical axis shows if a pattern is abstract or concrete. The black arrows show the relation between the patterns.

Some patterns are more important then others, because they enhance the public space to bring people together in the case of Mostar, and are directly concluded from analysis and data that is gained during the research. These patterns are bold and are signed. The rest of the patterns are intended to encourage the city to develop and are also crucial and applicable in the city, but can also be used in another context.

**Design patterns:**

1. Legible public space
2. *Recreate the green divider*
3. Landscape connection
4. Informal meetings
5. Degree of publicness
6. Activity pockets
7. *Building block gardens*
8. Reactivation of damaged urban fabric
9. Combined living-working
10. Attractive public space
11. *Utilizing existing quality*
12. Accessible public transport
13. Slow traffic network
14. Space for sidewalks
15. *Youth program*
16. Childrens playground
17. Landmarks
18. Pleasant parking
19. Living wall
20. Social street
21. Safe parks
22. Recognition of public space
23. Graffiti as art
24. *Coffee connects*
25. Public meeting points
26. Orientation
27. Walkable distance
28. Safety from crime
29. Safety at night
30. Public arts
31. Outdoor sports
32. Enclosure
33. Bicycle network

*Figure 8.1*

The design patterns and the possible relations with each other.
The labeling system to sort the patterns easily is as following:

- **Category 1**: the pattern is related to one of more design criteria
  - Comfort & Image
  - Access & Linkages
  - Sociability
  - Uses & Activities

- **Category 2**: the pattern is related to a scale
  - pattern concerns the city and its neighbourhoods
  - pattern concerns the neighbourhood or a part of the neighbourhood
  - pattern concerns the street or the building block

- **Category 3**: the pattern is related to a sort of intervention
  - pattern deals with the public space
  - pattern deals with the building environment
  - pattern deals with the program

Labeling the patterns into different design criteria.

Labeling the patterns into different scales.

Labeling the patterns into different sorts of interventions.
Picture: which shows an archetypical example of the pattern. All pictures are real situations in Mostar.

Figure 8.2
Example of a pattern.
2 Recreate Green Divider

Statement
If water is a central element in the city, this has to be used to enjoy this quality from long distance but also at the waterfront itself.

Clarification
The waterfront along the Nerevta is very organic. It gives a feeling of a nature park while the borders of the residential private gardens are not clear till the waterfront. The river goes trough the heart of the city and plays a role of a green divider, instead of a connector. In that sense, there is no clear distinction between these two. The waterway has no potential for passenger transport. As more cities envision their waterfronts as lively public destinations that keep people coming back.

Solution
- Create a shared community vision for the waterfront and connect several destinations and layers with the waterfront, such as the city centre and the landscape form. Creating connections also means enticing people to the waterfront on foot or bike, rather than relying exclusively on the car.
- Create attractive spaces and better opportunities for recreation on the city’s waterfront; make waterfront promenades and improve poor links to the riverbanks.
- Optimize public access and integrate seasonal activities Waterfront programming should take rainy-day and winter activities into account, and amenities should provide protection from inclement weather. Waterfronts that can thrive in year-round conditions will reap the benefits of greater economic activity and higher attendance at public facilities. Promote recreational fishing, boating and tourism.

Resources
Gahi, 2006
Provided from analyst p. 53

Relation
- Recognition of public space
- Legibility public space
- Landscape connection

Clarification: background information about the pattern and relation with the context.

Category: the fields that the pattern is related with.

Relation: it ties the pattern to all the related patterns that round out this one.

Solution: how to solve the problem and translate it to a design intervention.

Solution drawing (if applicable): a simple drawing of the current situation and proposed future situation.

Title: the name of the pattern is named by the thing created by the pattern, the process of creating it or some attribute of the solution.
Figure 8.3
Signs on the edge of the Spanish Square.
Source: author, 2012
Legible public space

Statement
Public space needs to be legible to provide affordances for undertaking activities in public space, and to provide the physical prerequisites for a socially safe environment.

Clarification
A legible public space is the one in which a strange tourist can easily find his destination without being confused or lost. According to Lynch (1961), the ease at which different parts of a city image can be organised in a coherent pattern is an important property of a beautiful city. This characteristic is called legibility, and is influenced by the design of the paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. A highly legible environment provides its users with a clear mental image, which not only provides emotional security, but which is also crucial for orientation through an area.

Mostar is a legible city in the sense of having a lot of centralized points and landmarks on city scale. However these are not well connected, or not accessible by everyone. More important, not all of them are recognizable from short distance.

Solution
Enhance social safety through improved attractivity, visibility, legibility and coherency of the main traffic structures and the neighbourhood centre through interventions in the structure and materialisation of public space. Connect important attractive points and landmarks by creating routes that are set up for tourists as well as inhabitants.
Figure 8.4
The river Neretva going through the city.
Source: author, 2012
2 Recreate green divider

Statement
The river should be transformed from a green divider to a connector, physically and mentally.

Clarification
The river goes through the heart of the city and plays a role of a green divider, instead of a connector. The waterfront along the Neretva is very organic. It gives a feeling of a nature park while the borders of the residential private gardens are not clear till the waterfront. In that sense, there is no clear distinction between these two. The waterway has not potential for passenger transport. As more cities envision it is desirable that the waterfronts are lively public destinations that keep people coming back.

Solution
- Create a shared community vision for the waterfront and connect several destinations and layers with the waterfront, such as the city centre and the landscape form. Creating connections also means enticing people to the waterfront on foot or bike, rather than relying exclusively on the car.

- Create attractive spaces and better opportunities for recreation on the city’s waterfront; make waterfront promenades and improve poor links to the riverbanks.

- Optimize public access and integrate seasonal activities. Waterfront programming should take rainy-day and winter activities into account, and amenities should provide protection from inclement weather. Waterfronts that can thrive in year-round conditions will reap the benefits of greater economic activity and higher attendance at public facilities. Promote recreational fishing, boating and tourism.

Category

Relations
Recognition of public space
Orientation
Legible public space
Landscape connection

Resources
Gehl, 2006
Provided from analysis p. 53
Figure 8.5
Landscape in Mostar.
Source: author, 2012
3 LANDSCAPE CONNECTION

Statement
The connection to the surrounding landscape is the most important aspect of the landscape of the city in order to bring people together.

Clarification
Or, as was already noted several decades previously by Alexander (1977; p. 24), 'When the countryside is far away, the city becomes a prison.' Landscape is unmisable in Mostar. The city is embedded in the valleys of the the hills and the river is centralized. The suburbs are situated in the north and south of Mostar, but also in the hills. The river goes trough the heart of the city and plays a role of a green divider. The city parks are not connected to each other or to the rest of the structure. This all gives a very fragmented idea of the green structure in the city. There is no a lot of green within the city. The largest connection element in the city is this structure and gives a high value to the city.

Solution
Redesign the connection(s) to the surrounding landscape with clear direct paths and preferably direct sight lines and emphasise with materialisation the importance of the route(s).
Figure 8.6
Meeting of people on public space.
Source: Flickr, 2012
4 Informal meetings

Statement
People should be able to informally meet each other and others in and around their building block.

Clarification
Providing room for staying near entrances of buildings gives residents an opportunity to meet one another, but also collegeaus during free time at work. Many examples can be found of underused or misused communal meeting areas (Newman, 1972). Placing them directly along the internal traffic space, and limiting access to block residents can prevent this.

The main roads in the city makes it impossible to stay safe on or along the roads. There is no place to be ‘alone’ at the crowded streets full of traffic that will give the people a quiet, restful feeling. Provoking people to meet each other at the building block can increase the communication and sharing of people on the one hand and use the public space as a pleasant outdoor place on the other hand.

Solution
- Transform excess traffic space or open space around building blocks into communal meeting space in form of pockets parks.
- Introduce Privately owned public space as neighborhood space. Neighborhood space is is high-quality public space that draws residents and employees from the immediate neighborhood, including the host building and surrounding buildings within a three-block radius. Users go to neighborhood space for such activities as group socializing, taking care of children, and individual reading and relaxing. Neighborhood spaces are generally smaller that destination spaces, are strongly linked with the adjacent street and host building and are oriented toward sunlight. These pocket parks typically include seating, tables, drinking fountains, water features, planting, and trees, and even in this case food service and programmatic uses sometimes found at destination spaces.

Category

Relations
Community participation
Coffee connects
Public meeting points
Accessible public space
Legible public space

Resources
Newman, 1972
Figure 8.7
Man walking by an old building.
Source: Flickr, 2010
5 Degree of Publicness

Statement
Privacy at home is important, but social controle towards the street is needed.

Clarification
The zone in between the public and the private has an important social meaning, and it provides opportunities for visual contact, individual expression and social control. When there is a lack of people walking in or watching over the public space the instinctive unsafety rises. Additionally when buildings do not face the street, their entrances are hard to find which negatively affects the accessibility.

In Mostar, and especially on the riverbank there is not a clear distinction between public and private. So if you walk along the riverbank you don’t know if you are walking on someone’s garden or not. Traditional Ottoman houses in Mostar have an inbetween area between the public street and the private house: the so called avlija. Meeting on streets happens in enclosed areas. This kind of courtyard is turned into an ‘actual’ living room to become a sociable meeting ground for neighbours and family.

Solution
- Make a clear distinction between public areas and private investments or areas. Through informal use, such as placing a bench or flower pots in the street, formal boundaries are violated, but in a positive manner.

- Create semi-private areas on public space that are facing the street that provides to bring people together for small talks.

- Make entrances of public buildings visible by using signs or materials that are in contrast with the building.
Figure 8.8
Bus and train station of Mostar.
Source: author, 2012
6 Activity pockets

Statement
The life of a public square forms naturally around its edge. If the edge fails, then the space never becomes lively.

Clarification
People gravitate naturally towards the edge of public space. They do not linger out in the open. If the edge does not provide them with places where it is natural to linger, the space becomes a place to walk through, not a place to stop. The various pockets of activity around the edge should all be next to paths and entrances so that people pass right by them as they pass through (Alexander, 1977).

Mostar’s central squares are enclosed either with buildings or with roads. There is a lack in gathering places on the edges of the areas and that results in lost spaces and unused places on the square. The attractiveness to join the square decreases.

Solution
Surround public gathering places with pockets of activity – small, partly enclosed areas at the edges, which jut forward into the open space between the paths, and contain activities which make it natural for people to pause and get involved.

Relations
Social street

Resources
Alexander, 1977
Figure 8.9
Innerspace of a building block.
Source: Flickr, 2012
7 Building block gardens

Statement
Building blocks clearly distinguish building block residents and people that are passing by.

Clarification
Residential entrances from the gateway from the main public space to the semi-private area of the building block has to be clear. At some places their narrowness and poor lightning makes it unattractive and unsafe for regular use during day and night. Building block entrances should be well-lit and designed. They should be attractive for the inhabitants of the block but not attractive for ‘outsiders’. The gardens should be attractive and be a place to gather with your neighbours and not attractive for strangers. However, on the same time it has to be an area that is open for people who pass by.

The slow ongoing process of privatization of state owned and private owned enterprises and institutions, which effects further developments of these building block areas, especially the building block yards. A person that is passing by get lost in these areas because he do not know what is private and what is public.

Solution
- Change materialization of the building entrances and put up signs at the entrances to highlight the difference between teritoria.

- Design friendly and safe semi-private gardens that can use.

- Distinguish clearly by making walking paths what public and private is.
Figure 8.10
Hotel Neretva on the Musala Square.
Source: author, 2012
Statement
The reactivation of damaged urban fabric could contribute to the reintegration of divided communities.

Clarification
A unique aspect to cities left devastated from war or natural disaster is the transient phase that they go through in the period of their reconstruction where previously private spaces are left abandoned and the clearly defined barrier between public and private space becomes increasingly ambiguous. Spaces left abandoned, part-inhabited, part derelict create a new opportunity in the public realm (Mitchell, 2012).

In some respects the ruins of Mostar are like the semi-enclosed spaces that can be found in most European cities. However, the majority of these spaces are well designed as buffer zones between inside and out creating an intermediate environment. Mostar's ruins on the other hand, are not like the arcades and porticos of traditional semi-enclosed space because they have not been designed to be external and hence are not appropriately protected.

Additionally they do not (in most cases) link with internal spaces and therefore do not benefit from the heat generated by these spaces. Ruins of buildings that are not in use are on the one hand lost space and on the other hand an ideal place to put garbage and will be used as sleeping place for homeless people. Poor maintenance also evokes vandalism. This influences the social safety of the city in a negative way.

Solution
- Strip and rebuild / transform the possible ruins to special public attractors like hotels, memorials or musea.
- Connect the maintained building or area with the new layer of public space by adding green elements.

Category
- Legible public space
- Living wall
- Recognition of public space
- Utilizing existing quality
- Landmarks

Resources
Mitchell, 2012
Figure 8.11
New highrise apartment buildings in west
Mostar.
Source: Mostarpanorama, 2013
9 **Combined Living-Working**

**Statement**
A diverse neighbourhood program can start with a diversification of activities undertaken from individual homes or public space.

**Clarification**
A diversity in program is important for ensuring the presence of people in public space, at different times of the day (Jacobs, 1961). Diversity as a mixture of commercial, residential and civic uses in close proximity to each other, creating human traffic throughout day and night, and subsequently benefiting the safety, economic functioning and appeal of a place. Part of this program can be formed by small businesses and offices that are homebound. Many businesses start from the home, but sufficient room needs to be available. These areas can have the problem that they are too 'grey'. According to Jacobs (1961) parks and plantation fit especially in a varied built-up area. It could be a good potential to add green in those environments. Customs in Mostar shows that people wants to live and hang out close to their work. In general, their living environment is overlapping their working environment. Division in program makes building blocks used for private actions. As it is known, people in Mostar like to hang out in public environments during day. For example, during lunchtime they stay near their work environment grab a plate or drink something with friends. Combined living-working environment could work as an attractor to bring people together on mixed environments. On the other hand, it will descrease the division in program on both sides od the division line.

**Solution**
- Mix work and living places in urban neighbourhoods.
- Add green in the environments.

**Category**
- Mix work and living places in urban neighbourhoods.
- Add green in the environments.

**Relations**
- Social street
- Coffee connects

**Resources**
- Jacobs, 1961
- provided by city analysis
Figure 8.12
The former City Hall along the Bulevar.
Source: Flickr, 2010
**10 Attractive public space**

**Statement**
Visually attractive elements in public space are important for triggering positive emotions, and they can give observers something to talk about with one another.

**Clarification**
Attractive environments make people feel better (Bell, 2001). Aesthetic quality is judged differently by individuals, but people feel uncomfortable if an environment does not fit their cultural expectations and personal identity. Some universal values do hold; natural elements such as greens and sunshine are generally appreciated, whereas large-scale open spaces make people feel small and unsafe (Luten, 2008). Having something attractive to look at provides people with an activity to undertake in public space. Furthermore, having something to look at jointly, can also provide people with something to talk about (Whyte, 1980). So attractive public space can bring people together and provides interaction with each other.

**Solution**
Add some new elements to public space, this can be something such as artwork made by local residents, but something as simple as flowers can do much as well; not everybody like benches or formal designed parks, but everybody like flowers.
Figure 8.13
The reconstructed former City Hall along the Bulevar that is not in use.
Source: author, 2012
Utilizing existing quality

Statement
Highlight, promote what already works in the city.

Clarification
In the city, the most forgotten places are the successful places that already have a certain value. For some nodes it will be important to build upon and enhance existing success: Nodes could be located where there is a vibrant social context to relate to, where there are active building facades, where the climate is just right or where a substantial amount of people are present throughout the day. Addition to the existing quality can be in form of temporary functions or activities. Temporary uses bring new values reflecting the contemporary trends and needs and opens at the same time the site for future visions while protecting it from undergoing corruptive planning.
Perception of people shows that existing quality that represents the people themselves, are mostly forgotten or are too regular in people’s thoughts. Utilizing existing quality could bring people back to what they were; a mix society with pearls in their city which they can be proud of.

Solution
Prepare a quality management system utilizing existing quality tools such as:

- Links to pedestrian network and neighborhood attractions
- Potential for ground-floor activation
- Reactivation of unused buildings back to their original value
- Existing or potential to generate larger pedestrian volumes
- Existing or potential to generate more streetlife activities
- Caters to a wide range of users

Category

Relations
- Reactivation of damaged urban fabric
- Legible public space
- Landscape connection
- Building block gardens

Resources
- provided by theory (RQ1)
- provided by interviews
Figure 8.14
'Bus stop'.
Source: Panoramio, 2009
12 Accessible public transport

**Statement**
Public transport stations need to be activity nodes with a high density and diversity of program to ensure socially safe access both day and night.

**Clarification**
A good walking and cycling environment with a good public realm is also a good environment for public transport, so there is an important connection here as well. Strengthening public transportation will be essential in the future, in order to become less dependent on private cars and also in order for the city to become more people-friendly (Gehl, 2011). Good public transport access is crucial for any neighbourhood, ensuring possibilities for social traffic, in particular for lower income groups, elderly and youth. It connects nodes and areas. The public transport system could work enhance the transformation of the division line into a connecting line. Bus and tramstops should be placed near junctions so that they can be accessed by more than one route on foot, or near specific passenger destinations (schools, shops, etc.) but not so close as to cause problems at the junction.

**Solution**
- Connect activity nodes by public transport and concentrate more program around the stops

- Make the inner city car free by designing strategical parking places around the centre.

- Develop the station areas with regional program.

**Category**

**Relations**
MOET NOG IN DE SCHEMA!!

**Resources**
Gehl, 2011
Figure 8.15
Mix of traffic network on Zvonimirova.
Source: author, 2012
13 Slow traffic network

Statement
Clear zoning of traffic structure makes it possible to cross easier from one side to another side.

Clarification
Streets are the focus of movement in a neighbourhood. Pedestrians and cyclists should generally share streets with motor vehicles. There will be situations where it is appropriate to include routes for pedestrians and cyclists segregated from motor traffic, but they should be short, well overlooked and relatively wide to avoid any sense of confinement.

A dense slow traffic network provides children in a neighbourhood with a seemingly endless playground. It gives pedestrians and cyclists short and therefore desirable connections, and in this manner favours slow traffic movements over other forms of transport. There is potential to use the bicycle in Mostar, but there is no space for it. Parking problem is huge in the area, however there is enough space that can be translated into parking places in open environment or in public buildings like the malls.

Solution
- Bundle slow traffic together, like pedestrians and cyclists and even the tram routes other than car and bus.
- Create priority lanes for slow transit vehicles.

Category

Relations
Space for sidewalks
Walkable distance
Pleasant parking

Resources
Gehl, 2011
Figure 8.16
Sidewalks on the east side of the Bulevar.
Source: author, 2012
14 Space for sidewalks

Statement
Large sidewalks invites people to interact and to do more activities then just walking.

Clarification
Sidewalks are not just thoroughfares for pedestrians; they function as social places where people gather to talk or meet friends, to stroll and window shop, or just to watch others pass by. A second reason to change the balance of space between pedestrians and vehicles is to provide amenities that enhance these pedestrian activities. While a sidewalk may be wide enough to accommodate pedestrian movement, it may not be wide enough to simultaneously accommodate seating, trees, bus shelters and other appropriate amenities. The mix of high traffic and slow traffic in Mostar is a problem. The sidewalks are too narrow were this interlink is.

The division line in Mostar is the place to stay and has potential and room to become an attractive space. The of the most important aspects herefore, are the sidewalks that provokes to bring people together on the most central area in the city.

Solution
- Bundle slow traffic together and give more space to pedestrians do more activities

- Support sidewalks with attractive design and staying quality, such as benches, green elements and kiosks along the sidewalks.

Resources
Gehl, 2011
Jacobs, 1961

Relations
Accessible public space
Social street
Walkable distance
Slow traffic network
Figure 8.17
Abrasevic youth centre on the Aleksa Santica street.
Source: Flickr, 2012
15 Youth program

Statement
Youths are an important user group of public space, and the design of public space should acknowledge
that.

Clarification
The negative attitude of adults towards loitering youths is partially justifiable due to social nuisance and
vandalism caused by some of them, but youths need a place to stay as well. Even when they are not caus-
ing any trouble in a particular place, they are asked to leave. Residential areas have provisions for young
children, but youths have nowhere to go. Investing in the youth in Mostar is important, because they are
the future face of the city. They will influence the behaviour and habits of the culture of the city. Create
conditions to let the youth interact with each other - no matter what group they are - can bring solutions for
the gaps between the divided society.

Abrasevic on the Santica street (that was a part of the division line) is a popular cultural centre for youth. It
It is an open network of non-governmental organizations, informal groups and individuals. It offers a space
and support to youth in realizing ideas and it encourages projects that promotes civic society, arts and social
cohesion. After being closed for nearly ten years, it came back to life in 2003. The organization organizes
concerts, theatre performances, art exhibitions, workshops, movie screenings, and poetry readings. The
main OKC Abrašević space includes a concert hall and a bar.

Solution
- Designate, in collaboration with neighbourhood police, youth workers, youths and residents, areas in the
neighbourhood as youth hangouts, and provide them with necessary facilities such as shelter.

- Support youth centres by investing in the program and building facilities.
Figure 8.18
Schoolyard on the Aleksa Santica street.
Source: author, 2012
16 CHILDREN PLAYGROUND

Statement
Children's playground works as a meeting place between parents and children during several times a day and should be intermingled with everyday activities between these groups.

Clarification
High among the priorities of a city which works for children of all ages is to make spaces where they can play. However a singular focus on building playgrounds in places designated specifically for children runs the risk of 'ghettoising children' and it is important to ensure the city is designed so that children can move through it and feel a sense of belonging. Warning against creating cities which emphasise 'special places for special activities', Gehl (2010) instead advocates integrating opportunities for children in the everyday space of the city.

Investing in the children in Mostar is important, because they are the future face of the city. They will influence the behaviour and habits of the culture of the city. Meeting and spending time during (lunch) breaks with their parents is one of the habits in Mostar. Creating conditions to let the children interact with each other and older people -no matter what group they are- can bring solutions for the gaps between the divided society and increases the (social) safety for the children.

Solution
Redesign specific children's playground to a space where more activities will be held for other city users.
Figure 8.19
The Stari Most (Old Bridge) at sunrise.
Source: author, 2011
Landmarks increase the legibility of a city and stand for identity, which gives proud to the people in the city.

Clarification
The recognition of the city is not only determined by the spaces in the city, but also the buildings and landmarks. These are the names you call when someone asks for directions. In many locations, the beacons have formed in a natural way, as the Old Bridge and the Catholic Church. But there are key locations that have yet to become such beacons. The development of these beacons should lead to:
- The orientation and legibility of the city to be improved.
- The start and end points of the city and the atmosphere areas marked (landmarks).
- The character of the areas atmosphere is enhanced by innovative Mostarian concepts that fit the particular atmosphere area, to introduce. Landmarks are physical elements, which for a variety of reasons may contrast with their background. This can be for example due to form, size, colour or age. Together with welldesigned paths, edges, districts and nodes, landmarks are important elements of a legible environment and are important for orientation and way finding (Lynch, 1960). Good possibilities for orientation are an important aspect of social safety.
Tunnard & Pushkarev (1963, p. 140) attribute great importance to landmarks, stating: “A landmark lifts a considerable area around itself out of anonymity, giving it identity and visual structure.”

Solution
- Build new buildings or improve existing buildings in height and weight so, that they are strategically and clearly stand out in the urban setting.
- Connect the landmarks physically, so that it is possible to see one landmark from the other one.
Figure 8.20
Parking space along the Musala Square.
Source: author, 2012
Pleasant Parking

Statement

Parking should not just be a parking space, but assigned areas.

Clarification

Availability of parking in the city centre could be considered as an essential quality for the urban living. However, parking makes a tremendous spatial claim on the living environment and in its normal layout it has a large negative impact on both the social and visual quality of public space. Furthermore, large amounts of hardened surfaces contribute to high surface water run-off.

Parking is at present offered everywhere in the centre of the city. Besides the through traffic a lot of driving in the centre is a function of searching for vacant parking spaces as to the destination as possible. This creates unnecessary cruising traffic in the centre. An updated parking system where it is easy to find the parking lots and easy to make your errands combined with a high quality pedestrian network are important elements in a 21st century city accessibility strategy.

Solution

- Combine parking places in green environments as a part of another network then just parking.

- Make a parking strategy for the car free centre.

- Transfer parking from streets to parking structures.

Category

Relations
Legible public space
Recognition of public space
Slow traffic network

Resources
Gehl, 2011
provided by interviews
Figure 8.21 Ruins of an old synagogue along the Bulevar.
Source: author, 2012
19 Living Wall

Statement
Massive walls remind on war.

Clarification
Walls are too divide different kind of areas, like as private territories from public space. A lot of walls in Mostar are too massive and gives an ugly impression and function. Those are not only ruined buildings, but also walls of construction and war lefted walls with graffiti and political commercials. Massive walls reminds on war and bad times that has passed.

Solution
Replace massive walls with organic hedges without changing the original structure.

Category

Relations
Degree of publicness
Reactivation of damaged urban fabric
Legible public space

Resources
Gehl, 2003
Figure 8.22
Social street: Kujundžiluk.
Source: Flickr, 2010
Social Street

Statement
A social street provides residents with informal social control and possibilities to socially interact with one another.

Clarification
In the design of postwar neighbourhoods in east Balkan a lot of attention is paid to the street as a place for social interaction, in particular through getting back the social life before war, which ensures limited through traffic. Despite this general attention, little attention is paid to actual detailing, many streets appear to be dimensioned too broad, with parking dominating public space, and with limited possibilities for encroachment on public space and informal social control from the individual homes.

Solution
More activities on the street.

Category

Relations
Community participation
Coffee connects
Combined living-working
Activity pockets
Public meeting points
Space for sidewalks
Legible public space

Resources
Gehl, 2003
provided by interviews
Figure 8.23
Park Zrinjevac, the central park in Mostar.
Source: author, 2012
21 Safe parks

Statement
The design of a park can have a direct impact on people's perceptions of safety and their willingness to use a space.

Clarification
According to PPS, designing a park for safety is based on what is generally considered to be good design: it meets the needs of its users; it is diverse and interesting; it connects people with place; and it provides people with a positive image and experience. While good design will not necessarily eliminate perceptions of fear or opportunities for crime to occur, it can create the preconditions for effective control.

Lighting is a key factor because it can clarify the layout of a park by emphasizing walkways, focal points, gathering places and building entrances. When planned as a coordinated system, lighting improves the night time legibility, use and enjoyment of a site. The top of the hierarchy includes lighting activity areas and primary walkways so that they become the focus of pedestrian activity after dark. Lighting has been shown to reduce people's fear of crime (Middlesex, 1989).

The problem in Mostar's parks is that it is not safe for some groups, especially during night. Several interviewers - especially women - said that during night there are not enough people around to go through the city park and there is bad bad lightning.

Solution
- Create active edges to highlight the park entrances. A choice of direct and attractive routes will maximize legibility and physical accessibility.

- Encourage surveillance, by adding program to the parks. Principal routes to nighttime activity nodes should be clearly identified and their use encourage. These nighttime corridors should be properly illuminated with good visibility to increase the chance of informal and formal surveillance.

- The single most requested physical design modification to improve safety is usually an increase in lighting.
Figure 8.24
Brace Fejica street.
Source: Flickr, 2010
22 Recognition of Public Space

Statement
Recognition is an important factor in supporting intended social use of public space.

Clarification
Attractivity of public space is an important component of the physical preconditions for social safety (Luten, 2008) and possibilities for social interaction (Gehl, 2001).

There are some streets in Mostar that even have not a proper pavement. However there are also good examples of this like the old town. Visibility or readability for common people is not clear.

The same and cheapest kinds of materials are applied across the neighbourhood, which have a high level of technical sustainability, but which are nothing short of an eyesore. An additional problem is that of aesthetic sustainability, with materialisation being in line with the 1970s and 1980s fashion, but clearly no longer in line with current standards and expectations.

Solution
Apply more diverse materials in public space, in particular to differentiate between spaces with different levels of publicness. And use more attractive materials that change the interpretation and sphere of the whole or to give some areas aandacht. -Concentrate more attractive materials, with for example more colour, in the most intensely used areas, such as the centre, or along important axes.

Category

Resources
Luten, 2008
Gehl, 2001

Relations
Public arts
Graffiti as art
Degree of publicness
Space for sidewalks
Reactivation of damaged urban fabric
Pleasant parking
Recreate the green divider
Figure 8.25
Old bank building along the Spanish Square.
Source: author, 2012
23 Graffiti as Art

Statement
Graffiti does not have to be a negative effect in the neighbourhood and the city.

Clarification
Graffiti is a form of vandalism which costs society millions annually. Bell (2001) points out that the underlying causes of vandalism in general, are complex. Contributing factors could be low perceived control of individuals. Individuals that experience feeling little control can resort to vandalism, since it shows that an individual can at least control certain things. Peer relations with anti-social peers and conflicts within the parent-child relationship appear to be particularly relevant for middle-class adolescents. Bell also points at the concept of perceived inequity. When an individual feels unfairly treated and also moderate to low perceived control, vandalism is perceived as an effective way of getting back at society, and restore the balance.

People apply on several walls and buildings graffiti as political propaganda but also as signs of peace and art. The old bank building along the Spanish Square is just one of the many examples of old ruins that is overcrowded with graffiti. Street artists have taken over the tower that was used by snipers during the war. In economic terms, under-capacity usage can serve to generate small scale activity in temporary structures that can be acquired and run at low cost. Such activity is vital to the survival of vulnerable social groups, such as the unemployed, youth etc. By using graffiti as an art portal provide the recognition of groups such as youth. They will feel that they also has a place in the city. Exchange of activities and thought due graffiti can increase the sociability of people.

Solution
Designate a few unattractive but prominent concrete walls or buildings as graffiti areas.
Figure 8.26
Traditional Bosnian coffee.
Source: Klix, 2011
Coffee connects people.

**Clarification**
Whyte argues that if you want to seed a place with activity, put out food. From his research on the use of squares and parks, Whyte (1980) he concludes that ‘Food attracts people, which attract more people’. Providing more opportunities to eat something in public space, such as through street vendors, can be an approach to both attract people, and to elongate their stay in public space. Also as conclusion of the workshop in Mostar there can be said that coffee connects people in Bosnia and especially in Mostar with focus on public space. People like to be outside. And people like to drink and share coffee. Coffee make people talk. Sitting outside under a tree, having visitors at home, sharing rooms in a hospital, waiting for the bus. All reasons to take a cup of coffee. Even if you go in a caffee to grab a coffee, at least you have a small talk with the waiteress.

**Solution**
Develop food kiosks along main traffic nodes, parks, and existing activity hubs and blur the line between the kiosk and the urban activity.
Figure 8.27
Café Publika on the Mostarskog Bataljona.
Source: Flickr, 2011
Public meeting points

Statement

Public meeting places such as cafes are important in facilitating social exchange between neighbourhood residents in general and divided groups.

Clarification

In most neighbourhoods and small towns many potential places exist where people can informally meet (Knox & Mayer, 2008). These places are ideal in supporting weak social networks, which is the preferred type of social relation in the direct living environment (Van Dorst, 2005). Lofland speaks in this context of the maintenance of intimate-secondary relationships. Such relations are experienced positive, since a high level of control over the interaction can be exerted.

Junctions are generally places of high accessibility and good natural surveillance. They are therefore ideal places for locating public buildings, shops and public transport stops, etc. Junctions are places of interaction among street users.

Solution

Improve visual accessibility of existing potential meeting places with open facades and inviting entrances.
The former ‘Hit’ square next to the Spanish Square.

Source: Klix, 2009
26 Orientation

Statement
Users of the city need orientation to navigate through the urban environment.

Clarification
The city has many orientation points if you look at the city from higher level. However, on eye level there are not much orientation points what can you get lost while going through the city. Traffic is not clear because of one way and not clear traffic signs on the road.

Solution
Clear traffic signs on the road, orientation can be improved by physical elements that serve as reference point with creating of landmarks.

Category

Relations
Legible public space
Landscape connection
Landmarks
Recreate the green divider

Resources
Lynch, 1960
Figure 8.29
Old Town of Mostar.
Source: author, 2012
Walkable distance

Statement
Walking environments involves short distances towards destinations and visa versa.

Clarification
The city centre has a perfect scale to walk in. To promote this, connections between activity nodes should be within a range of distance.

One critical first step in promoting walking and biking is to identify the factors that influence people’s decisions to bike, walk, take transit, and/or drive. PPS believes that creating good places that rely on human-scale transportation is essential to getting people out of their cars and onto their feet. Walkable neighbourhoods are typically characterised by having a range of facilities within 10 minutes’ (up to about 800 m) walking distance of residential areas which residents may access comfortably on foot. However, this is not an upper limit and PPS states that walking offers the greatest potential to replace short car trips, particularly those under 2 km.

The urban environment has a great influence on the decision to walk (Gehl 2006, Handy 1996, Southworth 2005). As Jan Gehl (1987, p. 143) notes in his classic Life between buildings, an interesting walking network will have the “psychological effect of making walking distance seem shorter”, by virtue that the trip is “divided naturally, into manageable stages”.

Solution
- Make sure that entry points and destinations are within walking range of another. An acceptable walking distance for people has to be found around 400 to 500 meters. But make sure that the distance wind a bit or is perceived in stages to accommodate the experience distance. A long straight distance is experienced much longer.
- Support the walking distances with other networks, like car parking and light rail and bus stops, so that it is more centralized.
Figure 8.30
Provoking messages on ruins.
Source: Flickr, 2005
Statement
Pedestrians need protection of crime to ensure sense of safety.

Clarification
To achieve physical security, people must feel safe from criminal assault and from various types of accidents. Visibility, which is related to natural surveillance (Crowe, 2000) is the chance for individuals to be seen by others and obtain assistance in case any assault and crime. Lack of visibility and not knowing what comes ahead on a route also contributes to the feeling of insecurity; therefore providing ‘visual permeability’ and clear sightlines is important (Wekerle & Whitman, 1995).

Dark, deserted and isolated spaces and streets are often experienced unsafe by pedestrians. If nobody is on the street, people tend to stay away. Also the evidence of crime of graffiti, drugs taking and prostitution deter people to walk. Especially women and elderly people base their decision on fear for crime whether they would walk or not. But also ethnic minorities are more likely to feel unsafe when walking alone.

Space can be configurated to be permit or discourage certain activities and users.

Solution
- Cars, cyclists and pedestrians should be kept together if the route is over any significant length – there should be a presumption against routes serving only pedestrians and/or cyclists away from the road unless they are wide, open, short and overlooked.

- Access to the rear of dwellings from public spaces, including alleys, should be avoided – a block layout, with gardens in the middle, is a good way of ensuring this.
Figure 8.31
Mostar at night.
29 SAFETY AT NIGHT

Statement
Pedestrian need to be able to walk safely at night in order to provide crime.

Clarification
Pedestrian feel much more unsafe and insecure when walking at night. At night the city center becomes a different environment in comparison with daytime. A lot of facilities close down and put down their shutters. Less people are on the street, and this means less activity during night time. This does not only involve criminal activities, but also safety from other traffic. Since pedestrians are less visible at night, they have issues by walking on some side walks that are not well lit or are too small. Darkness often perceives by certain groups as a barrier for going outside and crossing the other side, because it provokes conflicts with other groups.

Solution
Provide an urban environment that is safe for pedestrians at night. This involves providing street lighting that is designated for pedestrians. Activity also provides a more social controlled urban environment. And eyes on the street gives the pedestrian sense of the presence of other people.
Partisan memorial cemetery in Mostar.
Source: author, 2012
Public arts should be considered as an integrated part of the public realm.

Pedestrians have a great interaction with the surrounding environment. They have the opportunity to respond on the unexpected. Public arts is place-making and give meaning to places. It could relate to the past, remember people and events, adding decorative richness, celebrating the natural environment, or introducing aspiration and humor. Public arts could appear as sculptures, murals, decorative shaped fountains, inlaid pavement, artistic benches or other artistic objects. Places overload with war memories need creative touches, colourfulness and artistic statements in order to counter daily tensions and abuse of the site as a platform for political statements. The value of art installations and venues lies in ringing up issues and showing new faces of the underused locations.

There is an increasing prevalence of public art in Mostar, but as yet its introduction and appreciation have not been fully embraced. It is proposed that public art, in all its forms, from civic sculptures, to murals, to incidental pieces, temporary works, audio, visual or whatever else, should be considered fully, as an integrated part of the public realm. As each component of the City’s public realm is designed, opportunities should be identified to introduce artists to the process. It will be through the craftsmanship and personality of an artist, whether local or of international renown, that the character of the place will be brought to life. Pieces should cement the relationship between the citizens, visitors and the fabric of the urban form.

Public arts could occur anywhere, at end points, parks, squares, along streets or other public spaces. Public arts can only occur if there is enough space or special places reserved for it. Also temporary public art could occur as an unexpected feature for the familiar pedestrian or to make unfamiliar/non-interesting public space more interesting.
- using sport as public art
- using historic and cultural values for art

Relations
Graffiti as art
Attractive public space
Recognition of public space

Resources
Lynch, 1960
provided by city analysis
Figure 8.33
Youth outdoor in park Zrinjevac.
Source: Flickr, 2012
31 Outdoor sports

Statement
Formal and informal sports should be provided to do in public.

Clarification
Mostar is a city with 270 sunny days per year. The international Gymnasium at the Spanish Square provide students to sport in the city where possible. A lot of sport facilities and events are hold in parks. However there are not enough facilities to provide sport.

Solution
Public arts could occur anywhere, at end points, parks, squares, along streets or other public spaces. Public arts can only occur if there is enough space or special places reserved for it. Also temporary public art could occur as a unexpected feature for the familiar pedestrian or to make unfamiliar/non-interesting public space more interesting.

- Using sport as public art and as public event.

- Promote water sports.
Figure 8.34
Enclosed alley.
Source: Bohem Dunyam, 2010
32 Enclosure

Statement
An outdoor space is positive when the space is enclosed with various heights of buildings or building blocks with breaks.

Clarification
In an urban setting, enclosure is formed by lining the street or plaza with unbroken building fronts of roughly equal height. The buildings become the ‘walls’ of the outdoor room, the street and sidewalk become the ‘floor’, and if the buildings are roughly equal height, the sky projects as an invisible ceiling. Buildings lined up that way are often referred to as ‘street walls’. Cullen (1961, p.26) states that “Enclosure, or the outdoor room, is, perhaps, the most powerful, the most obvious, of all the devices to instill a sense of position, of identity with the surroundings... it embodies the idea of hereness...”

In Mostar there are several streets that are been used that has straight building blocks of the same height. It looks like a massive city wall when walking through the city. Except in the Old Town, it is not desirable to walk through enclosed alleys or other public space because that gives fear and an unsafe feeling for people.

Solution
- Break open the massive ‘walls’

Enclosure should eroded by breaks in the continuity of the street wall, that is, breaks in the vertical elements such as buildings or tree rows that line the street or give focus on one side of the street. Other visual enclosure can be made by street parking, height of buildings and planted medians and green.

Category

Relations

Resources
Cullen, 1961
Alexander, 1977
Jacobs, 1993
provided by interviews
Figure 8.35
International bicycle marathon in Mostar.
Source: Flickr, 2010
33 Bicycle network

**Statement**
Introducing bicycle lanes will fulfill the wishes of the cyclists and will provide people to use the bike in the city.

**Clarification**
There is a great potential for bikes, especially by creating new connections, public transport becomes accessible for a larger group of inhabitants. The networks also form the basis for new urban and social development. For the urban development, the bicycle lanes become the driving force of the public transport system. For the social development, it creates a link to meet each other on the lanes.

**Solution**
- Develop a bicycle friendly environment with parks and rent shops for bicycles
- Create cycle links to green and blue assets
- Promote cycling with advantages and campaigns

**Resources**
Gehl, 2001
provided from interviews and analysis
The final sub question is answered in this part. It contains the design part, including the strategy for the design and the design concept. First the space to act is defined, which derived from research ans analysis studies that is done in the previous part. Design proposals are followed, which determines specific interventions on specific areas. The design patterns set up in the previous part are used to make these interventions.

The design primarily focuses on bringing people to the diluted inbetween area of the centre by making it safe and walkable, comfortable and desirable with the idea that overlaps the every-day routine of the contested community.
9 How can these patterns been translated into a design to bridge the Bulevar? [RQ4]

In the previous chapters of this thesis;
- the causes of the division are determined
- the city is analysed on relevant aspects
- the behaviour of people are observed and mapped
- successful spots are determined
- these spots are tested, public space is named
- design patterns are set up based on the research

As a response to the research, the designed City Plan for Mostar in this thesis consists of three layers of public space.

The first layer is the Connection of the Lightrail Network. The implementation of this network of slow traffic network connects the important nodes in and around the city centre. The second layer exists of characteristic routes in the city that gives the opportunity to cross the Bulevar and create permeability among what is now two isolated communities on either side of the city. The third layer of public space are the strategic nodes. This layer shows the important activity nodes where conditions are created to bring people together. At this scale streetlevel details are given where you can see that all the layers comes together. In order to make sure the design meet the requirements for the public space in Mostar, the design is based on the design patterns that are set up in chapter 8 (Zivali, 2013). It shows how the design patterns can be implemented by urban planners and designers.
9.1 Challenges and vision for the City Plan of Mostar

The way Mostar is being promoted today allows one kind of image of the city -and therefore- it creates a wrong image of what it really is. The selective past, heritage and identity issues and the fragmentation of the city are clear examples of this. In general, the “Old Town” represents Mostar to the visitors, so they do not see how rich the history of the city is with different periods, perspectives and ethnicities. And most of the locals can not cope with this image, because they do not feel it reflects their reality.

Aims:
- creating conditions to bridge the Bulevar, mentally and physically
- creating an integrated area with the layer of strategic nodes
- reinforcing and extending the successful spots

Figure 9.1
City loop:
The light rail connection.

Figure 9.2
City axes:
Several spheres that are crossing the Bulevar.

Figure 9.3
Strategic nodes:
Attractive spots where all the layers come together.

Figure 9.4
Conceptual overview of the new City Plan of Mostar.
The following main interventions will be applied for the new layer of public space that will create the City Plan;

- emphasizing the existing quality with an overall network for the inhabitants as well as the tourist with the layer of spheres. The layer of the city axes will highlights and improves existing quality and provides crossing overs from one side to the other side.

- designing an integrated central square to offer a comfortable spot on the former frontline to gather for social, cultural and political activities. The connection of the slow traffic network will create a clear linkages between different neighbourhoods in the city centre but will also connect the suburbs.

Ambitions

- Highlighting the culture
- Introducing the bike
- Renewal of shopping areas
- Crossings on the Bulevar
- Changing the socio-spatial patterns of tourists
- Marking and remarking the socio-spatial patterns of inhabitants
Some buildings want to be located where there is action. Others want more isolation. Also, some people want to live where there is action and others want more isolation. Those who want the action like being near services, near shops, they like a lively atmosphere outside their houses, and they are happy to have strangers going past their houses (Alexander, 1977 p. 193). With this concept, public space will be remarked but also the degree of publicness will be moved. The picture shows a division in public buildings, semi-private buildings and private buildings and construction areas that are 'lost spaces' and give no additional value to the city in the current situation. The thicker the line of the streets, the higher the degree of publicness on this streets.

The idea that Mostar is working as one united city is hard to see if the degree of publicness is analysed. The current situation shows that the public is mainly situated on streets with public facilities. However, there are also a lot of semi-private buildings with public plinths (especially on the West) that can not been interpreted as public. There are also a lot of half-constructed areas that are seen as lost space.

Figure 9.5
Publicness in current situation.
The lightrail track will be placed on main streets, however some of these streets (like the Marsala Tita street) exists of private buildings. So the tram will works as a backyard of these buildings. Several patterns will cover this problem and will integrate the public facility with these houses.

The east side will stay moreover clustered: private houses will stay private, but areas with semi-private buildings will be maintained as more public zones, especially on towards the waterfront. This causes a clear distinction between public and private and mark the public facilities on the alleys towards the waterfront. The opportunity to make the semi-private facilities public areas and attract people is easier then go in conflict with private areas.
9.2 Connection Lightrail Network

Mostar is a multi-cored city. It is true that during the post-war period major centres are developed in different styles. The city needs to support the development of this polycentric structure, but with a monocentric system. However the case in Mostar is based on bridging spaces and bringing societies together, this implementation of the connection in form of a lightrail system is applicable in most of the post-war, walkable cities.

Adding a major infrastructure, in form of a lightrail system;
- connects the major nodes in the city and suburbs, so increases the accessibility of the suburbs,
- creates a new playing field and a unique opportunity to exploit the potential of the nodes but also the track. It increases interest in housing construction and business start-ups or relocations.
- On the other hand it is a slow traffic network that does not conflict with the small scaled, walkable city.

So the development of the railtrack will influence several scales:

**Regional scale**
- connects and makes the north and south accessible from the centre (Train station, Airport)
- gives potential to the suburbs in those areas and decreases the use of the car from the suburbs to the centre

**City scale**
- supports a car free city centre with a radial tram system, setting the bulevar central
- enhance the walkable city

**Local scale**
- enlarge future potentials for the Distrikt area in Centar Dva and non build areas for private owners by enlarging the accessibility

**Guidelines aims:**
- developing a cohesive network of nodes in the northern and southern suburbs
- increasing links between nodes and neighbourhood
- create good start-up opportunities for the companies and organisations

**Design patterns:**
1. Legible public space
1.1. Utilizing existing quality
1.2. Accessible public transport
2.5. Public meeting points

Figure 9.7 The lightrail track through Mostar.
The lack of connections between activity pockets and the difficulty to cross the Bulevar are the main problems. The connection between the activity pockets in the centre are physically available, but are not recognisable and efficiently accessible by every kind of user. Secondly, the suburbs are not well connected with the centre. The public transport network (busses) are not driving frequently and the users tend to use the car to go to the centre. This influences also the parking problem in the centre.

Adding the lightrail network improves the legibility of the city and the accessibility of these areas. It gives opportunities to investors and private owners to invest along this railtrack within the city but also towards the suburbs. The activity pockets are provoked to develop with introducing the railtrack and attract people to meet each other. Coffee is never too much in Mostar. Adding facilities like kiosks around tram stops always work in the city. The distance from west to east and the existing road structure of the city makes it possible to add the tramtrack in a single loop in the centre.

In the current situation there is no reason to cross the Bulevar, because it is not safe and it is not attractive. First, the safety of the crossings on the Bulevar needs to be improved. Sorting slow traffic network together on the road not only improves the safety, but also adds a clear network where to walk, to cycle and to drive the car without mixing traffic. By implementing this slow traffic structure, pedestrians are mixing together and are not walking each on a side.

The parking problem in the centre is partly be solved by introducing an alternative for the car. The car free centre will be safer for many users and especially the pedestrians.

Figure 9.8
Stops of the network.

Figure 9.9
The lightrail network in the city centre.
Figure 9.10
Current situation Bulevar A - 'A
Scale 1:2000

Figure 9.12
Proposal Bulevar A - 'A
Scale 1:2000
Figure 9.11
Current situation Marsala Tita street B-B'.
Scale 1:2000

Figure 9.13
Proposal Marsala Tita street B-B'.
Scale 1:2000
Figure 9.14
Current situation Marsala Tita street.
Source: author, 2012
Figure 9.15
Proposed situation Marsala Tita street.
9.3 Layer of spheres

To bring this broader view of perspective of the layer of fragmentation, existing successful qualities will be remarked in a new layer of axes. To connect the ‘successful’ spots we look at the urban structure. Themes that are created enhance the urban structure. Legibility of this structure is improved through visual and structural cohesion of the area. The research shows several axes in the centre that are of interest for the urban renewal in Mostar. For the purpose to bridge the Bulevar, several characteristic axes has been chosen.

These are:
- Green axis
- Secret axis
- the Bulevar itself as an axis
- City axis

The several axes are renewed with the urban design patterns that are set up in chapter 8 (Zivali, 2013).

Figure 9.16
The layer of spheres includes the streetlife axis of Mostar.

Figure 9.17
The axes in the city.
The green route goes from west from the Partizan memorial till the east border of the city centre towards the hills of Podvelezje in east. This west-east line crosses several important structures, such as the Bulevar and the riverbank. The aim of the design of the green axis is on the one hand to enhance the east-west direction and on the other hand to connect the fragmented green structures.

In the current situation the landscape types are fragmented. In the design, the lanes between the several green structures work as connectors that is supported by a bicycle lane through the axis. The pedestrianized wide lane is divided into a separate bicycle lane and widened sidewalks with trees as natural border.

Parking lots are not safe for pedestrians. The design contains a parking strategy that turns around the existing parking places into a clear assigned parking area in a green setting that is safe for pedestrians that walks along. The cars in the city are moved to the parking lots and parking garages on the edges of the centre which now are surrounded by used greens spaces.

Besides the connection, the design adds bike lanes and makes it possible to use this quality for sportfacilities as climbing, running, biking and rafting through the green environments. There is room reserved for bikes, so that the slow traffic network extends with possibilities for cyclists.

Several buildings and semi public spaces are improved. Unsafe playgrounds for children provokes crime and I can be considered as lost space during holidays and in the weekend. Habits in Mostar shows that working parents meet their children and friends during lunch breaks. Childrens’ playground on the schoolyards are transformed into green environments for several groups. They are upgraded into multilayered areas where children can play and parents and elders can rest in an green environment waiting for their children.

The social safety increases and and the environment is a mix of several groups comes together.

Damaged urban fabric provokes crime and gives an unsafe and lost identity to the city. The old hotel Neretva will be reactivated and added to the functional structure as public facility along the waterfront with the westbank.

Across the Spanish Square from the Glass Bank is the Old Privredna Bank. This ruin is similar to hypostyle hall due to the form its degradation has taken; its footprint has been reduced to a series of columns supporting a disintegrating skeletal frame.

The ground condition created by the footprint of the Old Privredna Bank is, in fact, very similar to that of a purposely-designed semi-enclosed public space. Additionally its location means that it opens onto the Spanish Square, which is now a major traffic junction but was once a major meeting place in the city. However, the space occupied by the ruin is far from being a usable public space. The ruin appears to be used
a squat, a place where drugs are dealt and the homeless sleep. Beggars from the Roma community use this impromptu shelter as protection from the rain. The building is open to the street, its ground merges into the pavement only a merged change in texture defines the two. The ground existing beneath the ruin has become overgrown with plants creating a green pocket just off the pavement. Nature’s impact on the building is dissolving the line that separates public and private space.
Figure 9.21
Proposal Green Axis A-A'
Scale 1:2000

3 LANDSCAPE CONNECTION
Figure 9.22
Proposal Green Axis B-B’
Scale 1:2000.
REACTIVATION OF DAMAGED URBAN FABRIC
Figure 9.23
Current situation of the intervention area
Rondo.
Scale 1:2000
Figure 9.24
Proposal for the intervention area Rondo.
Scale 1:2000
The secret axis exists of the main shopping street in east, Brace Fejica street and the paths going to this street. Legibility of this structure is improved through visual and structural cohesion of the area. The aims are to enhance the east-west connection by making existing streets recognizable and to activate the waterfront by creating attractive public spaces.

The design distinguish the existing structure of the main street and small paths, to make the area readable. The paths leading to the waterfront perpendicular to the main street are not recognizable because of their sizes and types in the current situation. Those paths are very small and organic in form and are hide between buildings. By making a difference in pavement material and color between the main street and those paths, the surprising preamble routes towards the riverbank and west will be marked. On the crossings of these two, the design creates stops for people so they can think there are more places to go then only the main street. Adding benches makes it possible to rest on these crossings and 'rethink' the decision of taking a path.

By making these paths visible, people will use them more. The small scaled structure will not change, therefore the safety during night is important. To make the paths leading to the waterfront safe, street lightning is added. Secondly the buildings on these paths are maintained and are facing the paths for social control. The waterfront activity will increase. This gives opportunities to make the waterfront an attractive public area. The old fisher building is maintained and reused as its original purpose. The waterfront is designed without changing the organic form. Stairs makes it possible to walk to the waterfront, where a park is designed for people to sit and walk.
Figure 9.26
The secret axis.
Figure 9.27
Proposal Secret Axis A-A'.
Scale 1:2000

29 SAFETY AT NIGHT
3 RECREATE THE GREEN DIVIDER
Figure 9.28
Current situation of the intervention area at the Brace Fejica Street.
Scale 1:2000
Figure 9.29
Proposal for the intervention area at the Brace Fejica Street.
Scale 1:2000
Figure 9.30
Current situation Brace Fejica Street.
Source: author, 2012
Figure 9.31
Proposed situation Brace Fejica Street.
Figure 9.32
Current situation Neretva waterfront.
Source: author, 2012
Figure 9.33
Proposed situation Neretva waterfront.
The Bulevar is a part of the former frontline and is one of the main routes through the city. It divides the old core from the city extension towards the west. Along this road there is a mixed program available. The aims are on the one hand to make a pedestrian friendly road and on the other hand creating conditions to cross Bulevar towards the ‘other side’.

On the west side there is space for pedestrians, however it is unattractive and unsafe to walk. By sorting the slow traffic network to the west side there is created a clear wide walking zone for pedestrians. This intervention helps to make it safer for pedestrian to cross the road and to walk along. This side is the ‘public side’ of the Bulevar and is designed in another character as the east side. The sidewalks on this side are small, what makes the street unattractive to walk by. The straight line is broken up with access to the neighbourhoods. The City Hall is one of the impressive landmarks for the city. It is, however, inaccessible, with little public permeability, or use, and with perimeter railings that keep people at a distance. Adding benches and making room for pockets parks for informal meetings near the landmarks will increase the comfort and accessibility of these buildings. It gives an opportunity for these buildings to attract people. Furthermore the small sidewalk along the side of the houses was designed as leftover space and probably therefore badly maintained. A problem on the Bulevar itself is the enormous amount of car parks centralized on the road. These parks divide the road spatially. The parks are been replaced and split along the pockets parks on the west and the residential building gardens on the east. The road is redesigned as a slow traffic network. Bicycle lanes are added on both sides and the sidewalks are widened. The introduction of the railtrack along the road makes the road attractive and accessible for the whole city.

On the east side building block gardens and the relation with the surrounding is improvement. They are re-developed in clear residential backyards. Ruins along the Bulevar are functioning as stone and brick walls and makes the road unpermeable. These ruins are transformed into living walls that gives access to the inner blocks.

Santica Street (north part of the former frontline) is composed of a miss-match of buildings. Some are newly constructed or rebuilt and yet they are unoccupied. The juxtaposition of inhabited ruins and empty new flats is a reminder of the territorial division in Mostar.

There are a couple of buildings which despite their severe damage and continued disintegration are still inhabited. The condition of these apartment blocks are very unusual and yet, in Mostar, in is a common condition. In one apartment the upper two floors are refurbished flats whilst the basement, ground and first floors are still in ruination. The environment below the flats can be assessed similarly to a portico and
unlike the previous examples it is paired with an internal space and therefore may, to some extent, act as a buffer zone between inside and out. The position of this building on Santica Street is significant as most of the buildings on this street were completely destroyed in the war.

Figure 9.35
The Bulevar.
Figure 9.36
Current situation of the intervention area at the Bulevar.
Scale 1:2000
Figure 9.37
Proposal for the intervention area at the Bulevar
Scale 1:2000
Figure 9.38
Current situation Bulevar.
Source: author, 2012
Figure 9.39
Proposed situation Bulevar.
City axis

The city axis is characterized by new architecture, business and service buildings and big malls. It is a new face of Mostar AND it can be seen as the northern borderline between the existing centre and the extension Centar Dva (centre two) and Centar Tri (centre three) towards the northern suburbs and is in a way an spatial entrance but also a transport axis. The aim of the design is on the one hand to structure building facilities and on the other hand create economic nodes.

The design provokes people in the buildings to face the street by facing the public facilities to the main roads. Concrete constructions of unfinished buildings are maintained.

Building blocks are mainly for residential purpose, that causes a lack of activity on the streets during certain hours and during night. Residents of highrise buildings with appartements do not have green space for themselves. The building area is upgraded into green parks with addition of water structures.

Guidelines
Aim:
- structure the building facilities
- create economic nodes

Design patterns:
5 Degree of publicness
6 Activity pockets
9 Combined living-working
31 Outdoor sports

Figure 9.40
Scheme of the city axis.

Figure 9.41
The city axis.
9.4 Layer of Strategic Nodes

In the City Plan of Mostar 2013 (T. Zivali), the layer of the strategic nodes is developed till research level and is suggested to use for a new (graduation) project.

The “District area” in Mostar -as marked in the picture below- is about to be transformed into a new city centre. District could be seen as a border, but also a unifying area. During the war it served as a part of the division line and was the urban quarter where the unification was expected to start after war.

Today, all municipalities but District has master plans which makes the integration of this central narrow urban area into the rest of the city critical. The area has to be designed into a centre for all of Mostars citizens. The project has a symbolic value in the sense that its not only concerning physical reconstruction and putting together different historical periods into one unity, but its also giving the future society of Mostar the chance to have space where they can gather, live, work and give a new meaning to the space.

Some sites in District and its surrounding there are spots where people meet today and where they possibly could meet in the future. As District is located in the middle of the city, not belonging to one specific group, it has great pre-requisites for gathering citizens to meet. Therefore, Spanish Square is a crucial point that is the edge of the District area and is very important because it is highly used by the citizens.
Figure 9.44
Great potential on the site where the District area meets the Spanish Square.
Up: south view.
Below: north view.
A SWOT analysis is made (with the coorporation of the New Urban Typologies Workshop participants) to value this area for further developments.

On the social side the conclusion is that the strengths are the existing meeting points where people socialize. There are streets with many cafes as well as the Spanish Square which is well visited. The social weaknesses are that some parts are not accessible for all people – there are narrow streets that disabled people cannot reach. As for opportunities District is an area with the potential of gathering people. It was here where the Chocolate Riots took place in the summer of 2012, gathering young and old to bring chocolate cakes and protest against the division of people, proposing unification and that people work together towards peace. Another opportunity is that people in District could socialize in the street and meet each other. Threats are tensions and political influence from the outside, which highlights that tensions do not necessarily arise in the population in the area. Here, the team stressed that every change and solution for District must come from the inhabitants themselves.

On the spatial side, the main strength is the social aspect. The weakness, again, is that the entire area is not accessible for all people. Furthermore the ownership of certain abandoned properties is still a problem. One opportunity is to use the riverbank which is adjacent to the area but not properly used. When walking in the area there can be seen a lot of open spaces – in other words “lost spaces“ that can be used. The spatial threat is that there is no zoning plan, which makes it difficult to predict and plan what is going to happen. A holistic approach on planning in the city is also seen as important. When creating a plan for District, it will be important to take the adjacent areas into consideration.

Regarding economical aspects, there can be concluded that District is close to the Old Town and also very centrally located, which is one of its strengths. The analysis states that tourism is one of Mostar’s growths sectors and that it therefore is a need for more nodes of tourism than the Old Bridge. Here, the District could be one area that would make tourists to stay longer. A weakness that affects the economics of the area is there are a lot of ruins, empty lots and properties not fully used to their potentials. As for now the whole area is practically blocked as there is no zoning or detailed plan.
In this part of the thesis the main research question of the project is answered and the achievements of the project are reviewed, with argumentation for the way this design is worth developing in the city. Also, there is a reflection made on several aspects like including the process, project, context and methods. Recommendations are given for the graduation project and further research.
The main research question of this project was:

**How to create a new layer of public space in the city - by upgrading the existing socio-spatial patterns - in order to create new conditions to bridge the Bulevar?**

To answer this question, three sub questions were set up, which were problem based (sub question 1), data based (sub question 2), context based (sub question 3).

The literature in question one showed the importance of several causes of division in the city. These are distinguished in the following aspects: political division, spatial division, social division and methodological division. Being aware that the division was not only based on ethnicity made it possible to understand the case better in order to react on the problem statement.

As empirical research of the project, in research question two a variety of methods are used with focus on people's behaviour to determine the city movement of the people. The combination of the findings from the general urban analysis and these movement patterns have proven to be very helpful to determine the meaning of public space in Mostar in research question three. It starts with testing of the successful spots based on quality criteria's for successful public spaces. The findings show that people's aim in public space are mainly based on centrality, historical value, and social interaction on local scale. The design task derived from the urban analysis and the data has proven to be essential when determining what kind of spatial interventions needed to be implemented. This is been set up in form of a design pattern catalogue in order to increase the social interaction in the centre. All interventions are based on locations or interventions in Mostar.

Research question four shows the design that consists of three layers: the light rail network, the layer of axes and the layer of strategic nodes. However, the three layers are very interlinked with each other and can not been implemented apart from each other. By implementation of the light rail network, the design principles that are been used can be considered to be important preconditions in general when implementing a light rail network in every city.
Bridging the division through all layers

It is interesting to reflect in what way the design react to the different kinds of divisions. The implementations are based on direct behaviour of people in the city. In the case of Mostar, and divided/contesting cities it is hard to react with a design on the political issues. However, the proposal can give opportunities to work with different actors while implementing. Spatially, the design propose to enhance the east-west connections by strengthen the existing qualities. It breaks open the Bulevar and transforms it in a slow traffic network where crossing the street is easier but also more attractive. Giving people the reason to bridge the road is the main aim. This is done by creating acces to inner building blocks, remove the parking lots there were functioning as barriers and giving staying quality on the pedestrian zones on the Bulevar.

Social
Methodological

Emotional barriers

However, Mostar’s problems are etched much deeper than the physical presence of ruined buildings. The social, political and religious differences dividing the city are rooted in all aspects of everyday life in Mostar. Architecture alone does not have the capacity to reintegrate the divided city. On the contrary it is likely to aggravate territorial conflict. Therefore any architectural intervention must grow from the fundamental need to make these ruins safe.

Conflict management

EUAM’s peacebuilding efforts to build a unified city with a central zone and shared, safe spaces for interethnic contact were thus met with radical efforts among ethnonational elites to claim spatial ownership and neutralise common space untainted by ethnicity through marking the city space and obscuring the presence of ‘the other’.

Current municipal strategic planning tends to overlook changes in residential differentiation, not recognising them as one of the key elements. What is neede is to integrate the physical, social and economic aspects. Consequently, a situation has arisen in which not only are the problems inadequately defined, but existing policy measures are in conflict with each other.

Public space is needed and can have benefits for other contextual problems in this city:

1. Support local economies (building on the square)
2. Attractive bussiness investments and stimulating people to build or rebuild there land.
3. Attract more tourism, for the whole city and not only the Old City
4. Reduce crime and violence, such as drugsdealers or wanderers that sleeps at night in buildings that were not used.
Figure 10.1
Wordcloud of the thesis.
5. Improve pedestrians safety in this walkable city.
6. Increase use of public transportation, by introducing the tram that is connecting the suburbs with the city.
7. Improve the environment; increased awareness of the importance of open spaces increases responsible use of these resources, and reclaims waterfronts, and the river itself.
8. Last but not least; increase the social interaction by creating conditions on these places to bring people together.

Community participation

The development of resilient cities and neighbourhoods will require the active participation of community members, at all scales. From the seemingly trivial activities of everyday life (e.g. using a plastic bag) to the overtly transformational (e.g. growing the city), citizens have a role to play and a responsibility. It is only through the sum total of individual choices, of individual actions, that change will come about.

Residents and stakeholders must be part of planning and designing their cities and their communities. They must also be part of delivering a new vision: by choosing to walk, by engaging each other, by generating awareness, and by demanding higher standards.

According to peace building literature, International organizations and NGOs use a typical set of instruments in conflict. These include the strengths of centrality & independence, neutrality, mediation, advocacy and awareness, capacity building, and participation.

The instrument of participation is the most important instrument available to international organizations. All of the other instruments gain their strengths from the use of participation. “Any mediation process which ignores and sidelines the people with an interest in the conflict and their representatives cannot achieve a just solution of conflict because it is imposed, rather than crafted by stakeholders” (Achankeng, 2009, p.62). This sentiment is shared by conflict planning theory, as it is instrumental to long term sustainable reconciliation “Reconstruction aid should try to bridge ethnic dividing lines by focusing on projects that integrate local firms and municipal official on both sides of the ethnic divide” (Demichelis, 1998, p.1).

Here we face with education, which means enrichment of visual sense and grow up the taste of beauty of people to create the participation between people and city. Maybe the designer has responsibility to ‘educate’ the people.
Figure 10.2
Community participation in place making.
Source: Flickr, 2008
More research is clearly needed, but I here emphasize the importance of the urban dimension and the centrality of cities in social and political interaction in general – and in conflict and peacebuilding in particular. If critical peacebuilding does not operate at the urban level, lacks understanding of the dynamics that shape urban politics, or neglects the power of cities, it misses great opportunities to prevent conflict, materialize its concepts and build peace. But it also excludes locals, undertakes counterproductive measures and wastes time and resources. The subsequent results are more often than not ethnified politics and cemented contestation, resistance towards external actors, and negative spillover effects.

Further research could be done on divided cities and research for the similarities between these cities within different contexts. There are several researchers that are doing this, like S. Bollens. Divided societies are not only as a result of war. It can also be interpreted as division in societies through city development and fragmentation by time.

An example could be Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam. Rotterdam South is a part of the city, which is renewed around 1980s. The renewal of these neighbourhoods took place inside the neighbourhoods on a small scale. However, the outcomes of the initial development of the Kop van Zuid on the poor surrounding neighborhoods are less than planned, because it failed to meet a large degree of its social objectives. The edges of neighbourhoods and the relation between areas were not being dealt with.

After the 80's Kop van Zuid (Katendrecht, Wilhelminapier and Entrepot) have been transformed from harbour area into a modern (sometimes upscale) mixed urban environment to change the character of Rotterdam South. But this development was merely independent from the renewal in the problem neighborhoods on Zuid. This fragmentation of transformation into different parts causes total different areas, which aren’t connected. Moreover, it produced physical-spatial fragmentation in between the different neighborhoods due to connectivity and missing functional links; and social-spatial fragmentation though a division of social groups, a division of the functions and their target groups, and a division in the housing market. The fragmentation has a great influence in the use of public space, and it can be observed, on one hand that the public space in Kop van Zuid, even if it had been highly designed is unused, while in the other neighborhoods, the public spaces, which are many times dysfunctional, dirty and in some cases unsafe, they are very important for the local communities. As a result, there are no public spaces created for the encountering of the different groups (Georgiana Manuela Ungureanu, 2010).
12 Reflection

The aim of this report is to reflect on the research that is done for the graduation project and reflect on several aspects of the whole process. The reflection is divided into four parts; the process, the project, the context and the methods that is been used to achieve the results. It includes according to the Graduation Manual (Appendix 3) the following aspects; the relationship between research and design, the relationship between the theme of the studio and the case, the relationship between the methodical line of approach of the studio and the method chosen by the student in this framework and the relationship between the project and the wider social context.

12.1 Reflection on the process
Starting up this project was not easy. Firstfull, there was a lot of missing information to work with. There was very limited data available. There is been told to me that a lot of information is lost during the war and that there was a time of progression on urban development and regaining all these information. Even the best map of the city I gathered together was from before war. I put a lot of effort in contacting people in Mostar to make it easier for me, because since the beginning I was aware of the fact that I would not be an easy task to gain information. I made some connections, and the most important one was Senada Demirovic. Except helping in gaining information, she told me a lot of the current situation and developments of the city. Without these connections, I was never been able to finish my thesis on this level. I worked with great pleasure on this thesis till the end, with ups and downs, where the downs were especially focused on sorting the information that I got to use.

12.2 Reflection on the project
The project is been supervised within the studio of Urban Regeneration. Renewal of divided cities can be directly placed within the context of the studio. Conflict leaves cities with the material legacy of war as well as areas of long-term neglect and urban blight. Regeneration efforts must deal with these problems. Some decisions concerning urban developments related to urban regeneration in this case may not made by local government alone, but by a mix of many different organisations and individuals. In this context, the use of the inhabitants reflects the need of regeneration in the city. The design is the answer to the general design task, which next to the needs of the society expressed in the interviews and the movement patterns of them. So, the importance of regeneration is not only a spatial approach, but also a strategic model to implement this approach. I believe my conclusions in this thesis concerns more the role as a designer to search for design tools out of the behaviour of the society itself on the street to bridge a social division. The other
aspect could be analysed in another research, because of the complexity of the local and national government in Bosnia & Herzegovina, but would perfectly fit in the studio.

12.3 Reflection on the context
Aspects like social division, post-war situations, rebuilding and peacemaking are very nice but also crucial subjects by redeveloping such a related city. I enjoyed very much to work in this context. On the other hand it is also a very hard task to understand different cultures, especially ones like Mostar where many things are still very sensitive to talk about and work with. During and after my graduation project, I discovered that I am passionate about conflict cities and social behaviour and the relation and effects to public space. The question that public space is needed, or can have a role in developing approaches to bring people together is crucial and interesting. A challenge would be to do research in design intervention patterns that could cover similar cities.

12.4 Reflection on the methods
The first part of the research contains mainly literature study based on the context, while the second part is based on data about the city.
The literature research made the background of the division clear. Without this information, I would not understand the context and that would lead me to a wrong path during the process.
In the second part, the project was focused on the behaviour of people, to understand the meaning of public space in the context of Mostar. I was interested in the daily, weekly, monthly and yearly use pattern of people in the centre. There has to be decided which methods are going to be used to collect these data.
The first thing I decided for the city movement was to apply a GPS tracking method in the city to get concrete data, but that would get too complex because no technical material was available to apply that in Mostar. Very technical methods such as computer programmed methods were not possible to do because of a limit of time and the fact that it is too complex to apply it in the city. I had to think about other methods to get the same information, so I did my research to get this data on a very interactive way: interviews. I decided to interview people on street. This method learned me a lot and helped me very good to understand the city, but also the interaction with people I liked. 45 Interviewers are been asked what their daily, weekly, monthly and yearly travel pattern is through the city. Circumstances as weather, construction work and holidays did not influence the data I gained. However, the amount of people that is been interviewed can be questioned. A limited time frame made it not possible to interview more people.
Besides interviews, the research part is based on observations. Doing observations, talk to random people and organizations helped a lot to understand the context. So maps are basically based on observation. Conclusions have been translated into intervention patterns for different areas, which were the design principals of the design phase. This can be seen as 'design by research'.
Secondly, one of the first ideas was to look broader than the case of Mostar, namely to divided cities as a whole. The intention was to develop such a pattern catalogue based on the work of Christopher Alexander (A Pattern Language), that it could be implemented in several similar divided or contesting cities. Still, I am wondering if this could be an approach in future researches. The patterns that are been developed deal with social interaction in the case of Mostar, but obviously some of them could be used for other post-war cities or divided societies. After creating the pattern catalogue it seemed easy to apply it as interventions in the design task. However, directly translating of the patterns into a coherent design proved to be hard. Maybe there has to be a step in between, in form of a model that covers all scales of intervention patterns.

There can also be concluded that some of the intervention patterns need to be distinguished in itself. We can call this ‘a pattern in a pattern’. For example, the intervention pattern of creating safety at night can be implemented at several areas, however this pattern has to react directly to the area. Some areas has to be enclosed and in other areas it is enough to add street lighting. This means that there can be variety in implementing a pattern.

So maps are basically based on observation. Conclusions has been translated into intervention patterns for different areas, which were the design principals of the design phase. This can bee seen as ‘design by research’.
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“Everywhere there is something to overcome or to bridge: disorder, death, meaninglessness. Everything is a transition, a bridge whose ends are lost in infinity, beside which all the bridges of this earth are only children’s toys, pale symbols. And all our hopes lie on the other side.”

Andric describes the disorder of social issues as a result of the Bosnian War during the nineties. This thesis focuses on the city of Mostar, one of the post-war cities in Bosnia & Herzegovina. Its damaged urban fabric and more interesting divided society is still recognizable in everyday life. The Bulevar - the former frontline - goes through the heart of the city and still works as a division line after almost 20 years. In order to bridge the Bulevar, this thesis is set up with the supervision of the department of Urbanism at Delft University of Technology.