

# **CITY IDENTITY: THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUITY IN A DYNAMIC CONTEXT**

Case study of Prishtina, Kosovo

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To my parents



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## **ABSTRACT**

City identity is a physical reflection of society into the city; connecting epoch's cultures with one another. Feeling part of the habitat one lives in is as important for an individual as it is for the society as a whole. But, keeping up a city identity has become more difficult in recent centuries with the urbanization, transport and technology advancements and short-living urban trends implied by economic competitions or utopic philosophies. City identity is constantly coping with the adaptations demanded by not only social changes, but also national identity as a shaper of the surrounding based on its goals; marking the political impacts of planning. Therefore, continuity apart from being interpreted as a city identity component is also a challenge for the city through ensuring transmission of gains and burdens of a society indefinitely.

This thesis explores city identity evolution of Prishtina, Kosovo with an emphasis on the last 75 years. Prishtina being a capital of a newly-independent state has been a vulnerable ground for self-centered authorities that have imposed stable evidence of their identities through territorial re-creations for decades. Through the chosen qualitative study method, data was collected from four generations of citizens for periods of the mentioned time span. Then, this data was analyzed in six city features: legibility, enclosure, coherence, heterogeneity, affinity, and memorability. This research report showed how the destructions, recreations and socio-political changes of periods have affected the city life in next periods, in other words, explained the city transition with its strengths and deficiencies as perceived by the six feature perspectives. The resulted addition in this timeframe has been heterogeneity in return of loss of coherence, whereas the four other features have been listed as shifted but remaining ones. Afterward, the findings, with the additional information on in-force future development plans, are used to make suggestions that should be considered in future plan revisions.

The research report firstly gives a theoretical background on city identity before starting the case study analysis that includes the concept of identity, city identity as well as its creation, recreation, and components; to then, explore and discuss the collected data related to the case study. Findings of the case study underline the stressed points of three requests of city identity: originality, time and public spaces.

**KEYWORDS:** urban planning, identity, city identity, continuity, case study.





## **RESUMO**

A identidade da cidade é um reflexo físico da sociedade na cidade, ligando culturas de época entre si. Sentir-se parte do habitat em que se vive é tão importante para um indivíduo quanto para a sociedade como um todo. Mas, manter a identidade de uma cidade tornou-se mais difícil nos últimos séculos com a urbanização, os transportes e os avanços tecnológicos e as tendências urbanas de vida curta implicadas por competições económicas ou filosofias utópicas. A identidade da cidade está constantemente a lidar com as adaptações exigidas não apenas pelas mudanças sociais, mas também pela identidade nacional como um modelador do ambiente baseado nos seus próprios objetivos; marcando os impactos políticos do planeamento. Portanto, a continuidade, além de ser interpretada como uma componente da identidade da cidade, também é um desafio para a cidade, garantindo a transmissão de ganhos e encargos de uma sociedade indefinidamente.

Esta tese explora a evolução da identidade da cidade de Pristina, no Kosovo, com ênfase nos últimos 75 anos. Pristina, sendo a capital de um Estado recém-independente, tem sido um terreno vulnerável para autoridades públicas autocentradas que impuseram evidências estáveis das suas identidades através de recriações territoriais por décadas.

Através da escolha de um método de estudo qualitativo, os dados foram recolhidos de quatro gerações de cidadãos para os períodos do intervalo de tempo mencionado. Em seguida, esses dados foram analisados em seis características da cidade: legibilidade, recintos, coerência, heterogeneidade, afinidade e memorabilidade. Este relatório de pesquisa mostrou como as destruições, recriações e mudanças sociopolíticas dos períodos afetaram a vida da cidade nos períodos seguintes, ou seja, explicaram a transição da cidade com as suas forças e deficiências percebidas pelas seis perspectivas do recurso.

O acréscimo resultante neste período de tempo foi a heterogeneidade no retorno da perda de coerência, enquanto as outras quatro características foram listadas como deslocadas, mas remanescentes. Posteriormente, as descobertas com informações adicionais de planos de desenvolvimento em vigor, são usadas para fazer sugestões de considerações a serem feitas nas futuras revisões do plano.

Neste relatório de pesquisa, primeiramente, uma base teórica sobre a identidade da cidade antes de ser iniciada a análise do estudo de caso que inclui o conceito de identidade, identidade da cidade, bem como a sua criação, recreação e componentes; para então explorar e discutir os dados recolhidos relacionados com o estudo do caso. Os resultados do estudo de caso confirmam os pontos estressados de três solicitações de identidade da cidade: originalidade, tempo e espaços públicos.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** planeamento urbano, identidade, identidade da cidade, continuidade, estudo de caso.



## **ABSTRAKTI**

Identiteti i qytetit është reflektim fizik i shoqërisë në qytet; që lidh kulturat e epokave me njëra-tjetrën. Ndjenja e të qenit pjesë e habitatit ku njëri jeton është e rëndësishme për individin aq sa është për shoqërinë në tërësi. Mirëpo, ruajtja e identitetit është bërë më e vështirë në shekujt e fundit me dukurinë e urbanizmit, avancimet e transportit dhe teknologjisë si dhe me trendet e shkurtra urbane që ndikohen nga garat ekonomike apo filozofitë utopike. Identiteti i qytetit përballet vazhdimisht me kërkesat për përshtatje të lidhura jo vetëm me ndryshimet shoqërore, por edhe nga identiteti kombëtar si formësues i rrethinës që ka në bazë qëllimet e veta; duke shënuar ndikimet politike në planifikim. Prandaj, vazhdimësia përveç interpretimit si komponent i identitetit të qytetit paraqet gjithashtu sfidë për qytetin për shkak të transmetimit të fitimeve dhe barrës së një shoqërie në pafundësi kohore.

Kjo tezë shqyrton evolvimin e identitetit të qytetit të Prishtinës, Kosovë me theks në 75 vitet e fundit. Prishtina, duke qenë kryeqyteti i një shteti të sapo-pavarur, ka qenë terren që i është nënshtruar imponimeve të identiteteve nëpërmjet rekrijimeve territoriale për dekada të tëra. Me metodën e zgjedhur të studimit kualitativ, të dhënat u grumbulluan nga katër gjenerata të qytetarëve për periudhën e caktuar kohore. Pastaj, këto të dhëna u analizuan në gjashtë karakteristika të qytetit: lexueshmëria, përrethimi, koherenca, heterogjeniteti, afiniteti dhe kujtueshmëria. Ky raport i hulumtimit shfaq ndikimin e shkatërrimeve, rekrijimeve dhe ndryshimeve socio-politike të periudhave në jetën e qytetit në periudhat e pasme, me fjalë të tjera, shpjegon tranzicionin e qytetit me pikat e forta dhe mangësitë e tij të perceptuara nga gjashtë perspektivat e funksionimit. Si rezultat i këtyre ndryshimeve gjatë periudhës së shqyrtuar, heterogjeniteti ka qenë elementi i fituar në këmbim të koherencës, përderisa katër tiparet e tjera janë renditur si të mbetur por të ndryshuar. Më pas, këto gjetje, bashkë me informacione shtesë të planeve zhvillimore për të ardhmen, janë përdorur për përpilimin e sugjerimeve që duhen konsideruar në rishikimet e planeve për të ardhmen.

Raporti i hulumtimit së pari jep një sfond teorik mbi identitetin e qytetit para se të fillojë analiza e studimit të rastit që përfshin konceptin e identitetit, identitetin e qytetit si dhe krijimin, rekrijimin dhe komponentët e tij; që pastaj të shqyrtoj dhe diskutoj të dhënat e mbledhura në lidhje me rastin e studimit. Gjetjet nënvizojnë tre kërkesat e identitetit të qytetit: origjinaliteti, koha dhe hapësirat publike.

**FJALËT KYQE:** planifikimi urban, identiti, identity i qytetit, vazhdimësia, rast studimi.



## INDEX

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	i
ABSTRACT .....	iii
RESUMO .....	v
ABSTRAKTI .....	vii
<b>1. INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 THESIS BACKGROUND .....	1
1.2 SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH .....	2
1.3 OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH REPORT .....	3
<b>2. THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF CITY IDENTITY CONCEPT .....</b>	<b>5</b>
2.1 INTRODUCTION .....	5
2.2 IDENTITY: A SOCIO-SPATIAL CONCEPT .....	6
2.3 CONCEPT OF CITY IDENTITY .....	9
2.4 CITY IDENTITY COMPONENTS .....	12
2.4 CREATING AND RECYCLING CITY IDENTITY .....	17
2.5 THREATS TO CITY IDENTITY .....	20
2.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS .....	23
<b>3. METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>25</b>
3.1 INTRODUCTION .....	25
3.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....	26
3.3 DATA COLLECTION .....	29
3.4 ADAPTING BASE FEATURES TO THE CASE STUDY .....	30
3.5 DATA ANALYSIS .....	31
3.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS .....	31

<b>4. CASE STUDY ANALYSIS OF CITY IDENTITY</b> .....	33
4.1 INTRODUCTION.....	33
4.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CITY .....	33
4.3 CITY IDENTITY FEATURES .....	38
4.4 PLANS AND PROJECTS ON CITY’S FUTURE.....	54
4.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	56
<b>5. DISCUSSION</b> .....	59
5.1 INTRODUCTION.....	59
5.2 EVOLUTION OF CITY IDENTITY FEATURES .....	59
5.3 FINDINGS FROM PRISHTINA’S CASE OF CITY IDENTITY .....	65
5.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	66
<b>6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS</b> .....	67
6.1 MAIN CONCLUSIONS .....	67
6.2 DISCUSSIONS ON THIS RESEARCH AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....	69
<b>REFERENCES</b> .....	71
<b>7. APPENDIX</b> .....	77
7.1 INTERVIEWS.....	77

## **INDEX OF FIGURES**

Figure 1 Prishtina in 1924.....	35
Figure 2 Korzo, 1970 .....	36
Figure 3 Ulpiana and Dardania district .....	36
Figure 4 A perspective of Prishtina as seen from a high-rise building in Muhaxherët neighborhood .....	37
Figure 5 Edges of 40s Prishtina in today's map.....	39
Figure 6 Mentioned nodes in a current map.....	40
Figure 7 Old photograph of an oriental street.....	41
Figure 8 Old photograph of a socialist street.....	41
Figure 9 Modern Dardania zone .....	43
Figure 10 Street Eduard Lir in Arbëria Zone .....	43
Figure 11 Ramiz Sadiku Street 1959.....	45
Figure 12 Old Bazaar.....	45
Figure 13 Prishtina of the second generation.....	46
Figure 14 Dardania neighborhood .....	48
Figure 15 Narrow Streets of Old Bazaar.....	50
Figure 16 Korzo Street- Current Mother Teresa Street.....	50
Figure 17 Destroyed Katër Llulla Fountain.....	52
Figure 18 Existing Shadërvan Mosque fountain.....	52





**INDEX OF TABLES**

Table 1 Keynotes on feature evolution along generations .....	53
Table 2 Main points of legibility feature .....	61
Table 3 Main points of enclosure feature .....	61
Table 4 Physical and social coherence feature .....	62
Table 5 Physical and social heterogeneity .....	63
Table 6 Physical and social affinity feature .....	63
Table 7 Natural and built memorability feature .....	64
Table 8 Thematic categorization of collected data .....	122



# 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 THESIS BACKGROUND

Settlements are in a continuous evolution impacted by natural, social, economic and political changes. Taken last century only, society has seen the creation and destruction of numerous countries, two world wars, political regime changes, and major technological advancements that have affected the urban planning approach. The world we live in today is more connected than it has ever been before, changing the attitudes on physical presence and distance perceptions.

Apart from connecting, this network has brought cities in a global competition to attract investments as well as professional labor (Erickson and Roberts, 1997; Kunzmann, 2009; McCarthy, 2006). In planning, the trend of a global city as a suitable philosophy for the postmodern society is used as a tool by many cities worldwide to achieve their intention of remaining in the world competition (Kong, 2007). The general belief is that global cities would encompass the ideal ground for multi-ethnic societies as they embody the ideal spot for anyone whereas, Massey (2007: 84-85) argues that global city features are not alienated from the planet we live in but they are connected to local features; the difference is that local features when based elsewhere create the perception of being global. In other words, cities are replicating local features of elsewhere in order to be considered global.

This global city illusion is a part of standardization aims that have been around for a long time, starting with the industrialization's factory enclave life in nineteenth-century that has resulted in regular urban blocks typically associated to American cities but originated from European experience (Mumford, 1938: p.183-190). Similarly, modernist ideology dreamt of an ideal city crossing cultural borders, which according to philosopher and sociologist Zygmunt Bauman's was a new religious view of life that anticipated a pilgrim life inside the city (Hall and Gay, 1996: p.18-36). In this line of thinking, desert-like features enter into cities to turn cities into spaces waiting to gain meanings (Hall and Gay, 1996: p.18-36).

Therefore the global city trend is not an innovation, as the issue of planning standardization on its own is not a new one. In fact, it is old enough to make local identities scarce or at least out of reach for the contemporary citizen. Predictably, many disagree with the global city ideas and appeal for local identities (Massey, 1991; Roca and Oliveira-Roca, 2007). Sassen (2005) claims that the loss of cityness in many cities around the globe is a consequence of western experience focus of urbanity teachings, even though some city urbanities exceed this knowledge.

City identity search has also been continuous for some decades. In fact, city identity has even entered marketing. Although its marketing is more on the perception of a city with ‘identity’ through flagship projects, it is becoming as significant as its counterpart trend of a global city.

Identity has arisen to be another keyword in recent trends. It appears to be of importance not only for state politics, geography, psychology, sociology, philosophy studies but for architecture, urban planning, and marketing as well.

The idea of a global city is connected with the philosophy of global citizen; but what makes identity such an anticipated concept?

Identity, as Castells (2000) and Rose (1995) state, is the construction of meaning. As humans, we are in a constant search of meaning, or in words of Relph: “To be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have to know your place” (cited in Rose, 1995).

While some suggest that identity is the “fundamental aim of planning” (cited in Butina-Watson and Bentley, 2007: p.2), architecture theorist Neil Leach believes that architectural theory has hardly tried to understand “the manner in which people identify with buildings” (cited in Butina-Watson and Bentley, 2007: p.4). Hence, most of the contributions on city identity come from social sciences (for e.g. Castells, 2010; Lewicka, 2008; Proshansky et al., 1983; Twigger-Ross and Uzell, 1996), with significant contributions from geography (Massey, 1991; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977) and a symbolic interest from urban planning and architecture (Lynch, 1960; Norberg-Schulz, 1980). While global city attracts users that do not want to settle down and connect with the cities, city identity works on creating and maintaining the society-city relation. Identifying with the place where one lives has been stated as a human need (Rose, 1995). Place identity strengthens but also requires personal identity (Lynch, 1981: p.132; Norberg-Schulz, 1980: p.22).

Yet, there is an investigation gap of city identity as investigated in urban planning. This thesis will have its theoretical chapter, aimed in understanding the city identity concept, component, its creation and development; and its practical part that through analyzing the city identity of a dynamic case study will make a contribution to the field.

## **1.2 SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH**

The case study will analyze the continuity component of city identity in Prishtina. Prishtina has been caught in the middle of ethnical clashes and egocentric imposes of states or individuals several times, with the additional population increase challenge as not a mere consequence of global trends only, but an outcome of the numerous conflicts and wars as well, which first deployed and afterward settled-in inhabitants. Ironically in a city within a disputed territory between two nations both claiming possessiveness of it, identity elements in spatial means need to be searched beyond the visible.

After 1999 while the municipality authorities were struggling to draw development plans and respond to the high number of housing requests, illegal construction phenomenon was rapidly growing in the city. Although the illegal housing constructions have had a long-track in the city, after 1999, the post-war transition period gave an apparent rise to it and was finally put into control in 2014 with the elected municipality mayor. As a result of this period, today there is an obvious lack of building order in almost

all urban areas of Prishtina. Moreover, some of the regulative plans of the city foresee destructions of neighborhoods to fulfill the housing demands in order to place a visual order in sight again. Also, the part of the city that bears most of the remaining old buildings, where some fragments from the past can be captured, is the one that still lacks a regulative plan. Facing the current speed of constructions, development plans and municipality authorities should take into consideration the growth of the city within time, not only by showing consideration in preserving the monuments under heritage but also by keeping the characteristic features of the city. This is of special importance taking into account the continuing construction speed that results in fast changes as a consequence of fast decisions undertaken.

Due to the relatively dynamic urban planning development, Prishtina has had changes in terms as short as 20-30 years in the last 100 years timeframe. The research timeframe was selected as 75 years, developed according to the traceable first-hand data i.e. citizen memory, which was divided into four periods adapted to the socio-political and urban planning approach changes.

The main research question is *how to imagine a future for the lost identities of the city's past?* In order to answer the main question, there will be three sub-questions on the lost, gained and remaining features within the timeframe analyzed. Through the city identity analysis, we will make recommendations for the future of the city.

This case study aims to contribute to the city identity evolution understanding in light of global planning trends and local political interferences. Taken into account that the study is on the capital city of a new-state the questions on identity are topical; making the case study an exceptional one. However, the familiarity of the author with the city was the main reason for this choice.

### **1.3 OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH REPORT**

This thesis is developed in six chapters:

The first chapter is the introductory chapter of the thesis background, scope, and outline.

The second chapter is the theoretical analysis of city identity concept. It is focused on understanding city identity concept as given by scholars with a light on identity as a socio-spatial phenomenon, respectively national identity development. Apart from the concept understanding, there will be cases discussed on city identity creation and re-creation as well as current threats of globalization.

The third chapter is the methodology chapter. In this chapter the research methodology will be showcased: research question, aim, objectives, method, data collection, and sample. Further on, the base for the data analysis will be set.

The fourth chapter is the case study analysis of city identity. This chapter is focused in understanding case study evolution with a background overview, analysis of city identity features and future plans.

The fifth chapter is the discussion chapter. The focus will be on giving answers to research sub-questions related to city identity evolution with the consideration of theoretical background. Additionally, case study lessons that confirm literature review findings will be synthesized in three key points.

The final chapter is the conclusion, where main conclusions and future research possibilities will be given.



# 2

## THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF CITY IDENTITY CONCEPT

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

City identity as a topic of interest has been investigated not only by urban planners but also within the areas of geography, human geography, sociology, psychology as well as marketing. The earliest experience of an individual identifying with a place is the feeling towards one's home, which oftentimes is also the strongest attachment for individuals (Proshansky et al., 1983; Tuan, 1977). Yet, society doesn't revolve around the safety of one's home, but in a common ground of the settlement, where 'home' is a snippet of.

Jacobs (1961: 29-55) explains cities as not simply a matter of high-density issue, but a 'full of strangers' one; where extra measures are requested for ensuring the safety feeling of citizens. Only with the assurance of safety feeling can some life-enhancing assets be developed that lead to a higher life quality such as a sense of community, sense of place and sense of coherence, which for Hull IV et al. (1994) are directly connected to city identity.

The world is the most connected it has ever been in human history, both communication-wise and transport-wise, making one's physical presence not necessarily one's care and geographical boundaries a mere formality (Massey, 1991). On the other hand, precisely this broad network brought cities in a competition of attracting foreign investments, professional labor and tourists (Erickson and Roberts, 1997; Kunzmann, 2009; McCarthy, 2006). In this competition intertwined with the higher life quality expectations, cities are advancing more and more into a *global city* illusion turning into uniformed landscapes lacking local culture interpretation (Massey, 2007: p.165-176; Radstrom, 2011; Roca and Oliveira-Roca, 2007; Zukin, 2010).

While the argument on the side of homogeneous cities has been described as a step forward inclusiveness for today's multi-ethnic cities (Gospodini, 2004), many believe globalization doesn't suggest homogenization instead, it supports uniqueness (Massey, 1991, 2007). Sassen (2005) believes that western teachings of urban planning have influenced a loss of local 'cityness' in many non-western cities not only by imposing global city requests but also through demanding socio-cultural city features of elsewhere.

The term identity itself is an overcharged concept incorporating several fields of study. Identity is who we are, and 'who we are' is very connected with 'where we are' and 'where would we rather be'. Thus, enhancing spatial identification would lead to a better life experience. However, taking into consideration the world trends, city identity is not emerging naturally as a socio-cultural factor anymore.

This chapter will showcase academic literature of city identity in five sub-chapters. First, we'll start by looking at the concept of identity itself in its socio-spatial aspects in connection with psychological and political views, as a foundation for the following subchapter of the concept of city identity. After the part on the city identity concept, we'll search for the components that have been pointed to build up a city identity. Next on, we will move from the creation of city identity and the recycling process that has been happening in many cities to the current threats coming from global trends to local attributes of settlements. Finally, some concluding remarks of the theoretical part that will provide the basis for the case study will be made.

## **2.2 IDENTITY: A SOCIO-SPATIAL CONCEPT**

According to Proshansky et al. (1983), first awareness of identity starts when one learns to distinguish oneself from the others in visual or other perceptual modes. Castells (2000) defines identity as the construction of meaning. Identities refer to how we make sense of ourselves with regards to our experiences, beliefs, and feelings (Rose, 1995) and as one's perception changes within the time, so does one's identity (Massey, 1991; Proshansky et al., 1983).

Identity is a socio-spatial phenomenon, meaning that it is dependent on space as much as it is dependent on society (Miles, 2005; Stobart, 2004). This statement is to be explained in a few points. First of all, human beings are in continuous social engagement and even though the word identity itself suggests some kind of uniqueness, every individual identity is based on collective identities developed by various social groups (Castells, 2000; Massey, 1991). Due to social gatherings happening in a physical set, the place acquires a special importance for an individual or a social group; but meanings given to places differ between various groups, which also suggests the existence of multiple identities of the same places (Jacobs, 1961: 143-151; Massey, 1991). In fact, the term of the place itself, in comparison to space, by definition suggests identification: "spaces endowed with meaning" (Sepe and Pitt, 2014; Tuan, 1977). Further, in some cases, meanings given to places can be as strong as being the central part of one's identity, even though these places may be too big in size for one to even have enough knowledge of (Rose, 1995; Tuan, 1977). Therefore, spatial and social discourses are in close correlation when it comes to identity: place identity strengthens but also requires personal identity (Lynch, 1981: p.132; Norberg-Schulz, 1980: p.22).

Taken into account the time factor, society goes through, identity represents a connection between past and the present (Castells, 2000; Hall and Gay, 1996: p.18-26; Rose, 1995). This connection with the past is not used to get accurate answers for historical origins, as the variedness of hypotheses would be endless but, it is a reference to the past through a selective use of resources in order to evoke an adequate representation of an 'us' and invoke possibilities of what the future might hold for 'us' (Hall and Gay, 1996: p.4). It is easy to agree that collective identities are imaginary communities and their primary function is the construction of the 'us' feeling inside each community member (Hall and Gay, 1996: p.16).



In other words, all identities are constructed but nonetheless, proofs are a necessity for their existence in order to at least have the believer's trust in its reality (Butina-Watson and Bentley, 2007: p.9; Castells, 2010: p.6; Miles, 2005). In this regard, physical surrounding represents a stable and visible proof.

History gives us understandings on achievements and struggles that societies have been through. Through this connection with the past, identity is an escape from the uncertainty of community's, de facto individual's destiny; hence, every state has to have a national identity in order to keep itself together (Gospodini, 2004; Hall and Gay, 1996: p.19). National identities rely on the unifying force that is invoked with the historical evolution of the nation.

The importance of identity stands on the creation of a sense of community, but rather than its aim one should consider the social sacrifices made in history to evaluate its holistic impacts in quality of life as perceived by all sides.

The central point of identity is stated to be 'difference', since identity itself even in its primary form enables one to differentiate from others and requires a division between 'me' ['us'] and 'others' (Castells, 2000; Massey, 2007: p.41-42; Proshansky et al., 1983; Rose, 1995; Twigger-Ross and Uzell, 1996). In this view, even if 'the other' is perceived as the enemy, it also is necessary for keeping 'us' together (Cupers, 2005). Although 'difference' is a much-stated component of identity, Cupers (2005) argues that an identity which depends on creating 'otherness' is not a stable identity, and should be assumed to be in a transition. According to him, the central issue is not a difference from others, but "a difference that troubles identity from within its would-be economy of the same" (Cupers, 2005). Twigger-Ross and Uzell (1996) also replace difference with distinctness.

Apart from other identities, one gets throughout one's lifetime, generally, national identity serves as the main pillar of oneself and best explains the incorporation of space to the concept itself. As Jacqueline Rose was also to say: "The question of identity - how it is constituted and maintained - is, therefore, the central issue through which psychoanalysis enters the political field" (cited in Hall and Gay, 1996: p.15). Castells (2010: p.6-12) recognizes three forms of identity building: legitimizing identity, resistance identity, and project identity.

Legitimizing identity is explained as the identity introduced by the dominant institutions of the society. In the past European national identities were built with an image of the Orient as an uncivilized society through painting illustrations or the writings of the travelers of that time (Castells, 2000; Rose, 1995). Needless to mention that the evidence was not necessarily representing the truth, it proofed to be enough in achieving a clear distinction between Christian Europe and Islamic Orient. For many right-wing politicians, the previously mentioned Christian Europe identity is still valid. For instance, Hungarian Prime Minister Orbán urged protecting Europe from immigrants with these words "...we must also want a Christian Hungary and a Christian Europe, instead of what now threatens us - a Europe with a mixed population and no sense of identity" (Thorpe, 2018). Regardless of the common agreement that identities are imaginary, states are in need of the concept of identity in order to have citizens that believe in it; so that, notwithstanding the circumstances, the state would survive because of the existence of believers in it.

Castells (2000) explains two different tools used by states to evolve a national identity: the French state and the Soviet one. At the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century when only about 13% of France spoke French, French Revolution aimed at eliminating the other identities by enforcing a single national identity. But, only with

the national decision of obliging every citizen to attend the state schools teaching uniform state values, was the intention fully achieved. On the other hand, the Soviet state tried something different: they tried to keep the national, linguistic and religious differences but at the same time negate the historical identities by destroying 'irrational' remnants to build the brand new 'Soviet man'. The Soviet man was intended to be achieved in the long-term with the work of education, but eventually, the Soviet state fell without a Soviet Man being born (Castells, 2000).

In all cases, education played or was expected to play the key role. Atatürk, the founder and first president of Turkey had also acknowledged the role of education in nation-building: "Teachers are the one and only people who save nations" (cited in Ayas, 2009).

The second form, resistance identity is explained as the one being devalued or excluded by the dominant identity, which in opposition to the dominant logic forms a community to survive the oppression and excludes the excluder i.e. "exclusion of the excluded by the excluded" (Castells, 2010: p.6-12). Sennett (1994: p. 212-251) explains Venice ghetto evolution when minorities were perceived as a threat for Christianity, but also needed due to their high tax payments; thus in 1516, Venice decided to create minority ghettos. Ghettos had clear boundaries and different sets of rules for each minority such as curfew hours and dress codes. As a result, the city contained many small fractures with a growing hatred of Venetians through endless assumptions towards the minorities, and especially towards the Jewish minority. On the other hand, Jewish ghetto being segregated developed a community feeling and flourished its own distinct culture. While clearly marked boundaries and appearance rules were the exclusion techniques of the time, it can't be said these problems remained then and there. Apparently, the destruction of physical walls wasn't enough in eliminating ethnic differentiation (see e.g. Allon, 2013).

The third form, project identity, aims at challenging and transforming the whole social structure producing subjects, one example of which is the feminist movement (Castells, 2010: p.6-12).

Castells (2010: p.6-12) acknowledges the aftermath of each of the first two identity approaches, with the first one constructing a civil society and the second one building a community.

In this view, resistance identity seems to be leading to a real sense of community without an external enforcement or a major social sacrifice, apart from accepting the state of being excluded. On the other hand, taking into consideration that identity is not a static concept, and one day the identity that got developed from a resistant group will be transferred to a legitimizing identity, the social exclusion towards the then-excluder will be valid. Thus, in any case, the social division will remain.

The essential feature of identity is the continuity in it: actions done by nation's ancestors make today's nation-state, hence today's struggles of many third world countries are connected to the past oppression of today's advanced first-world countries. Gatens and Lloyd in their book *Collective imaginings*, for Australia's aboriginal society, write "...we are responsible for the past, not because of what we as individuals have done, but because of what we are" (cited in Massey, 2007: p.178).

We will discuss two examples of two ethnic communities to understand the importance of history in exclusion. Cases of Catalan community in Spain and Albanian community in Italy both show different attributes such as language, culture, and traditions in comparison to their counterparts; Spain, respectively Italy. Catalan identity is believed to have language and culture as pillars of the identity and a history filled with threats to its identity, in the eradication of it (Castells, 2010: p.45-54). Whereas Arbëresh community

is the Albanian minority that fled their country in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, settled in southern Italy and today represent one of the most numerous linguistic minorities of Italy (Tagarelli et al., 2007). Although, both communities have their own identity, with their own language and traditions inhabiting compact territories, history shapes today's demands. In historical view of these cases, while Italy is perceived to be a savior, Spain had been an oppressor towards the particular community. The point to be recognized is that the feeling of threat towards one's identity strengthens identity (Hull IV et al., 1994). As a result, an identity that excludes gets excluded.

Although necessity of national identities in our globalized world has been questioned due to the tendency of some groups to depend on transitory phenomena such as jobs and possessions in order to build their own identities, recent rises of nationalist movements have once more proved that these tendencies do not represent the majority (Butina-Watson and Bentley, 2007: p.9; Castells, 2000). In fact, the idea of detaching oneself from the local and identifying with the global to rely on personal achievements is not a postmodern discovery, in fact, it goes as far back as when Socrates was to say: "I am not an Athenian, nor a Greek, but a citizen of the world" (cited in Devine-Wright, 2013). Apparently, the need to build one's own identity to distinguish themselves from the crowd has always been desired (Butina-Watson and Bentley, 2007: p.15).

Nevertheless, Castells (2000) explains the importance of settling a European identity as a pre-request to keep the union together against any possible scenario of a future crisis hitting European Union when escaping the falling union would seem more appealing than the hard-work required for keeping it together. Castells (2010: p.32) believes that ethnicity, religion, language, territory are not sufficient to build a national identity; building a nation works with creating shared experiences. For instance, in the case of feeling European, apart from education and professional status, traveling frequency as an experience creator, has proven to have effects, wherein 60% of frequent travelers express a stronger sense of belonging to Europe in relation to the 27% of their non-traveler counterparts (Devine-Wright, 2013). Consequently, Castells (2000) in his task of developing a European identity for European Union citizens suggests experience sharing through education, language, single labor market, shared policies, and so on.

Despite its fictive basis, identity is the essence of how we think of ourselves; it is the creator of a sense of community and what we hold on to even under extraordinary circumstances. It keeps life meaningful, incorporating our values and beliefs intertwined with the past and ensuring continuity of our life. But, continuity is also its challenge that transfers the burden from past actions of nation-societies to today and today's actions create burdens for next nation-societies.

### **2.3 CONCEPT OF CITY IDENTITY**

Places are starting points for cities. Long before cities existed, tribes had their meaningful places where they carried out their daily work. Social meanings are often times attributed to places because of the appealing stability of physically built elements in comparison to non-physical symbols (Hull IV et al., 1994).

The connection between place and identity has been searched in two directions: identity *with* a place and identity *of* a place. The first one, mainly investigated by sociologists and psychologists, is defined as

identification with a place, referring to the bonds between an individual and a physical setting (see Lalli, 1992; Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff, 1983), whereas, the identity of a place refers to the physical setting of the definition. The two concepts are interconnected, the identity of a place will represent identification with a place for its users (Montgomery, 1998).

The word identity itself can be used in two meanings: sameness and uniqueness; which in this context would mean a city different from others and of a continuously same consistency. However, contrary to its literal meaning, city identity does not stand for a seamless consistency throughout the city, as diversity is city's main pillar (Jacobs, 1961: p.143-151; Massey, 1991; Montgomery, 1998).

Lynch (1981: p.131) defines identity as "... the extent to which a person can recognize or recall a place as being distinct from other places- as having a vivid, unique, or at least a particular, character of its own". When touring American cities in the 19th century, Lord Bryce suggested that difference between them is that some of them are made of brick and some from wood (mentioned in Sennett, 1969). Aristides was to say: "[N]ot houses, finely roofed or the stones of walls well-built, nay, nor canals and dockyards, make the city, but men able to use their opportunity" (cited in Hugo-Brunt Michael, 1972: p.1). Having a unique feeling cannot be achieved through relying on a distinct surrounding solely, as it can be argued that every place and every city has a kind of physical uniqueness, if not intended otherwise. It must be acknowledged that city is firstly a social construct. Therefore, the significance is in societies that build up cities: unique cities are results of unique societies.

Jonathan Glancey suggests that nowadays we see culture as a tool to make our cities work compared to the Victorian cities that built culture depending on their economic activities (mentioned in Miles, 2005). Mumford (1938: p.485-486) criticized modernist movements of the last century, believing that the intentions of cities that are focused on the emptiness of utopian perfectionism are in contradiction with human needs for psychological growth. But way back when, Plato had similar thoughts on the social role on cities, when he used the factor of social needs satisfaction as a determiner of the desirable size of the city, which at that time meant participation in active political life through hearing the orator in public gatherings (cited in Mumford, 1938: p.486-488). Zukin (2012) had expressed culture as the "timeless business of cities".

Kunzmann (2009) defines culture as "centered around the arts, film and music, architecture and design – a culture which is rooted in and shaped by the history and identity of places". According to Grabame (1998: p.157), the idea of culture has its roots in Western colonization experience when confronted with non-European societies and came up with the suggestion on the existence of each society's own "set of norms, values, and ideas that guided behavior within it" or *culture*. Life experience teaches people how to function in a society and this is transmitted in the spoken discourse and in their behavior which includes objects they produce and use (Grabame, 1998: 156-176). But, other than romanticizing the presence of multiple cultures, the existence of cultural evaluation in our societies should be acknowledged. Massey (2007: p.101) argues that physical changes, meaning modifications done in the city environment imply modifications in civic activities and behavior, therefore cultural changes. In regards to this, developing an accepted form of urbanity as a cultural product eliminates the vulnerability to cultural evaluation which in a way explains the westernization trends.

The city is a social product interpreted to a physical setting. Whereas, city identity is the relationship process of citizens with the city shaped into its architecture which fits in the citizen's lifestyle, beliefs, and values (Sepe and Pitt, 2014).

To better understand the identity of a city it is important to take a look at the concept as investigated in social sciences. Lalli (1992) identified four perspectives of place-related identity in psychology: cognitive perspective, phenomenological perspective, self-concept theories and sociological influence. Cognitive perspective is present in two groups: orientation-related and meaning-related. Orientation-related identity has gained contribution by Lynch (1960) who drew the five elements of orientation as paths, edges, nodes, districts, and landmarks, whereas the meaning-related aspect deals with the place's function, as what happens in there (Lalli, 1992). The second, phenomenological perspective defines place-identity as the relation of the person to a place due to its significance to an individual (Lalli, 1992). The third perspective, self-concept theory bases everything to one's self; hence, place identity refers to the contribution of places to self-development since people connect to places through meanings they give to them (Hull IV et al., 1994). Lastly, in sociological perspective, social relations and actions define basic requirements of a place and also influence the individual tastes for a person to feel identified with a place (Proshansky et al., 1983; Twigger-Ross and Uzell, 1996). The way in which a place is perceived by one's social groups will also impact one's place-identity (Proshansky et al., 1983; Sepe and Pitt, 2014).

Firstly, according to these perspectives identification with a city will not appear as a uniform feeling among the society. As different social groups relate to their city of residence differently, city identity is rather a collage of identities (Proshansky et al., 1983; Schwedler and Neill, 2001: p.1-7).

Second, place attachment affects place identity (Lewicka, 2008). Place attachment consists of a variety of reasons such as emotional or memory-related ones (Lewicka, 2008). In this respect, for instance, people who have been involved or at least somehow participated in building their cities are more likely to identify with it. While not every generation has the opportunity to raze the previous one to build a new city in order to feel a higher level of attachment; surely each generation experiences and adapts the city according to the beliefs of their time (Zukin, 2010).

Thirdly, certainly city identity same as identity doesn't suggest a stagnated state. City identity is a process: as society evolves so does the product it uses (Cupers, 2005; Massey, 1991; McCarthy, 2006; Oktay, 2002; Proshansky et al., 1983; Stavrides, 2008). For instance, Roman provinces didn't instantly Romanize with falling under Roman rule, meaning that identity was not instantly fixed, but with a slow transformation, at instances even resisting the opposed changes although superior to the existing (Grabame, 1998: 156-176). Time is crucial in accepting and adapting.

Importance of having city identity has been expressed differently by various authors. Noschis (1987) believes that quality of a place is determined by city identity as a bond between inhabitants and their settlement. In 2002, president of the British Royal Town Planning Institute went as far as suggesting that identity was the "fundamental aim of planning" (cited in Butina-Watson and Bentley, 2007: p.2). On the other hand, architecture theorist Neil Leach believes that architectural theory has hardly tried to understand "the manner in which people identify with buildings" (cited in Butina-Watson and Bentley, 2007: p.4). Relph believes that "To be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have to know your place" (cited in Rose, 1995).

Hull IV et al. (1994) believe city identity influences three life qualities: a sense of coherence, sense of community and sense of place. The first point is in relation to the significance attributed to a physical setting, being a visible material proof in contrast to other philosophical ones, its stability or continuance as a whole. Zukin (2010) believes that continuity keeps city's soul alive: cities can be used as references to the past, respectively the past-selves of individuals or citizens, that serve as a reminder of the progress made (Hull IV et al., 1994; Twigger-Ross and Uzell, 1996). To continue on the sense of community, as described in the previous subchapter, identity is about community making, as building a city should be primarily about building a community. Lastly, sense of place is used as a reference to the connectedness to the place (Hull IV et al., 1994). Actually, one of the main contributors to the concept of 'a sense of a place', Norberg-Schulz (1980: p.10), used the term interchangeably with identification with a place.

Considering the scholar contribution to city identity concept there are a few general conclusions to be made. Firstly, city identity is not a singular identity. The way citizens identify with the city and the bonds created will differ among various social groups. Second, city identity is an evolving process; the strong city identity found in any city is prone to be lost as the time goes by. Third, city identity should be thought of as an intertwined concept incorporating physical with non-physical means; both means reinforce each other to enhance the relationship between citizens and the city. Lastly, sense of community is the connector point in between two concepts of identity and city identity: representing their essence.

## **2.4 CITY IDENTITY COMPONENTS**

While it could be said that there is an agreement among scholars that city identity improves the life experience, they don't seem as like-minded in defining its components. In fact, Sepe and Pitt (2014) believe tagging city identity in simple notions seems to cause losses to the concept.

Collective identity has been related to 'shared experiences' within the community and 'distinctness' from the 'other', whereas city identity concept has been pointed to have its physical and non-physical aspects. Converging these two points in this chapter we will find out the physical and the non-physical components of city identity based on the shared experiences and distinctness factors.

First, as Castells (2000) and many other scholars believe, concept of identity itself is not made upon fantasies but on real collective experiences; in line with this, it is believed that the starting point of understanding a city's identity goes through understanding its history (Ginting and Wahid, 2015; Sepe and Pitt, 2014). Unless the sociological realities are found in physical terms, developed non-physical qualities are vulnerable to be lost.

When talking about city history in physical means, heritage is the inevitable instant association. Cambridge dictionary defines heritage as "features belonging to the culture of a particular society, such as traditions, languages, or buildings that were created in the past and still have historical importance" ("heritage", n.d.). Deciding the historical importance of a feature, however, is the responsibility of national institutions that base their choice within the careful consideration of the adequate representation of their nation-state's past. Thus, heritage lists are selected based on the appropriate version of the past that would protect the integrity of today's civilized nation making them biased and defective.

In fact, the relevance of the whole concept of heritage has been questioned given its links with generating tourism or inventing a nostalgic focus point for society in order to achieve political objectives (Harrison, 2009). Harrison (2009) suggests the existence of multiple ‘heritages’: the official list and the unofficial one; where, the unofficial heritage would be the one representing the reality of the past, the way an individual or a community remembers a physical or non-physical symbol to have had significant importance at a time. But, even this list would have had its endless versions of the past.

The critical points of collective identity creation, rather than a version of history, is connected with time and appropriation (Burdett, 2012).

This connection in psychology journals is named as continuity. There are four components of city identity given as distinctness, self-esteem, self-efficiency, and continuity (Twigger-Ross and Uzell, 1996). Distinctness in this context refers to the ability of a person to positively distinguish oneself from the others due to the pride one feels for the place where one lives. Twigger-Ross and Uzell (1996) relate self-esteem factor to the social worth evaluation one gives for the group and place one identifies with, and self-efficiency to the ability of a person to believe in his or her capability in changing or managing the surrounding to meet one’s demands. Finally, continuity of a place enables one to maintain the continuity of oneself through giving sensations of one’s earlier self (Hull IV et al., 1994). The psychological need of continuity is reflected even in the need of modifying the new physical environment according to one’s past self, or in some instances avoiding the choices of the past self for the creation of a new one (Twigger-Ross and Uzell, 1996).

Burdett (2012) believes that due to grown-over-time construction, informal neighborhoods apart from an obvious lack of urban necessities, encompass place identity qualities such as a sense of community (see for e.g. Kuvač and Schwai, 2017). When expressed in the fore-mentioned psychological terms, it would be linked to self-efficiency factor too. The effect of self-efficiency in planning and designing is supposed to be achieved through the highly recommended public participation. Public participation is one of the three factors to play a role in urban movements as suggested by Castells, along with affirmation of local identity and other urban demands (Sepe and Pitt, 2014). However, public participation in practice seems to be difficult to succeed, and more difficult to reach the informal level of ‘building with neighbor experiences’ as suggested by the comparative case studies in two neighborhoods in Norway and Bosnia (Kuvač and Schwai, 2017).

Noschis (1987) believes that continuous use and possessive attribute are elements that make a place meaningful and lead to self-identification; in other words, continuity. While continuity is regarded as a component of city identity (Bakshi, 2014; Devine-Wright, 2013; Hull IV et al., 1994; Lalli, 1992; Oktay, 2002; Proshansky et al., 1983; Sepe, 2010; Twigger-Ross and Uzell, 1996) of authenticity (Wesener, 2016) or a general urban quality (Zukin, 2010), the vitality of change can’t be disregarded. Urban sociologist, Häussermann believed urbanity to be a “juxtaposition of continuity and change” (mentioned in Cochrane and Jonas, 1999).

The point of change is a much-discussed point when it comes to another widely used confusing term of ‘authenticity’ (Jivén and Larkham, 2003). Wesener (2016) connects authenticity with three components: origins, continuity, and potentiality; whereas, Zukin (2009) believes authenticity represents origins in two directions: as a rootedness in a past time and place, and as a capability for future innovation. Both of these

two ideas, suggest authenticity not to be in the untouched *old*, that is to say in the elements found belonging to that particular place, but also in its innovative re-creation and also in the “new urban terroirs” produced by new stories and new people (Zukin, 2010). These references to a distant past are re-created with political or commercial intentions, which then connect to the previous discussion that denies the necessity of preserving the old as a tool for today’s intentions of overcoming today’s problems (Harrison, 2009). Zukin (2010) believes that the concept of authenticity has been moving from quality of people to quality of things and now to quality of experiences.

Nevertheless, continuity should not be understood as a request contrasting the city’s process of evolving. In a development case study, where people were asked to imagine a future for their communities in order to find out whether they side along contemporary or traditional building it was found out that most of the people, at least in that specific community, wanted something rooted but not stuck in time (Butina-Watson and Bentley, 2007: p. 268).

The city is a visual collector of material remnants from different times and could be used to modulate memory (Bakshi, 2014). The term ‘collective memory’ is used by sociologists to refer to events that a social group, be it a family or even a nation, or world, may have witnessed or was narrated about; and mostly, these events evoked strong emotional reactions, exposed challenge for the routine or identity formation (Lewicka, 2008). Lewicka (2008) believes that the urban reminders of ‘collective memory’ in the city have the ability to influence memory of places either by arising curiosity, searching or conveying its past. The materiality of the city can help residents understand the complex histories and societies. In some cases, city memory provides information on what was left behind (Bakshi, 2014). The ability of a city to interpret a story, without a necessary relation to high-end human or esthetic achievements is a part of city identity. This is in contrasts with the modernist request of neutrality or the idea of ‘life as a pilgrim’ (Hall and Gay, 1996: p.19-23).

Continuity element keeps collective memories alive and collective memories are a reminder of the city’s past. Certainly, heritage is a part of it but also, creativity in interpreting the ongoing social dilemmas is a way of generating our heritage within the timeframe of our life.

Another usual reference of city identity, especially in city branding is imageability (Dovey, 2002: 157-170), as after all, looking for uniqueness is the main interest of tourism (Butina-Watson and Bentley, 2007: p.1). Lynch (1960: p.9) defines imageability as “that quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer”. According to Lynch, the function of imageability is the extent to which an urban environment achieves impressing an individual. The image, being fundamentally perceptive, is a constant reminder of a memory or even an idea linked to a place (Bakshi, 2014). Along with form and activity, the image is one of the three Montgomery’s (1998) components of sense of place. Therefore, the imageability is of high importance for city branding taking into account its aims in creating fragments that are unique as a strategy of keeping a city in the worldwide competition of tourism. But in fact, ‘social imageability’ is the term that got extracted from the city identity’s shared meanings and is connected to place attachment due to one’s socialization and active involvement with the surrounding (Sepe and Pitt, 2014). Sometimes, urban designers use interchangeably the terms of imageability and [place] identity because of the belief that something that is identifiable with a person will also be faster to recall (Ruggeri, 2014). Ruggeri (2014) names the components of identity as social imageability, emotional attachment, satisfaction and imageability and distinctness. In the



experiment made with the Southern California City of Mission Viejo the photo-voice method was used to interpret the images as evidence of identification, where almost 2/5<sup>th</sup> of photographs were interpreted as social imageability due to their relation with social activities (Ruggeri, 2014). Some believe that its social relations in a place rather than history gives a place its specificity (Kalandides, 2011). This is in line with the common belief of public spaces being the main element of city identity (Miles, 2005; Oktay, 1998) and the foundation of cultural identity (Zukin, 2012). Evidently, most of the meanings attributed to places are socially driven (Hull IV et al., 1994).

The term imageability seems to fulfill the aim of marketing i.e. creating a fragmented set of images that would advertise a city through its visual qualities, but the term of 'social imageability' is a more appropriate notion to refer to as a factor of city identity. That is because apart from appearance and recognition, social imageability refers to social behaviors in a location as well.

Emotional attachment along with place satisfaction were listed as Ruggeri's (2014) components of place identity. It has been argued that strength of identity increases when a particular threat is perceived such as an exterior change or its replacement with a new development (Devine-Wright, 2013; Hull IV et al., 1994; Lalli, 1992; Montgomery, 1998; Proshansky et al., 1983). In a post-hurricane case study with Charleston residents aimed at exploring the nature of the places people identify with, it was found out that 30% of the responders identified a natural part alike parks, gardens or trees as the most special feature damaged, churches followed with a 27%, responder's own homes with a 13%, public buildings 6%, retail structures 5% and other categories with smaller percentages (Hull IV et al., 1994). Further, the most common explanation given for the feeling of loss for a place responders identified with, was mainly related to emotions and feelings and were followed by: place-environment fit, distinctiveness, personal accomplishments and miscellaneous values and concerns, personal and cultural history, and lastly social groups to which one belongs (Hull IV et al., 1994).

At times, place identity is used interchangeably with place attachment, which in psychology is used to refer to bonds people develop with places and most commonly is measured through emotional component (Lewicka, 2008). Nevertheless, although identifying with a place is a much more demanding quality than emotional attachment, the ability to connect emotionally with a city is a sublevel of identifying with it.

A further component, satisfaction is in a way connected to continuity, as described earlier, due to the tendency of people to choose environments that seem to represent values of themselves, which again, gets back to their past-selves (Twigger-Ross and Uzell, 1996). As [city] identity is a process, its strength is projected to experience changes within time, and the quality of living conditions affect the intensity of identification (Lalli, 1992). Proshansky et al., (1983) believe that main factors affecting satisfaction are tastes and requirement which are prone to social, religious, ethnic and cultural influences. For instance, it is much more difficult for an adult to identify oneself with a poor conditioned city, especially if his/her past requirements were above the available ones. Apart from continuity, the component of self-esteem, as previously noted, along with other psychological factors is connected to a need of at least fundamental satisfaction with the given urban conditions. Oktay (1998) intertwines social imageability and satisfaction, in what she believes to be essential for city identity: satisfaction with public spaces.

From the discussed points, it is possible to suggest a list of components of city identity as following: continuity, social imageability, emotional attachment, and satisfaction. Although to repeat the statement

made in the beginning, breaking up city identity in parts doesn't do a fair justice to the concept itself (Sepe and Pitt, 2014), it helps achieving a more organized analysis and a better understanding of it.

These components need to have base elements in order to analyze city identity in a dynamic context.

Oktaç (2006) suggests that the city identity is the interaction of natural, social and built elements, which could be used as a basis. However, analyzing a dynamic context needs more detailed divisions in order to trace changes. Roca and Oliveira-Roca (2007) have developed a framework for analyzing territorial identity where the scaling used has two contrasts: local and global. This model uses spatial fixes that constitute the landscape that incorporates natural heritage, population, human-made economic heritage and human-made cultural heritage; and spatial flows, that constitute lifestyle elements given as nature, society, economy, and culture (Roca and Oliveira-Roca, 2007). But, this model is too concerned with heritage in order to be used for continuity search in a dynamic context.

Ginting and Wahid (2015) in their tourism-oriented research paper have investigated the influences of continuity in a historic area of Medan city, and point out the necessity of having heritage elements, or at least creating that image in tourist's minds to boost the experience. The investigation used a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods taking into account perspectives of both residents and tourists, using three indicators of city identity: values, nostalgia, and familiarity (Ginting and Wahid, 2015). In other words, it aims at finding out the perceived uniqueness of the site, satisfaction with the surrounding and opinions on the site memories. Further on, Bakshi (2014) with the aim of understanding how aspects of memory affect spaces of the city in a divided city underwent an investigation in Nicosia, Cyprus. A qualitative method was applied in gathering information from two generations of both Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot, with the objective of understanding the perceptions towards the walled city by the generation that does remember the times before the division and the ones that do not (Bakshi, 2014). The memory search resulted in a comparison of the different uses of the area and the implications of the *otherness* that has been constructed on both sides of the walls for decades. Memories are related to activities but also physical units, especially in this case when lost elements are remembered with nostalgic feelings. Thus, in a changing context, searching for memorable elements that gave uniqueness to the city is proved to provide useful results.

It has been mentioned that identity refers to sameness and uniqueness. Relph had used "persistent sameness" to define identity (mentioned in Sepe and Pitt, 2014). Cupers (2005) acknowledging the concept of identity as a coherent unity, suggested a reconceptualization of the concept to replace it with the essentialness of difference. Nevertheless, sense of coherence, referring to one's perception of life coherence, is commonly related with identity (Hull IV et al., 1994); making, coherence an inevitable feature to be considered in a city identity analysis.

Lynch (1960: p.46-91) for his imageability analysis, classifies physical forms into five elements: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks. These are then grouped under the legibility element as one of the seven elements of Bentley et al. (1985). Bentley et al. (1985) in their responsive environments manual give seven qualities that impact the responsiveness of built environments: permeability, variety, legibility, robustness, visual appropriateness, richness, and personalization. In fact, the starting point of the manual is the critique of modernism as inhuman and repressive, which this manual tries to point out with the necessity of environmental responsiveness to human needs of choice (Bentley et al., 1985: p.9). The

qualities are explained as following: permeability is the choice of access through an environment, variety is the diversity of uses, legibility is the readability of the city, robustness is the extent to which environments offer flexible usage changes, visual appropriateness is the manner in which environments get interpreted, richness is the quality of sense experiences and personalization is the degree to which environments ease place marking for its users (Bentley et al., 1985: p.10-11). Taken into consideration that the concept refers to a city as the scale, the physical elements to be analyzed need to be of an appropriate dimension. For this reason, the variety and legibility would be more suitable than robustness, visual appropriateness, and personalization.

Therefore a non-exhaustive list of the physical features that were found relevant for the continuity analysis of city identity in a dynamic context is derived as consisting of legibility, coherence, variety, and memorability. Taken into account the local features, there will be adjustments done to this list which will be discussed later on, in the methodology chapter.

## **2.4 CREATING AND RECYCLING CITY IDENTITY**

While creating a collective identity was described as creating a distinction from the 'other' and sharing common values with the 'us', its reflection in physical means is essential as it provides evidence strong enough to prove its existence.

Copeta and Borri (2012) believe identity as a process emerges in three forms: as a construct, an invention, and a narration.

Identity as a construct refers to the spontaneous growth of the city. Supposedly, at least well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the distinction was ensured by default due to transport limitations locals had to use vernacular building materials and apply locally known construction techniques which shortened the range of typologies found within settlements, but also gave it a local identity (Butina-Watson and Bentley, 2007: p.1). Although aimed to be achieved with public participation in urban planning, this kind of spontaneous growth today is found only in so-called informal settlements. But also, with the locally scarce as well as locally nonexistent materials and worldwide knowledge becoming easily reachable, the previously locally used difficult practices have turned into scarce applications in the present.

Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico, founded as a Spanish colony represents an outstanding city built with adobe that makes it difficult to be compared with another city in Northern America. Gleye (1994) believes that although its identity is enriched by the use of adobe, even without its use, Santa Fe would still be a distinct city due to a series of scale related features that are linked with tradition. In regards to this, six physical characteristics that make up the essence of its identity are given as the following: three-dimensionality at the large and small scale, narrow horizontal measure, continuous sequence of open-enclosed, appearance of hand craftsmanship, detail at the hand and eye level and tactility of adobe (Gleye, 1994). On the other hand, gentrification concerns due to tourist flows and immigration have been reported since the 90s in Santa Fe (Wilson, 1997: p.273).

An unexpected rapid change in inhabitant structure is what bothers most city identity as when the long-worked city doesn't reflect its society anymore it becomes an alienated city with an alienated society.

The beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had seen many philosophers trying to dissolve the ideal city concept such as Weber, Simmel, and Spengler. Weber advocated the majority who believed industrial cities produced a less civilized state of affairs, Simmel also believed that some human qualities were losing within the complexity of cities and Spengler supported the belief that cultural identities were to be obliterated in favor of a sense of individuality (Sennett, 1969). At about the same time Le Corbusier emerged with the idea of demolishing a central area of Paris to turn it into a more rational and functional one. It should be remembered that the focus was and always is in improving life quality by improving the city infrastructure.

Fortunately, Corbusier's idea was never realized but, destruction of the old to create the modern was either the vision or the reality of many other cities (Bitušíková, 1998; Young and Kaczmarek, 2008). The skeptical approach towards change seems to have evolved to a human urge after centuries of experimenting with regression.

The second form of identity as invention refers to the creation of a myth or re-interpretation of the city from a specific point in history (Copeta and Borri, 2012). An out of fashion example was set with Rome's renewal of ruins initiation, a strategy used by Mussolini to evoke a bright future ahead through reminding Italian citizens of the glory of Roman Empire (Bakshi, 2014). This invention idea envied by German Nazis was also considered as a distant future strategy: leaving remnants of their golden days to the next generations (Bakshi, 2014), but ironically, the real focus of planning after WW2 and unification of Germany came to be the exact opposite: forgetting its Nazi past (Allon, 2013). Similar attempts to Italian ruin re-invention of honoring the glory of the past have been tried in many other ex-socialist countries as a way to forget the recent past or as a nation branding strategy.

An interesting and highly specific example is the German city of Berlin, as Richie described its identity as "a city of myth, legend and deliberate manipulation of history" (cited in Cochrane and Jonas, 1999). Tölle (2010) refers to Berlin's struggle for identity as a struggle for 'westernization' even though Berlin took the role of the capital as a bridge in between the East and the West with an underlying goal of entering the global competition. Further on, although 'openness' was the branding theme, in opposition to its separated recent past, its achievement in realizing the goal remains highly controversial taken the ethnic minority ghettos in the city and the very present east-west differentiation (Allon, 2013). Numerous investments were made in culture and history through the building and renovating museums, and continuous appeals have been made by planners to return to traditional Prussian architecture and use vernacular local materials and traditional techniques (Cochrane and Jonas, 1999).

Another invention case is the Polish city of Łódź, which was founded as a multi-ethnic industrial city in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. With the growth of nationalism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when multi-ethnicity started being seen as a negative feature, communist regime envisioned a homogeneous environment which then resulted in a total destruction of any physical proof from its past multi-ethnic feature (Michlic, 2005). However, since 1989, similar to other post-socialist cities, Łódź has been trying to overcome its recent past by focusing on its pre-1918 multi-ethnic 'workers city' as a strategy of 'Europeanizing' Łódź (Young and Kaczmarek, 2008). Suddenly, what was yesterday seen as a bad reputation today became the admired; and what was yesterday destroyed today is being longed for. Further on, museum plans, promotion of city's multi-cultural past, integrating Jewish place memory in the contemporary city, renaming streets, and

raising sculptures in honor of its 'golden time' inhabitants were some of the initiatives undertaken to reflect its once forgotten history (Michlic, 2005).

A different invention case, in line with the national branding strategies through re-creating the past, is the case of Skopje, capital of the today's Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia. As the unusually long name of the state itself suggests, due to its numerous regime changes in history similar to other Balkan countries, the country faces difficulties in claiming relation to its name, which makes up the base of any identity. The case of Skopje 2014 project being another 'neoliberal nationalism' project aims Europeanization to legitimize itself, in spite of territorial and naming disputes with its neighboring countries (Graan, 2013). Consequently, many cultural, governmental, religious buildings, bridges as well as several new marble sculptures dedicated to the acclaimed antique Macedonians were and continue to be constructed as the project didn't stop in 2014 as planned. In light of such serious political issues dragging a population deeper into an identity crisis with many contradictions to its evidence may result in losing faith in the imaginary community or in a rise of nationalism due to the feeling of threat.

Another westernization need was perceived by Greek authorities in Athens prior to summer sports Olympics when Athens chose to work with façade and image of the city rather than enhancing life for community by investing in community spaces, and surprisingly within its rich history of civilizations, found the classical and Christian Byzantine monuments as the adequate ones to be highlighted for today's western public i.e. potential tourists (Stavrvides, 2008).

Both of these two last examples of nation branding, Skopje, and Athens, in a way, were trying to suppress their Orient history which had been deemed as the *other* in the European identity construction (for e.g. Castells, 2000; Rose, 1995). Choosing what to present is a difficult task, but determining which aspect of an east-west bridge city would be accepted by the western world is a much more challenging one. After all, the practice of classifying cultures into good and bad based on the western determinants is a common practice.

Sassen (2005) believes that the term urbanity is charged with the western idea of urban agglomerations and puts on requirements of the western culture in non-western ones. Further on, Sassen (2005) suggests the existence of different kinds of urbanity that are incompatible with the ones of western teachings making them vulnerable to disappear.

As for the city branding approaches, it is important to state that these promotions are not a contemporary invention, the difference stands in its purpose: while it has previously been used to 'create' an identity, today it is used to 'sell' it. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century England, focus in societies living in big cities had turned to the houses whereas the societies in towns were trying to create a city-like image through constructing impressive public buildings which would in return built the urban and social identity that would eventually lift them to the aspiring prestige of urban elite title (Stobart, 2004).

Identity appears as a form of nourishing myths through theories, interpretations, and elaborations as well. This form lacks the advantage of having physical evidence and is based solely on community-driving force. Directing identity through culture as a tool instead of constructions have been tried through contemporary novels of Nigeria where Lagos is shown as a city with perspectives of hope and change, a nest of new kinds of urbanity where civic engagement in urban places is the driving force that creates

meanings for all citizens (Nnodim, 2008). Public artwork, murals respectively, as a cultural interpretation have also been suggested to have the ability to influence citizen identity (McCarthy, 2006).

Identity doesn't have a final destination as it has repeatedly been stated: it is a process. Thus, it is constantly accepting initiatives of preservation or refreshment as required by the social circumstances. Certainly, territory is a perceptible element, but unless given a meaning, space is and remains only a doubt never belonging to anyone (Sepe and Pitt, 2014). On one hand, creating identity leads to a stronger sense of community but on the other hand, the aftermath of the otherness developed within centuries has left traces of hate prevalent in the east-west border zones. Nonetheless, as it was mentioned before, depending on the other does not provide a stable city identity and shouldn't be regarded as a firm city identity creation method (Cupers, 2005). City identity is a way of creating a sense of community on a smaller scale than a nation without the need of attaching nationalism.

## **2.5 THREATS TO CITY IDENTITY**

Identity is constantly being recreated, with the city being dragged to change following the evolution of society, but this creation of a new 'self' i.e. of a new identity is also dependent on already existing layers (Castells, 2000). In a Marxist view, a city is in a 'cycle of production and reproduction' of its urban character and identity (Allon, 2013). Also, instead of the doubtful process of progress and regress of the change, relying on the solid conclusions of the finished offers a relief of stability (Harrison, 2009).

For a long time, urban planning has been trying to find a rational solution that would be applicable in any place and any circumstance, an intention which is in the opposite side of the request of originality of the city identity concept itself.

For start, nineteenth century was marked with the standardization of industrial life in factory enclaves having the necessary functions only, without any links to socialization needs; all that in the rational solution of standard rectangular blocks with standard street widths, an urban scheme originating from European experience but largely associated with American cities (Mumford, 1938: p.183-190).

Later on, modernism continued with ideas of finding a perfect city and a perfect architecture in uniforms. According to philosopher and sociologist, Zygmunt Bauman, modern society's view of life was a new religious view towards life, where life had to be lived as a pilgrimage and that's how desert-like features entered in the concrete features of the city (Hall and Gay, 1996: p.18-36). Modernists saw the street not as attached with any special meaning, but only a space one passes through on the way between the starting and destination point (Fyfe and Bannister, 1998: p.1). Hence, city had to show simplicity in its structures in order to let an individual think and give personal meanings to places. In this way, city identity was expected to be formed based on individual meanings within time; however, desert-like features are not capable to preserve the given meanings and easily wipe them off with the first blow of a wind (Hall and Gay, 1996: p.18-36). As part of the intention, modern cities were not created with the aim of giving an attachment reason to an individual as this was supposed to be a personal life objective.

But, as evolution has it, postmodern society doesn't seem to agree with the modern society's purpose of life. Instead, it has been suggested that postmodern society wants to avoid fixation, commitment and emotional attachment to keep the options open and replace the self-identity construction with preventing

any identity (Hall and Gay, 1996: p.18-36). According to Stuart Hall "...It is, in the end, the old truth all over again: each society sets limits to the life strategies that can be imagined, and certainly to those which can be practiced. But the kind of society we live in limits such strategy[ies] as may critically and militantly question its principles and thus open the way to new strategies, at present excluded because of their non-viability..." (Hall and Gay, 1996: p.35).

In light of these constant social changes, to consider our era as the most progressed one and undergo radical decisions of irreversible physical changes that will represent stable evidence of today's negligence should be well-thought. Certainly, the idea of transforming a city in the aftermath of each social change was not long-lived, and in order to prevent this from happening, Commission of The European Communities (1990) urged protecting European city identities with actually referring to heritage.

A recent trend is the 'world city' or a 'global city' that some believe to be the suitable city for today's multi-ethnic cities (Gospodini, 2004) and some point its consistency as anyway being based on a localness elsewhere (Massey, 2007: 84-85).

First of all, multi-ethnic cities can't be seen as a modern-day problem, when in fact Aristotle in *The Politics* believed diversity to be the essence of a city: "a city is composed of different kinds of men; similar people cannot bring a city into existence" (cited in Sennett, 1994). Further on, Roman Empire consisted of dozens of ethnical groups and Rome itself had to constantly take in immigrants from other parts of the Empire to satisfy military needs and evict losses from infective diseases. There is no doubt that ethnicities, also referred to as cultural identities (Grabame, 1998: 156-176), have always been a richness and a necessity to any city but, nevertheless, the issue of assessing cohesion within them remains apparent in many cities around the world. In some cities with a considerable percentage of ethnic minorities, new kinds of ghettos have arisen, like the Turk neighborhoods in German cities or Chinatowns apparent on a broader scale. There's a debate on the paradigm whether these alienated neighborhoods of minor ethnicities are enriching or endangering city identity considering the physical effects of such examples (Kunzmann, 2009).

As discussed in previous chapters, city identity is not a single identity, with every social group developing a different city identity, the final picture is a mosaic of identities. Meanings places gain depend not only on physical attributes but also on social discourse. Therefore, without a social evolvement to a state of acceptance, the aimed neutral aspects of a city only create estrangement and negate the sense of community. Therefore, the problem is not in the presence of ethnicities in the city, but on cities and society failing to accept this presence, which lengthens the process of social transformation.

Nevertheless, a global city, as a welcoming neutral surrounding for ethnicities, is an objective for many cities: Singapore, Shanghai, and Hong Kong; to name just a few, that apart from increased global flows to the city are in need of a global culture (Kong, 2007). On the other hand, Massey (2007: p.84-85) argues that *global* qualities are a combination of other city's local identities as the global is always expected to incorporate foreign features. Thus, there is no such thing as a global city, and the much aspired global city is only an imaginary city. In any case, it is difficult to feel proud of a city that expresses homogeneity of globalization (Bell and De-Shalit, 2011: xii). Still, the globalization is affecting local identities. Detecting destruction from the global and the loss of localness is the focus of Roca and Oliveira-Roca (2007) model

of measuring local identity in a scale from local to global and takes into account global impacts on local nature, local society, the local economy and local culture.

Be that as it may, the general belief is that a global identity represents planet-wide identity which will result in attracting international labor for the multi-ethnic cities. In contrast to the general belief, Massey (1991) argues that globalization doesn't oppose uniqueness; in contrast, it supports it, as city identity ensures global competitiveness by not only attracting foreign investments but also tourists and creative professionals.

This search of what is distinct and different from others, being the essence of tourism (Butina-Watson and Bentley, 2007: p.1) i.e. the global trend in generating economy, is also a similar line of thought that influenced foundation of city duplicates to provide a twin to a local identity of a distant location or a completely out of this planet scenery of Disneyland. With as many duplicates of European cities recreated into theme parks, there is certainly some truth in Kunzmann's (2009) expression that Europe has already become one for many international tourists.

In branding and promotion techniques, Ashworth (2009) recognizes three main branding and promotion techniques: personality association, flagship buildings or neighborhoods, and event hallmarking. City branding works through the development of a number of images that create a fragmented picture and work on improvement of city image instead of city identity (Erickson and Roberts, 1997). Image of a place is the term used for a subjective perception of people towards a place (Kalandides, 2011).

While its positivity in economic terms is needless to point, tourist effects in consuming and threatening a city identity are highly valid and alarming. Validity of such a threat, caused by globalization in general, has been apparent for some time and has already started entering the spoken discourse, as in the case of Portuguese vocabulary with 'descaracterização' defining "...what has become notorious: loss, defeat, abuse, waste, disregard, etc., of the distinctive identity features of places and regions" (Roca and Oliveira-Roca, 2007). An interesting initiative of protecting non-tangible feature in order to preserve national culture was undertaken with 'Toubon Law' in 1994 in France which aimed language protection by enforcing mandatory use of French language in government publications, advertisement, public schools, workplaces, commercial contracts, newspapers, and billboards (Harrison, 2009).

The level of tourism in some distinct cities has already changed the normal life flow where the process of losing local features started with 'selling' and then entered in a chain of 'producing' in order to 'sell' and now many cities live with the purpose of entertaining the visitors in a Marxist cycle of production and reproduction. Under these circumstances, search for a long-term solution became necessary, and it's under these circumstances that preserving a city identity, or preserving its regular flow, holds more than protecting tangible heritage.

In the case study of Rome, Sepe (2010) suggests scattering tourism in unpopular spots to relieve the congestion in order to maintain a more reasonable flow of tourists in main centers of Rome and protect the city identity. While tourist congestion in a city like Rome is undeniable, whether decongestion provides the needed answer to preserve its identity is debatable.

Gotham (2005) referring to this phenomenon as tourist gentrification explains the global need of attracting new investments and tourism which then prices-out local and ends with uniqueness erasure. Smith and DeFilippis (cited in Gotham, 2005) believe that gentrification is now more than ever coordinated by global



investments and is resulting in a new spatial restructure. Actually, even in urban rehabilitation cases explicitly concerned with social issues, the intention is on 'social uplift' and ends up with moving out socioeconomically vulnerable residents (Larsen and Hansen, 2008).

City identity in planning shouldn't be thought of as a marketing strategy but, as a socio-spatial quality that enriches the citizen's proudness. The cultural differences have been prone to evaluations for a long time, and in parallel, the global trends in urban planning have been pointing towards the same direction of eliminating differences. More worryingly, some cities are turning into an imaginary bubble set in a beautiful surrounding filled with endless joyful opportunities waiting for an audience of impatient and fast consumers.

## 2.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

City identity is about endowment of the city with meaning in a surrounding constantly adapting to socio-cultural features and changes. Unless intended otherwise, city identity in itself doesn't necessitate application and implication of the differentiating forms that could ascend nationalist stances. City identity can solely depend on local features and lead to a comfortable and receptive city for its citizens without involving exclusive stances.

From what we have searched during this chapter, it is clear that construction of an identity is depended on time. But, the sense of time has changed due to the typology of today's impatient and fast-consuming societies. Therefore, as given examples suggest, the search for identity is directed towards reinterpretations i.e. recycling city identity. Imposing a feature from the past of a city is an evidence way easier to accept and adapt to rather than to accept and adapt to a new feature's special meaning for the society. Consequently, believing in the existence of the identity as a necessary step to form a community is much easier achieved through recycling elements of the past. In the utterly connected world, these distinct features are vulnerable to be lost due to demographic changes, tourism or trends alike *global city* illusion. There is little support to the assumption that these developments could slowly raze the present-to-date cultural differentiation; whereas, the need for belongingness of human nature can't be denied. More than identifying with a house one lives at, identifying with a city is the foundation of livable cities.

For the ease of further work, components of city identity were suggested to be the following: continuity, social imageability, emotional attachment, and satisfaction. The concept of city identity itself suggests the existence of multiple city identities which makes it difficult to determine a ratio of affection of each component, as in each case and for every individual it would be a different share.

The base city identity features that will be analyzed in regards to continuity were previously stated as legibility, coherence, variety, and memorability. However, it will be explained in the methodology chapter, that the variety term will get replaced with heterogeneity and two local features will be added to the list, namely: enclosure and affinity.

Due to the nature of the case study which is a city that has lost memorable aspects of itself within several destructions and reconstructions, the focus will be on exploring the continuity factor. Our objective rather than finding out elements that could be considered heritage will be on finding out the evolution of qualities and compare it to today's visions for city's urbanity.



# 3

## METHODOLOGY

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

City identity is made of collective meanings, and it lies in the collective past of a community. In the chapter of theoretical analysis four components of city identity were named as continuity, social imageability, emotional attachment, and satisfaction. The focus of this research is continuity.

Continuity in social sciences is oftentimes connected with the relief of the existence of a flow between one's past and today, which gives a sense of coherence to one's life; whereas, continuity in planning is most typically connected with buildings, neighborhoods or districts under heritage protection, which presumably are old enough to remind something of a community's past.

Urban plans of Prishtina Municipality consider city identity to be found in the remnants of the past i.e. buildings under heritage protection, whereas social imageability and satisfaction are the real objectives.

However, the challenge of city identity is not fulfilling the requirements of each of its components; the aforementioned four components need to work together. The challenge of establishing, strengthening or even studying city identity of a city like Prishtina that has been vulnerable to external disasters and rapid changes is a challenge in itself. Adapting to the surrounding takes time, and Prishtina seemingly didn't have this much required time in its recent past.

The research's focus is on understanding evolution of city identity features that could serve as a starting point for the future plans of the city. Due to the rapid changes of the recent past, continuity component was chosen to be the main factor in this investigation where the invisible elements of the city will be searched. In this way, through the existent elements, gained ones, and the longed-for ones, one may suggest what might or should future hold.

The city identity features to be analyzed were listed in the theoretical analysis chapter as legibility, coherence, variety, and memorability, but its modification will be explained. We'll start with research methodology explanation, move on to collected data details and finally explain the synthesis done for data analysis.

### 3.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### *Research Question, Aim, and Objectives*

The aim of the research is analyzing city identity of Prishtina in light of continuity component. The reason of choosing continuity is due to the fast-changing dynamics of the city of Prishtina and the possibility of finding out different physical and social features of the city as perceived by four generations that have witnessed city evolution in different periods. The reason for searching features rather than spaces bearing these city identity features, which could have been considered more accurate due to the objectiveness, is because of the past interventions that have led to serious transformations and loss of particularities of those places.

The objective is in finding the features of city identity that have affected life along different periods of time. While some of the features could still be significant, some others may have deteriorated or remained relevant as either a social feature or a physical one only; but then again, new features may have been brought forth in the meanwhile.

The main research question is: *how to imagine a future for the lost identities of the city's past?* For some time there has been an on-going problem of revitalizing city of Prishtina because of the global trend of urbanization and the need of housing improvements that was further implied by better employment possibilities as a result of the higher economic development of the capital city in comparison to other cities in the country. Therefore, in a time when the city is experiencing massive constructions and transformations, how to plan a city identity becomes a very crucial question and if not now, this critical question would be too late to be asked once the rapid city reconstruction is over. Three follow-up questions will help systematize the process.

- *What are the city identity elements that have continued to exist within changes experienced?* It is supposed that city has had resilient elements that have remained existent within all the searched timeframe. This refers to features that have continued their presence in visual and non-visual aspects of city identity.
- *What could be considered as a loss to city identity?* It is supposed that some features of city identity were lost as a consequence of the early 50's city destructions, especially the city center destruction, socio-political reasons of the 90s or with the recent uncontrolled developments of post-1999.
- *What did the city gain with destructing its past?* Although destruction is a negative term, in this case, it is followed-up with the construction of a new and different city. While city lost some of its essential features, it wouldn't be fair to not consider the new qualities that were added to the city identity within time.

Certainly, it would be possible to find turning-points that have happened during centuries but, due to the need of getting first-hand information from people who have lived in these times, it has been decided to consider the key periods from approximately the end of Second World War. Thus, four generations are to be considered.

Both, Ottoman and socialist-time city elements influence today's citizen life of Prishtina, but today's memories are also related to the pre-war and war-time periods. In fact, war serves as a time reference in

day-to-day talks: Yugoslavian time [until 1990], pre-war time [the 90s], war-time [1998-1999], and after-war time [after 1999]. In the physical discourse, the Ottoman-time city center which is still remembered by elderly residents, was demolished in Yugoslavian time shortly after WW2, starting from 1947 when Prishtina became the official political and administrative capital of Kosovo (CHwB, 2008: p.8). The old city was destroyed in order to open up space for the new one. With the gained broader political autonomy in 1974, a rapid urbanization development started with the construction of many residential neighborhoods and cultural buildings. In 1989, with the revoke of Kosovo autonomy which apart from political difficulties affected all life spheres starts the pre-war time. While this period doesn't have relevant physical changes, it does display a different usage of the city that lasted for a significant period and many of today's local influential art, music, and films refer to this period. The after-war time, 1999 to today, has also seen a significant change in both social life and its appearance. Due to the housing needs, the growth of urbanization level and lack of municipal development plans many neighborhoods; if not most of them, have an apparent lack of building order, which is a common statement by many official authorities as well as civil society and other citizens. The four focus periods will be:

- Pre-1947, Before the new beginning
- 1974-1981, Golden times
- 1990-1999, Solidarity and insecurity
- Today, New beginning

Considering 1943 as an approximate starting point of this research, the study will be looking into city identity and its changes in the last 75 years. In all of the periods, the aim will be in finding out the built and non-built characteristics of city life that can be tracked from the subjective perceptions of the residents. Once the city identity features are modified for the case study, their development within the four periods will be analyzed and answers to the research questions will be given.

### *Research Method*

The research method to be used will be the qualitative method, as the intention is in understanding the phenomenon. Data will be gained from semi-structured interviews with residents. Semi-structured interviews are chosen in order to get as much new information as possible and gain in-depth details on the answers given. Each generation group will be interviewed for one specific period. Additionally, they will be asked for the city as lived in today, in comparison to the period that discussion is focused on.

The interviewees will initially be asked: "What Prishtina of that time reminds you of?" and "How would you identify Prishtina of that time?"

These initial questions are supposed to be the starters of the conversation, and questions don't need to be necessarily followed by an answer. Then an explanation of the thesis will be given. Afterward, the thematic questions will be on 1. Natural places, 2. Built places, 3. Socio-cultural characteristics of the time, 4. Advantages and disadvantages of the city life back then in comparison to today, 5. Elements that should have remained, 5. today's city identity.

Depending on the given answers, additional questions will be asked. Also, depending on the responses and the mood of the interviewee fewer questions may be asked.

A complementary interview is to be made with a spatial planning representative of the municipality in order to get information on the consideration of city identity in municipal plans. Secondary data is to be gained from the current and former government documents, city monograph book, journal and newspaper articles, photographs and maps referring to different periods and other publications.

### *Sample rationale*

The sample to be questioned will be categorized into four generation groups. Interviewees are to be selected randomly, with a consideration to have viewpoints of both male and female citizens, residing in various neighborhoods and having different educational and professional backgrounds in order to get a more holistic understanding of the city identity. The age group selected is 15-30-year-olds at the period they are interviewed for. This way, different generations will be sharing their perspectives on the city identity as it was before and as it is today.

#### 1<sup>st</sup> Generation interviewees- 'Before the new beginning'

In 2011, there were 1651 residents that were older than 80 years of age, (Kosovo Agency of Statistics, 2011: p.51) and a smaller number of these citizens were born and grew up in Prishtina. Further on, due to other requirements of the interviews such as a good memory, the interviewer's age was determined to be older than 80 years of age, preferably older than 85 years of age that remember the old city center.

#### 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation interviewees- 'Golden times'

This generation will talk about the socially, economically and politically peak period when the city got considerably larger with many neighborhoods added. Most of today's public spaces in Prishtina were constructed in this modernist period (National Gallery of Kosovo, 2015: p.9), and according to the influential architect of the time, Andrija Mutnjaković the goal of that time was in creating a regional identity by alienating all other national identities (National Gallery of Kosovo, 2015: p.29). The interviewees will add on information on the city as perceived from two sides: the then-residents of the old parts of the city that had remained with orient structured roads, and from the then-residents of the new parts of the city. Through these interviews, it is expected to find out different feelings for the city. The age group that will be questioned from this period will be 55-65 years old.

#### 3<sup>rd</sup> Generation interviewees; 'Solidarity and insecurity'

The 90s were characterized by a growth of oppression reflecting negatively on all life spheres, starting with employment rates. Parallel to formal institutions, informal ones arose such as parallel-schools and health services that were transferred to private houses or other private spaces. There were safe and unsafe areas; safe and unsafe times. This resulted in an increase of nationalism that has left marks in society and supposedly bears unusual weaker or stronger city identity features. In order to get information from the citizens who despite the insecurity had to go out to engage in day to day activities, students and teachers of the parallel schools will be interviewed. The reason for including teachers along with students of the time is to get other perspectives on the city life apart from the ones whose first past selves is related to this period and may have been unable to have a clear understanding of the happenings. Thus, this category will have the broadest age group: 35-53 years old.

#### 4<sup>th</sup> Generation interviewees; 'New beginning'

This category will be talking about the city life in the post-war transitory period with an obvious lack of control over city appearance; and, also in a very different socio-political system. This will as well be the less informed group of the previous times of the city. The discussions with this group will find out the current trends that affect the citizen life as perceived by today's young adults. The sample aimed is the age group of 20-29 years old.

### **3.3 DATA COLLECTION**

#### *Primary Interview Collection*

Interviews were realized between 18 and 25 March. There were 23 interviews realized: 5 with the first generation, 5 with the second generation, 5 with the third generation and 8 with the last generation. Almost all of the interviews were one-to-one discussions apart from one of the 4<sup>th</sup> generation that was realized with two persons at once. Length of discussion was typically longer at the first generation and shorter at the fourth one. Three of the discussions were originally realized in Turkish language, one of the discussions was partly in Albanian and partly in the Turkish language, and the rest of the 19 discussions were realized in Albanian. All of the interviews translated into English are attached in the Appendix.

Three out of five interviews of the first generation were realized at their houses. One of the interviews was recorded in the workplace of the responder and another one was interviewed at her relative's house. Two of interviewees are women, and three out of the total of five are men. Two interviewees have completed basic school, two of them have graduated from high school and one of them is a university graduate. Three of the interviewees are 85 years old, one is 84 years old and one is 80 years old. Discussions lasted for 5, 20, 33, 44 and 56 minutes.

Three out of five interviews of the second generation were realized at their workplaces. One of the interviews was recorded at the interviewee's house and the other one at the interviewee's relative's house. Two out of five interviewees are women. One of the interviewees was born in Skopje and moved to Prishtina for her studies where she resides to-date. Another interviewee was a resident in the rural areas of Prishtina, but due to high school, university studies and later as an employee had to commute to the city on daily basis. The rest of the three interviewees have been residing in Prishtina since they were born. Four out of five interviewees were permanent residents in urban Prishtina at the time of the discussed period: two of them were residing in the part of the city that had existed in the previous period as well, and the other two were residing in the newly urbanized areas of the time. All of them have graduated from university and are currently employed. Two of them are 56 years old, two are 58 years old and one of them is 64 years old. Discussions were: 20, 22, 24, 29 and 40 minutes long.

Four interviews of the third generation were realized at the respondent's workplaces, and one at respondent's house. Three out of five interviewees are women. Two of the interviewees were teachers, and the other three interviewees were students at that time. Four of the interviewees have graduated from university and one is a high school graduate. The youngest interviewee is 35 years old, and the oldest one is 53 years old. The others are 40, 48, and 52 years old. All of them are employed. Lengths of discussions were: 6, 9, 11, 15 and 20 minutes long.

All eight interviews of the fourth generation were realized at coffee shops. Six out of eight interviewees are women. Three of the interviewees are university students, and the rest five of them have graduated from university. Six out of eight of them are employed. Only one of the interviewees resides in Berlin, but was born, raised and frequently visits Prishtina. One of the discussions was made with two interviewees, thus there were seven discussions. The interviewees are in the range of 22-24 years old. The discussions lasted for 4, 5, 5, 9, 9, 12 and 18 minutes.

### *Complementary Interviews*

Further interviews were made to complement the main interviews. An authority from the municipality's spatial planning department was interviewed in order to gain insights on the importance given to establishing or strengthening city identity with the future development plans of the municipality. Questions asked during the interview intended finding out: 1. Consideration made on city identity establishment in current plans, 2. City identity-related initiatives undertaken, and 3. Considerations to be made on city identity establishment in future plans. The discussion was realized on 20<sup>th</sup> April at the spatial planning department office of Municipality of Prishtina and lasted 12 minutes.

In order to get another perspective, on the effects of public participation in planning role or more precisely direct self-efficiency effects, a participant from a youth social community was asked to give her viewpoint on today's city identity.

A public discussion on city identity themed documentary on Skopje's city identity which was followed by a debate was attended in Prishtina on 22<sup>nd</sup> of March. The two interviews with the section of the discussion that includes opinions of two of the panelists, respectively Kumjana Novakova (one of the film directors), and Yll Rugova (director of Culture Department, Municipality of Prishtina) is attached in the Appendix.

## **3.4 ADAPTING BASE FEATURES TO THE CASE STUDY**

In order to draw a methodology for the case study, other investigations made on continuity with respect to city identity were taken into account. In the second chapter, the base city identity features to be analyzed were stated: coherence, variety, legibility, and memorability. However, each case is a case, and the case of Prishtina will be analyzed within its own realities. Thus, this list will have some adjustments according to the local case study.

Taken into account the context and the realized discussions, the variety feature will be named as heterogeneity referring not only to the variety of uses but also to the physical lack of coherence as an expressive reality of Prishtina. Further on, affinity and enclosure will be a complementary feature derived from the discussions with the residents, which had to be analyzed separately due to the frequency of mentioning and significant change.

In order to understand city identity qualities, the analysis will be focused not only on physical aspect but also on the social one, respectively on the physical impacts on society and vice-versa. Thus, we will finally have six features that will be analyzed along the factor of time: legibility, enclosure, coherence, heterogeneity, affinity, and memorability.



### 3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

The collected data from the interviews was grouped in themes listed in eight categories: imageability, common sights, emotional attachment, socialization and activity venues, socio-cultural characteristics, features needed at the time, features needed today, and other. This table that is a summary of the interviews is provided in the appendix.

As previously stated, the collected data will be analyzed in six city identity features in the fourth chapter:

- Legibility
- Enclosure
- Coherence
- Heterogeneity
- Affinity
- Memorability

*Legibility* includes points that make city readable and will be analyzed in Lynch's five points of nodes, edges, paths, districts, and landmarks. Also, we will look at the social impacts of existence and loss of these actors.

*Enclosure* refers to the feeling given by spatial limits. The limits between public versus private space are to be analyzed.

*Coherence* feature refers to a general visible order in various physical aspects of the urban tissue be it materials, buildings heights or other built or inbuilt details, as well as the punctual routine of socio-cultural activities as mirrored to the city.

*Heterogeneity* refers to the lack of coherence. A neutral term was selected in order to not create prejudicial opinions, but it will be used to refer to both diversity and chaos.

*Affinity* refers to the physical enclosure of typical urban tissues and its reflections in the usage of the space i.e. socialization level.

*Memorability* category refers to widespread physical and social elements that may respond to any of the five senses.

In the second chapter, it has been concluded that city identity is a concept that incorporates physical and non-physical dimensions of the city, which is the reason why the city identity features refer to both dimensions and will be analyzed accordingly in the fourth chapter. The evolution of each feature within the last 75 years will be discussed, in order to get a clearer picture of what was lost, what remained and what was gained.

### 3.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Determining a vision for the future of the city, perhaps in the recent past history i.e. last hundreds of years, happened with the direction of the influential personalities of the time; but, in today's democratic principles, if not specifically restricted, personal tastes displayed in the cityscape won't have a high

chance of convergence into a single orientation. Finding out some helpful guidelines throughout city's history, taking into account citizen necessities within different periods, may help the discussion of a vision for city's future.

The methodology was designed according to the specific case study. Although it is based on subjective perspectives of the residents, it finds rationality as a topic mostly searched in social science fields and related to personal behavior and viewpoints. Through theoretical literature analysis and discussions with Prishtina residents, a non-exhaustive list of features that have characterized Prishtina within years was found. These features were named as legibility, enclosure, coherence, heterogeneity, affinity, and memorability. Firstly, as one much-stated aspect of city identity is its constant evolution, development of the aforementioned features will be analyzed over the given period of time. Second, city identity has its physical and non-physical dimension, thus every feature will be analyzed in both dimensions.

The effects of the global trends are oftentimes achieved at the expense of the local attributes, and it is difficult to assume their true usefulness or destructiveness without the progress of time. Through the expressed or indirectly derived needs of periods resulted from the changes of the city identity features, the influences of trends on the city identity and citizen's life will be discussed. Finally, recommendations for strengthening the city identity features are to be made.

# 4

## CASE STUDY ANALYSIS OF CITY IDENTITY

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

In Castell's description of national identity creation methods, Kosovo nation would fall into the resistance identity which creates a community (Castells, 2010: p.9-12). According to Castell, this identity is expected to switch with time from resistance to legitimate identity, transferring community into civil society (Castells, 2010: p.9-12).

Planning for the future of the city necessarily involves experiences from the past of the city. The data provided in this chapter is related to the past, detailed recent past, present and the future. Searching for the past helps to understand the difficulties of the time and the current circumstances, whereas the discussion on today is the discussion of the achievements and failures of the decisions made by the previous generations; and, the future is today's decision with its rights and wrongs to be discussed in the future.

Continuity is the city identity factor that connects the past with the present, which is the reason why the dialogue needs to be done with more than a single generation. While certainly there is a limit to the available generations, oral history is very important to not only track the changes but also find the social reaction. In the following part, six features will be tracked through the collected data but also through supplementary documents. The six features in the order of discussion are legibility, enclosure, coherence, heterogeneity, affinity, and memorability.

One of the most popular Albanian writers, Sami Frashëri is the author of the book: *What was, is and will become of Albania?* This chapter will be organized in a similar line of thinking, except in this case we're concerned with the city identity of Prishtina. First, we will start talking about the historical background of the city. Then in the second part, the six features of the city identity will be discussed one by one. Afterward, a brief analysis of future plans will be given. Finally, concluding remarks will point out some connections between the three parts, and a thorough discussion will be provided in the next chapter.

## 4.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CITY

It has been said that to understand a city's identity, one needs to start with understanding its history. The issue with this statement is whether it would ever be possible to know enough about a city's past. The appeal for a timeless city that never changes is a utopic scenario, as each generation has the right to spatially express itself according to its beliefs of what is appropriate and what is not (Zukin, 2010). This is part of the undisputed theory that cities are constantly evolving (Massey, 1991; Oktay, 2006; Sepe and Pitt, 2014; Wesener, 2016). But, oftentimes this process is accelerated by natural or human-caused disasters such as wars and earthquakes. The region of Balkans as a whole has lacked the ability to avoid wars in its past and Prishtina is not an exception.

Prishtina was first mentioned as a village in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and later described in the 1660s travel book of Ottoman historian Evliya Çelebi as a trade center located between Sarajevo and Thessaloniki. Prishtina got listed in ottoman registers as a town in 1775, the time when it was responsible for administering the nearby Artana mines. At the beginning of XIX<sup>th</sup> century, it had around 12.000 inhabitants and is described to be the largest settlement between Sarajevo and Thessaloniki. In 1912, most of Ottoman Vilayet of Kosovo became part of the Kingdom of Serbia, afterward Socialist Yugoslavia; whereby in 1947 it officially became the capital city of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo. During the Second World War, it was briefly under German (1941-1943) and later under Italian occupation (1943-1945). In 1974 Kosovo got a broader political autonomy which influenced economic development of the city. However, its bright days didn't last long, as in 1989 its autonomy was revoked and difficult times for the ethnic Albanian majority started. In fact, It was a tough period for the region in general and consequently, after most of them went through wars, republics of former Yugoslavia declared independence one after the other. Following the breakup of Yugoslavia and 1999 war, Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia in 2008. Nevertheless, disputes over territory remain as both sides claim ownership of land, ethnic Albanians living in Kosovo refer to the ancestral connection with the Illyrian settlers in antiquity and Serbians refer to cultural heritage and Battle of Kosovo as a big part of Serbian national identity as evidence (see for e.g.. Hwer and Vitija, 2013). Regardless, in the population registration of 2011, 1.61 million out of 1.73 million inhabitants declared themselves as ethnic Albanians (Kosovo Agency of Statistics, 2011: p.60).

Prishtina is located around 8 km away from the former Roman city of Ulpiana, in a flat valley at a river-cross of two rivers surrounded with hills on its three sides. Although it has been suggested that the Municipium Ulpiana dates to pre-roman times, the earliest records of its urban center date to 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Berisha, 2012). It was rebuilt by the Byzantine emperor Justinian and renamed to Justiniana Secunda in 6<sup>th</sup> century AD (Berisha, 2012). The Latin meaning of *Pristinus* responds to the English word of *pristine* meaning original, pure, but also primitive and former. Whether Prishtina's Latin meaning and the proximity of today's city of Prishtina to the *former* city of Ulpiana are coincidental or an implication to the antique settlement's continuity remains uncertain. The Latin meaning of the city could also have originated from the river Prishtina, referring to its pure water. Furthermore, some residents suggest Prishtina's name to have originated from 'Barishtinë' - *grassland* in Albanian or 'U prish stina' - *the weather turned bad* as a reference to the contradictory weather changes within a day (Sylejmani, 2017: p. 14-16). In other words, the etymology of the name Prishtina remains unsolved.

According to Çelebi (Kahraman, 2010: p.761-762), Prishtina used to have a fortress founded by Serbians that was razed by Ottomans when Prishtina fell into Ottoman Empire ruling in 1389. There is no other

data found in regards to the city appearance prior to Ottoman ruling. Perhaps it was not only the fortress but the whole city that was destroyed. Hugo-Brunt Michael (1972: p. 87) considers that in general, medieval European cities between 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century were “somewhat primitive when compared to their Islamic counterparts”. Therefore, it wouldn’t be a surprise if the city was found inadequate and went under a reconstruction.

Anyhow, at Evliya Çelebi’s time, 1660’s, Prishtina had 2060 houses and 300 shops. Although the traveler found the number of shops to be low in comparison to the houses, he believed that the demands were met by the variety offered (Kahraman, 2010: p.761-762). Houses were described as decorated one and two-story masonry houses with tiled roofs, surrounded by extensive gardens with a river view, whereas shops were not masonry construction (Kahraman, 2010: p.761-762). Until the beginning of last century, it preserved the look of an oriental settlement with two main urban tissues, consisting of one covered market and one wide main street with shops on both sides ending with three mosques, a tower clock and the Turkish bath (CHwB, 2008). All the other streets allowing access to the houses were narrow.



Figure 1 Prishtina in 1924<sup>1</sup>

Under the Serbian and later Yugoslavian ruling, the city is in the midst of struggles to be accepted as representable. The Yugoslavian motto for Prishtina was to “destroy the old to build the new”, therefore narrow streets were replaced with wide ones, the covered bazaar and the uncovered bazaar were destroyed and replaced with monuments representing Yugoslavian identity and the further urban developments were made in line with the new national identity requirements. Actually, most of the existing public spaces of the city were built during the Yugoslavian period (National Gallery of Kosovo, 2015: p.9). Until 70’s the majority of projects were done by architects of Belgrade as planning and projecting were considered state-building professions and only with 1974 constitutional changes was the autonomous province allowed to offer architecture and urban planning studies. The established school of architecture had professors from

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<sup>1</sup> Source: [http://www.wikiwand.com/en/Bazaar\\_of\\_Pristina](http://www.wikiwand.com/en/Bazaar_of_Pristina) <accessed on June 2018>

other Yugoslavian universities that influenced the adoption of the Yugoslavian style by local architects. However, there were tendencies of displaying domestic identity elements by local professionals as is the case of the university campus's concept of spheres and cubes with a steel wireframe, which refers to the Ottoman mosque and Islamic art elements.

Building a nation starts with building an identity which has as much social as it has spatial features. The twentieth century was marked with modernism in architecture, and as Kabashi claims, modernizing an ottoman city is a far more complex process than modernizing any other western or central European city (National Gallery of Kosovo, 2015: p.40). In Burckhardt words Islamic art "...reflects no ideas but transforms the surroundings qualitatively, by having them share in an equilibrium whose center of gravity is the unseen... and its quality is essentially contemplative" (National Gallery of Kosovo, 2015, p:111). Modernism, on the other hand, stands on the Protestant idea of a pilgrim life, which spatially got translated from a dessert pilgrim travels to, into a dessert a pilgrim lives at; an emptiness waiting to gain meaning within time (Hall and Gay, 1996: p.18-36). While the idea of modernism was to build an identity systematically based on meanings people would give to them, due to the featureless starting point, it turned out that the built structures were not capable to hold meanings either (Hall and Gay, 1996: p.18-36).



Figure 2 Korzo, 1970<sup>2</sup>



Figure 3 Ulpiana and Dardania district<sup>3</sup>

Accordingly, taken the multi-national society upon which Yugoslavia was founded on, the Ottoman spirit of the city was replaced with the Yugoslavian modernism. In fact, Andrija Mutnjaković suggests that alienation of local identity was the objective of the time (National Gallery of Kosovo, 2015: p.136).

The period between 1989 and 1999, was characterized by a stagnated development along with socio-political problems. With the revoked autonomy, the Albanian language was not to be considered an official language anymore, which imposed great difficulties for schools. Consideration was made for primary [Albanian] school students that were able to continue their courses in Albanian; yet, some of the schools that had ethnic Serbian students built physical walls inside the school corridors and outdoor areas to physically separate the two ethnicities (Oral History Kosova, 2017). Moreover, most of the high school

<sup>2</sup>Source:[https://get.google.com/albumarchive/115138488312141977684/album/AF1QipNiOfLdXLMikecUtyxk0o2XBraquwr6Os7FSUit/AF1QipMiB83\\_8JX5a36vFMIjdQ54fw\\_OI3jeMFFAGNcu](https://get.google.com/albumarchive/115138488312141977684/album/AF1QipNiOfLdXLMikecUtyxk0o2XBraquwr6Os7FSUit/AF1QipMiB83_8JX5a36vFMIjdQ54fw_OI3jeMFFAGNcu) <accessed on June 2018>

<sup>3</sup>Source: <http://mw2.google.com/mw-panoramio/photos/medium/60044255.jpg> <accessed on June 2018>

and university students were expelled from their school buildings and had to continue their education in unofficial parallel home-schools. Majority of ethnic Albanian employees including doctors, engineers, policeman and other professionals were left jobless by the regime at the time; still, when describing the appalling situation a literature lecturer had said: “It is not what the police did, that hurt us most. It’s the colleagues – the people with whom we had worked together for years (...) They were getting rid of us as if we were rats; as if we weren’t human” (cited in Kostovicova, 2005: p.85). Thus, the otherness that perhaps was softened within decades of living together, under wavy flags of Ottoman Empire and Yugoslavia was re-enforced well enough within this 10-year-period to remain present for years after. The feeling of threat has been stated to strengthen the identity (Hull IV et al., 1994) which then impacts the exclusion cycle.

After the 1999 war, another flow of demolition and construction has started in the city. Numerous illegal buildings were constructed within 14 years of the post-war period as a result of damages caused by war, an urgent need for housing and lack of plans. The unplanned development is acknowledged in the governmental spatial development plan (Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning, 2010: p.89). It could be said that planning authorities allowed the illegal construction with not stopping them, similar to Madir case in Bosnia (Kuvač and Schwai, 2017). However, it should be mentioned that illegal buildings were a problem in almost all the Yugoslavian States, the difference was that wars accelerated numbers. In fact, the issue is not on the legality of the constructions, but on the chaotic variedness of architecture, lack of urban order and loss of the spatial qualities once imposed in Yugoslavia.



Figure 4 A perspective of Prishtina as seen from a high-rise building in Muhaxherët neighborhood<sup>4</sup>

The massive illegal constructions were stopped in 2014 with the change of the governing political party. Political factors are suggested to be of a vast importance for urban planning authorities in Prishtina, even more than the economic factors i.e. the driving factors of post-modernist societies (Hoxha et al., 2014). It is not uncommon for politics to play a major role in spatial decisions, as for instance, in the case of the 18<sup>th</sup> century elite societies of British towns trying to build an urban identity for their settlements and society in order to advance their social status (Stobart, 2004). Thus, some of the urban planning decisions made in the post-war Prishtina were linked with political intentions. For instance, the demolition of a high school to build a cathedral in the city center to emphasize the religious solidarity appreciated by the international community or renaming streets and public squares in honor of significant Kosovar or ethnic

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<sup>4</sup> Source: The author

Albanian identities to reinforce a distinct collective identity that implies the 90s to be the starting point of city history.

Today the valley settlement once built on a pristine river-cross surrounded by hills has developed into a city reaching the hills and roads covering its dirty rivers. While the city center is expected to be composed of elements erected and used in many ages and generations, to today's knowledge the city center of Prishtina was first demolished when the fortress was razed by Ottomans, then with the destructions of the Yugoslavian regime in the XX<sup>th</sup> century and today it is lost in the process of a continuous construction. In this regard, the main ottoman East-West street named as *Divanyolu*, Turkish for the road to assembly, got transferred into a North-South *Marshall Tito* Boulevard, which got renamed to *Mother Teresa* Boulevard after the war.

A facetious remark has pointed out that the meaning of Prish-Ti-Na<sup>5</sup> suggests destruction (CHwB, 2008). Bauman believes that the catchword in modernism was 'creation', whereas the catchword for postmodernism is 'recycling' (Hall and Gay, 1996: p.18-36). Perhaps time for recycling has come for Prishtina too.

#### 4.3 CITY IDENTITY FEATURES <sup>6</sup>

Following the provided information on the historical background of the city to date, this sub-chapter will discuss in detail the historical transformation of the city that is available to be found through resident memories.

The discussions on city identity were realized with four generations. First-generation interviewees talked about the period which was named as 'before the new beginning', referring to pre-50s, or the period before the major destructions of the ottoman-time city. The second-generation interviewees talked about the 70s and 80s when the city was living its 'golden times'. The third-generation interviewees focus on the 90s 'solidarity and insecurity', and finally the fourth-generation interviewees talk on the 'new beginning' city is living today.

City identity features will be analyzed along their development in the mentioned four periods, in the following order: legibility, enclosure, coherence, heterogeneity, affinity, and memorability. The analysis will be made according to the tracked changes, thus not all the features will be examined along all the four periods. Finally, after the discussion of each feature, a summary of the subchapter will be given.

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<sup>5</sup> Prishtina- when read in three words Prish-Ti-Na, would be translated as *Destroy – You – Us* meaning that a destruction is done by you and us.

<sup>6</sup> The citations used in this chapter in *italic* are taken from interviews provided in Appendix.



### Legibility

Legibility refers to the ease of physical readability of the city, which will be analyzed in four of Lynch's five points: edges, nodes, paths, and landmarks (Bentley et al., 1985: p.42-45), excluding the point of the district which will be discussed in features of coherence and heterogeneity. Each point will be analyzed along four periods, whenever applicable.

To begin with the edges point, in the 40s when the city had around 16.000 inhabitants, it was concentrated within a considerably smaller area. Limits of the city were marked with the tax collection points known as 'trosharina' points (Sylejmani, 2017: p.16); these points collected taxes for villager's products that were to be sold inside the city. The western edge of the city was clearly marked with the railway line where two of the tax collection points stood. Beyond these edges, there were apparently only fields on the sight. From the second generation and on, edges of the city are not mentioned due to the rapid urbanization that had expanded on all sides, turning fields into construction sites.

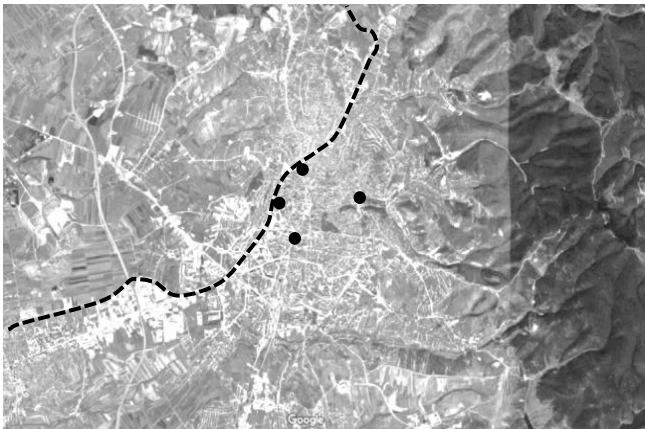


Figure 5 Edges of 40s Prishtina in today's map  
\*Dashed line- railway; Black dots- tax location spots

Second generation interviewees point the first edges as they remember: "(...) railway line was a limit to the buildings (...) and the other side was all empty, except one building that used to be the tuberculosis hospital (...)" another interviewee adds on "(...) city limits were at Grand Hotel, the Arbëria neighborhood was not built yet. All the today's neighborhoods were fields. Then slowly, the city started extending". The start of the rapid construction development i.e. city growth diminished the fixed edges. Further on, post-1999 construction boom made illegal developments go as far as occupying forest land on the eastern side of the city.

In one discussion with the fourth generation, the entrance to the city was mentioned to bring into mind the image of the "high-rise buildings of Dardania and Lakrishte", although they do not physically mark the end of the urban buildings. The struggle to define city limits has been raised by geographers long ago (Massey, 1991). In fact, even the fixed borders of the 40s city were crossed by socio-cultural traditions that are described to be connected with the fields and hills around: field around the Sultan Murad Tomb (approx. 9km north-west), Gërmia (approx. 4km east) and Arbëria hill as a city sightseeing point (across the railway line). So, although the physical borders of the city were clearly marked, the social activities were present beyond these lines questioning the purpose of the city limits.

This also points out that the compactness of the physical part of the city doesn't mean that the city life has at any point squeezed in. What has changed within years is that while physically city extended, social activities have started concentrating more in the urban area.

The second point to be analyzed is the nodes, which due to the vastness of the analyzed area will be focused on the centers. While both first and second generations functioned similarly with a single center, the difference was on the location of this center. The old commercial center which served as the city center is remembered only by the first generation. Further on, the promenade tradition which marks the beginning of the recreational use of the center starts first at Divanjolli street which then moves to the current Mother Teresa Boulevard: "(...) Only after the Korzo<sup>7</sup> was constructed did the youth start the going outs as a recreation". One of the interviewees points out: "Korzo was a Serbian tradition we didn't have that tradition before ... Every city, in Serbian time, had a Korzo, so a part of the city was closed to traffic and people would stroll there". Even though the late 70s and early 80s mark the start of the dual city setting "People from all the neighborhoods would gather at Korzo".

The centralization of social activities that were concentrated in one area, become dispersed in the third generation, with first Kurriz bazaar being mentioned as "[T]he only place where there was some activity (...), where the youth was at" at the beginning of the 90s and continue with the booming of Arbëria and Kodra e Trimave neighborhoods: "(...) there were many students. It was livelier [compared to other neighborhoods]. Then, new coffee shops started opening although that neighborhood hadn't even been asphalted yet". Street name of the Korzo got changed from Marshal Tito to Mother Teresa after 1999, but with the 90s it was the 'Korzo' as a promenade tradition that had changed.

When it comes to today's generation, the Mother Teresa Boulevard is still accepted as the definite center due to "(...) demonstrations as a start, which we saw on TV as kids, but also people always gather there for everything as whatever happens is in there. It's a 'korzo' - the meeting point of our parents". However, the centrality of it doesn't fade away the other parts of the city as it happened with the second generation. Road B or the "crowds in the coffee shops" all over the city are often mentioned as frequented places.

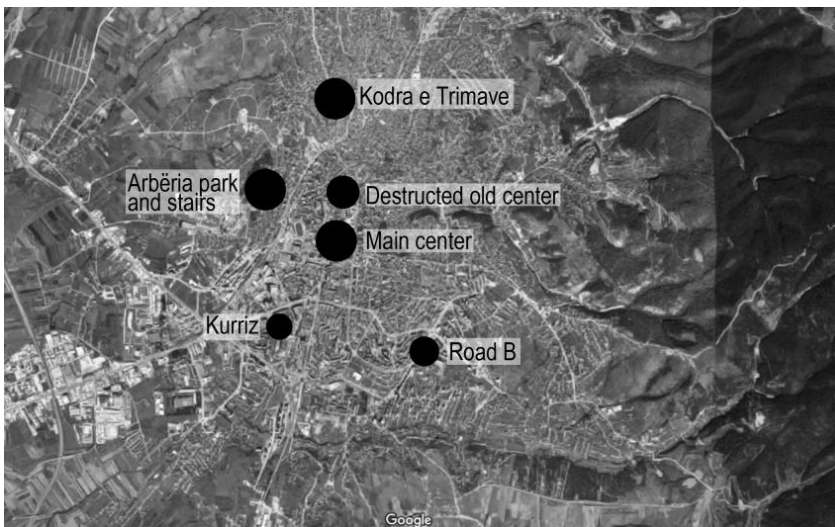


Figure 6 Mentioned nodes in a current map

<sup>7</sup> Korzo refers to the promenade street and the action of promenade

In overall, the city moved from having a single center into having a main center with many other dispersed ones. Although the evolution of construction has played a role, the turning point for this change has to be marked as the 90s when the social activities had to be moved into the dispersed centers.

The third point to be discussed is on paths. The old city street structures were organic: most of the inhabited street paths were narrow and houses had walls as fences limiting the public-private contact, whereas the main axis and later Korzo was a relatively long and wide shopping street. The straight-cut relation between public and private spaces is a typical oriental city feature arisen due to women wearing hijabs in public. Thus, the in-between garden doors functioned as connectors: “(...) when you had to go to a neighbor it was not common to go out of your property to the street and then enter to your neighbor’s house, you would use these doors”. This phenomenon changed altogether with the second generation: “(...) development starts. Infrastructure gets improved, streets widened, old buildings destroyed, new buildings built, the university opened, etc.” With the widening of residential street, that until then was destined for connection purpose only, it gained other public uses such as areas destined for children playgrounds “when a building was built, it had a plan for a park where children could play in the future (...) the system considered the needs of [everyone], the children too”. Anyhow, even though high walls as garden fences have not been allowed since the second generation, when locals think of the city identity it’s still the narrow street typology they think to be typical to Prishtina.

To continue with today, as there was not much change in the 90s, the main difference is the road width to height ratio that went lower in a considerable number of streets, giving a ‘suffocating’ feeling in comparison to their counterparts developed in socialist time. The ratio depends on the road hierarchy, neighborhood location and the dominance of illegal constructions.

The first turning point of paths would be within the second generation when the public and private life separation ends and life is brought to the streets; and the second turning point has to be the development of some dull paths of fourth generation i.e. today, that due to their spontaneous construction lack affirmative warming energy and lead the pedestrian focus on the obstacles of sky visibility.



Figure 7 Old photograph of an oriental street<sup>8</sup>



Figure 8 Old photograph of a socialist street<sup>9</sup>

The last point to be discussed is the landmarks. Landmarks of the 40s time were religious buildings, especially the Minarets, but also the Clock Tower, that stood out due to their height in comparison to other

<sup>8</sup> Source: <http://mapio.net/pic/p-47511124/> <accessed on June 2018>

<sup>9</sup> Source: <http://www.gazetaexpress.com/oped/ibrahim-berisha-prishtina-e-humbur-390465/> <accessed on June 2018>

low-buildings and served well for city readability: “(...) we would see the whole city. We would see the minarets and the small houses”. Many Mosques and the Catholic and Orthodox churches were destroyed before the second generation was born: “[They] destroyed the most beautiful Mosque, The Llokaç Mosque”. But, with the 70s construction developments the emphasis shifts from religious buildings to cultural ones such as National Theater, Palace of Youth and Sports, and the Football Stadium. Second generation names four state-owned coffee shops and restaurants of the time that served as landmarks at the time which, ends up within the second generation memory as the number increased rapidly afterward. During the discussions with the third generation, there are many then-administrative buildings that are used as reference points like then-hospitals or home-schools that although of vital importance for that period, their historical importance didn’t pass on to the younger generations that have limited knowledge of their location or importance. The third and fourth generations recognize the same structures to be the main landmarks of the city due to their age or facilitated social activities: Mosques, Palace of Youth and Sports and Clock Tower. Interestingly, there are no recent built landmarks mentioned, although technically there are: as for instance, the newborn monument in memory of the Independence Day which is a landmark for tourists but not yet regarded as part of the city by residents.

Overall, some of the changes seem to be directly implied by the growth of city size, such as the elimination of city borders and the transformation from a single-centered city to a polycentric one. The point of city turning edgeless was needed to understand the flow of city life and the social organization. Becoming officially edgeless is not the issue; the substitution made is its real impact. If it was to be considered again, perhaps some of the fields should haven’t been sacrificed as easily not to suggest that an edge should have been left closed, but the move forward could have taken into consideration the then-existing use of the space. Also, paths where citizens stroll around, have been sacrificed for the buildings where citizens live at; directing the pedestrian perspective on the sky-view obstacles. The point of landmarks best expresses the importance of the time factor in acceptance of changes. The issue with the landmarks is the time needed for the society to host them as part of the city; therefore, although the newborn monument marks history it needs more time to get established in resident’s city memory.

### *Enclosure*

*Enclosure* refers to the spatial limits. The spatial enclosures express the need for psychological security (Madanipour, 2003). These limits between public versus private space are to be analyzed in this chapter.

As it has been described earlier the oriental city features offered a straight-cut private-public relation i.e. what is public remains public and what is private does not mix with the public; whereas, in western-urbanity-understanding the public space is essential and it cannot be discarded in any way. Until the late 50s when there were no collective buildings constructed yet, the residents had a way of avoiding streets through the in-between garden doors: “(...) door to door you could cross through the whole neighborhood”. In fact, as the private properties were bigger compared to the ones of today, there were three levels of gardens separated with walls: the flower garden in front of the house, the vegetable and fruit garden and the animal garden as a frontier to the outside world i.e. the street. Although, the street is by definition a public space, where public gatherings take place, in that time it was the private spaces hosted them. Although located in enclosed enclaves, these gardens could be considered as semi-public

spheres due to their use as corridors on getting from one point to another but also hosting public gatherings.

The private-public connection changes with the socialist urban development re-structuring, where the use of semi-private spaces starts fading away. With the construction of wide streets and modern urban tissues, private spaces squeeze into building apartments to provide a vast surrounding for public use. This way, instead of compressed public spaces the second generation adapts to openness. This openness is felt in new urbanized districts that place collective buildings in a public space instead of public spaces being crushed by the private properties. Further on, openness can also be found in public areas provided by signature buildings of the time alike the Palace of Youth and Sports which has a plateau above its commercial ground floor or the former commercial center of Gërmia. An interviewee mentions Gërmia to be: *“(...) for us, students of high school and universities, [it] was a sheltering place. We were allowed to stay there as long as we wanted”*.

This relatively new concept of openness changed due to the insecurity of the 90s period. In the discussions for this period, it is found out that the most frequented neighborhoods were Kodra e Trimave and Arbëria. Both of these two zones were residential neighborhoods, with Kodra e Trimave being dominated by illegal constructions. Some of the interviewees suggested the peripheral location or the ethnical homogeneity to be the reason for a higher security feeling. As for the first point, the neighborhoods mentioned to have been more in use were densely built individual housing areas located on the north-west and eastern hills that truly could be considered peripheral. Nevertheless, they were obviously not the only edges and nor were they the only hilly areas. As for the second point of homogeneity, there is some truth in that; yet, they were again not the only homogeneous neighborhoods. In a different perspective, one of the interviewees said: *“Perhaps it had more alternatives routes compared to other parts, and that’s why it gave a sense of security”*. The difference of these edges was that it wasn’t developed under the openness concept. Actually, comparing the two developments of a network of streets and openness, the first one gives a limited number of routes whereas the second option provides an infinite number of options. Apparently, the importance lies in the perceived refuge feeling of the surrounding more than on the actual number of routes.



Figure 9 Modern Dardania zone<sup>10</sup>



Figure 10 Street Eduard Lir in Arbëria Zone<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Source: [https://c1.staticflickr.com/4/3279/2808643986\\_c2b13dda04\\_b.jpg](https://c1.staticflickr.com/4/3279/2808643986_c2b13dda04_b.jpg) <accessed on June 2018>

<sup>11</sup> Source: <https://static.panoramio.com/storage.googleapis.com/photos/large/39580237.jpg> <accessed on June 2018>

Having routes is different from open spaces as the feeling of buildings placed in spaces is different from the feeling of being in spaces left between buildings. Due to human instincts, rather than being a prey in an open space people choose being in between places to get the enclosure feeling. In this way, although the city had spent years trying to decrease the private areas and offer more public space, the need of security had once again directed the society to its previous typical streets where avoiding conflict seemed more probable.

This system of public events inside private spaces was not a totally unknown system for the inhabitants if not for the time, both, infrastructure had to change and citizens had to adapt to the existence and use of a public sphere. Otherwise, the very fact that private houses were again hosting public functions such as schools, medical institution and all other social events such as weddings or small gigs was rightfully perceived as a sign of going back in time.

As a matter of fact, the general urban plan of 1988 had suggested the consideration of natural or catastrophe resilience such as a war case, where the further urban development had to accordingly consider the factors of density, built area, usage coefficient, floors and uninhabited areas (Municipality of Prishtina, 1988: p.32). But, this general urban plan was adopted a year before the autonomy revocation, after which there hadn't been much urban development.

Talking about the present-day, the public sphere use is valid in all zones with the frequency hierarchy based on centrality. Still, levels of enclosure differ in various neighborhoods and districts. In fact, as most of the interviewees think of the old part of the city when it comes to city identity, when asked what does one consider to be the determinant of identity one of the fourth generation interviewees said: “[I am] including the architecture, low buildings, these narrow streets that are over-connected with one-another, that express best the identity of the city”. The ‘over-connection’ in this context is the term used to refer to the dense route network with high building density i.e. enclosure of oriental streets. Nevertheless, due to economic reasons developments are oriented towards high building density.

Truly, the occurrences of the 90s represented a challenge to the social life of the city and the choices made by society are stronger determinants than taste when it comes to identity, which in this case, points to the avoidance of modernist neighborhoods. Still, it wouldn't be correct to say that the modernist zones give alienated feelings to citizens as “with time people accept everything as part of the city (...) they become a part of city memory” but certainly they haven't proven to be as resilient.

The general point refers to the psychological considerations of planning, although driven by a very exceptional case that may not currently be a concern of a majority of cities. Nevertheless, present-day is not the only concern of urban planning and city needs to be as robust as possible.

### *Coherence*

Coherence feature refers to the existence of a general order of the city, a logic that can be tracked within districts of the city or even between different districts of the city. Sassen (2005) suggests that although it goes beyond the understanding of formal planning, some logic of order exists even in messy-looking settlements.



In the 40s city, there was a coherent logic with the entire city, being situated in a relatively flat terrain, where the residential neighborhoods were dominated by blank streets with big properties developed in three stages of gardens whereas the bazaar, on the other hand, had a contrary sight with a vivid life and visible interiors. While Evliya Çelebi's (Kahraman, 2010: p.761-762) writings of 1660 refer to the masonry houses with big gardens and a bazaar, the houses in 1940 were predominantly of adobe and wood. The building material change may have been caused by different conflicts throughout centuries, 1859 and 1863 fires (mentioned in Sylejmani, 2017: p.10) or resulted from decayed house replacements. On the other hand, the sacred buildings like churches and mosques were built of masonry materials, which stood out from the ephemeral structures, due to their height and open public spaces in front of them. The architecture of the time is referred to as a simple but a domestic one characterized by long roofs, visible wooden structures in white façades and the çardak<sup>12</sup>. Still, it must be noted that although in use, many of the buildings were old and decayed (see figure 11). In socio-cultural aspects, as bazaar was made of craft shops craft-making skills were necessary. Generally during summer vacation school-children would do an apprenticeship in one of these shops: quilt-making, silversmith, blacksmiths, tailor, shoemaker, etc.



Figure 11 Ramiz Sadiku Street 1959<sup>13</sup>



Figure 12 Old Bazaar<sup>14</sup>

When referring to the difference between neighborhood development before and during the Yugoslavian period, Sylejmani (2017: p.92) describes that the objective of the first one was to initially create the necessary services such as mosques, water fountains, a market shop, etc. to start forming a neighborhood, whereas the later one had an organized planning that would first build the quarts and then the local community services. On that account, until the Yugoslavian period, the urban development happened in a spontaneous manner, houses were added to the neighborhood edges and extra fountains were built to fulfill the increased demand, and also facilitate further growth. Anyhow, the districts developed during the Yugoslavian time had a more organized planning with an obvious order, which was a consequence of a

<sup>12</sup>Çardak - the middle part of first floors is emphasized with an additional surface that provides a three sided view from the interior space.

<sup>13</sup>Source:<https://get.google.com/albumarchive/115138488312141977684/album/AF1QipNiOfLdXLMikecUtyxk0o2XBraqwr6Os7FSUIt/AF1QipO7Ye7nXdUudspWbh7le3mQrN5U5uZU6zCIuVTX> <accessed on June 2018>

<sup>14</sup>Source:<https://get.google.com/albumarchive/115138488312141977684/album/AF1QipNiOfLdXLMikecUtyxk0o2XBraqwr6Os7FSUIt/AF1QipPNW8XSBu6ijMOzpBTqPTfqtX2qZqiyhfiZI> <accessed on June 2018>

united planning and building authority i.e. municipality. As apparent in most of Eastern Europe, the modernist style dominated in Prishtina as well, with a heavy use of reinforced concrete.

This socialist planning, on one hand, did cause major destructions to achieve its planning goals that are overly criticized today, but on the other hand, it did provide a coherent planning logic that is also praised today.

Thus, the second generation was born into a different reality from the first one, where the order wasn't hidden behind the building structure logic but, although under construction, was visible in a good part of the city. The citizens were well aware of the objective: "*The plan was to make a coherent urbanism*". Nevertheless, the plan wasn't as inclusive as may be thought. In fact, the city ended up in a dual city situation. The remnants of the old tissues were rebuilding themselves and informal constructions were common-place, happening at a level that the estimated district demolition and reconstruction cost went beyond the affordable economic capacity (Municipality of Prishtina, 1988: p.41). A part of the residents, 24%, were living in the neighborhoods dominated by illegal constructions, whereas most of the inhabitants, 46%, were living in the socialist-modernist neighborhoods developed after the 1960s and the rest of 30% were living in the old neighborhoods (Municipality of Prishtina, 1988: p.41-44). The district dominated by individual illegal constructions, referred as *wild constructions*, was perceived as an overloaded urban tissue that would pose an obstacle for the structuration of family processes as required for personal growth purposes (Municipality of Prishtina, 1988: p.12-13).



Figure 13 Prishtina of the second generation<sup>15</sup>

Regardless differences, a single promenade street was where everyone would meet at, which also points to a life coherence of citizens, where the 6 pm to the 10 pm timetable, as the offered promenade time, organized the timetable of citizens. The existence of four coffee shops decreased further the differences, as it was the promenade only without the additional commercial reasons that brought people into one place.

When it comes to the third generation reality, talking about the physical coherence is not very different from the previous generation. However, socially the coherence went a step backward with curfew hours

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<sup>15</sup> Source:[http://lajmi.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/12366287\\_10207914966569555\\_974846496087311316\\_n.jpg](http://lajmi.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/12366287_10207914966569555_974846496087311316_n.jpg)  
<accessed on June 2018>



and a stricter regime over the ethnic majority. Although the promenade tradition was still part of the routine for some, it was less valid as an inclusive social activity. Further on, the life coherence was disturbed by the dispersion of crowds into private sites of public activities.

City appearance has changed since 80s developments and people are nostalgic for the urbanism of the time, which is a longing for the coherence. After 1999 city went under a turbo construction that had little or no planning order; hence, after a short period of time the coherence created was filled with unsettling elements. Turning to today's generation, the one that has been born into a disturbed coherence, many of them describe the city identity using the terms: 'business only city', 'work energy', foggy city, or 'grey city'. The grey was used as a negative adjective referring to the monotony of the socialist-modernist buildings whereas the colorful part is described at: *"(...) the old part of the city [which] maintains its lively color and vibe it has always had (...) parts where there are no collective buildings"*.

Understandably, every generation longs for their first-known urban tissue typology of the city, be it the organic one or the coherent modernism, whereas the fourth generation is in search of originality. Nevertheless, some aspects are longed for by most of the interviewees such as the lack of commercialism. Talking about the coffee shops an interviewee from first-generation said *"I would not even dare to mention it [to my parents]"*, from the second-generation said *"(...) as we [youngsters] didn't have an economic independence, we wouldn't go to coffee shops"* a third-generation interviewee remembers *"taking exams at the coffee shops"* whereas the fourth-generation interviewees centralize social activities in coffee shops. Thus, perhaps the social coherence of the fourth-generation, not exclusive to this case, is its vulnerability to commercialism.

Nonetheless, displeasure with this commerciality is reflected in the increasing numbers of new social centers that are developed and organized voluntarily by some social groups to find *"a sense of comfort"*. Coffee shops do represent the most common ground floor activity and they are 'rooted in our culture' (Ondozi, 2017). Nevertheless, it has to be acknowledged that the domination of coffee shops is connected to a lack of alternatives.

### *Heterogeneity*

One of the interviewees of the second generation said: *"My generation is used to the system where the state thinks for individuals. I think we haven't been able to shift to today's [political] system, yet"*. While an individual takes shorter to adapt to a new society's mindset, the shift of a society into a new mindset is a much more challenging requirement. Heterogeneity, as a neutral concept standing between positivity of variety and negativity of chaos, is a relatively new but a constantly pointed strike of planning in Prishtina.

Although heterogeneity in social aspect could be considered the ethnical mixture of the city until the 1999, the variety of craft-making, or the dual planning of the 80s, it is not until the fourth generation that this feature becomes as explicit in appearance. Talking about today's city identity inevitably involves chaos within. It is a result of the post-war transition period, a mixture of an urgent need of housing and the reflection of political struggle into planning, taking into consideration the required time to plan a vision for a city that as well involves some objective requirements from its higher level authorities. In this line of thinking, the overexpressed illegal building phenomenon becomes understandable. But, this transition

period combined with the variedness of contemporary architecture trends has resulted in the heterogeneity feature of the city. One of the first generation interviewees suggested: *“Now, everything [every building] is different from one-another (...) because people want [buildings] to be a little different [from the others]”*. The made point is as valid for people as it is for buildings.

The post-war period resulted in a disturbance of the order created: building limits, heights, materials, etc. When asked for the improvements city has made compared to the previous periods, unsurprisingly, most of them consider infrastructure and constructions to have developed significantly, but the statement is generally made with an unsatisfied attitude: *“(...) it has to be the constructions. But, then the construction is so chaotic, that it is not possible to say that there has been an improvement. Perhaps, this philosophy of building has destroyed [its positivity]”* or in another view: *“Improvement would be something when the needs of citizens are fulfilled. I don’t think that has happened”*. Other than the illegal and irregular constructions that happened in many parts of the city, the bigger problem lies in the lack of public spaces (as in the case of Kuvač and Schwai, 2017). If the constructions happened following at least some common social decision for the future of neighborhoods, rather than a one-by-one construction manner, perhaps the public spaces would have been given a thought.

The fourth generation, on the other hand, recognizes heterogeneity as part of the city identity. When asked to describe the city identity, one of the answers was: *“Whenever I think of the city, I think of this mosaic made of a lot of small particles; Prishtina is always full of on-going constructions”*. It is hard to tell whether the transition period that has started 19 years ago is still going on, but for sure its presence is stamped in these ‘chaotic’ images<sup>16</sup>. The heterogeneity, starts from the smaller changes done to the modernist neighborhoods: the extensions to ground floor level, extra floors above the top level, balconies turned into interior use, or additional apartment surface through consoles; to continue to the neighborhoods with major changes where houses got replaced with high-rise, out of order buildings that relate little to the context they are situated in. Consequently, *“(...) this kind of chaos growing inside the variety becomes its [city’s] identity.”*



Figure 14 Dardania neighborhood <sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> A Local NGO- EcMaNdryshe, has developed a chaos interactive map for two neighborhoods of Prishtina: Dardania and Tophane:

<https://mapengine.google.com/map/viewer?hl=en&mid=zWJbDyoC9zAE.k0NDAQDGndZQ> <accessed on June 2018>

<sup>17</sup> Source: <http://botapress.info/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Dardani-ilustrim-640x358.jpg> <accessed on June 2018>

Apart from the negativity of the chaos term, when a participant and a partner-founder of a youth social center was asked on city identity her reaction was: *“We want to change something for us, to change things for other people as well ... I love Prishtina in its whole, chaotic as it is. I like it, and it’s in its phase of getting better and better. And, [it feels as if] it’s in its first phase”*.

The self-efficiency has been suggested to have effects on the perception of city identity, and the active participation involved in this case makes a broader difference for the livability of the city for a wider public.

When compared to the views on coherence that was described with a monotone energy, the heterogeneity is described with stronger emotions. Variety, western-planning-wise, is an applauded feature, but too much variety without a clear organization leads to chaos, and whether chaos will be accepted by the community depends on the case study. The fourth generation neither appreciates rigidity, nor is it pleased with the results of the total freedom society had had.

### *Affinity*

Affinity in this group of features is the one providing the most direct mirror between physical and social dimensions. Social affinity creates a welcoming ambient and more importantly a feeling of safety in the midst of the ‘full of strangers’ settlements (Jacobs, 1961: p. 30).

The oriental city of the 40s had a single center dedicated for public use, the so-called bazaar area and all the other zones were of residential purpose only. To start with the residential neighborhoods, where the in-between garden doors served as main connectors, the very fact that the gardens of neighbors were accepted at the same level as one’s family house, is a sign of a valid social connection. Apart from the private and public spaces, these gardens could be considered as semi-public spaces due to their service as a path between two points and the frequent neighbor reunions that strengthened the social connection.

On the other hand, the bazaar area is remembered as *“row[s] of low-rise shops”* in close proximity to one-another. One of the interviewees suggests: *“[I think] these types of bazaars have a warmer feeling, because of the affinity. In the big cities, you don’t see who is on the other side. So, there is no communication between them because of the distance [in-between]”*. The distances in between two sides of the streets were relatively narrow allowing a normal sun penetration which is highly important for cities with continental climates, and still achieving the feeling of enclosure without a suffocating feeling due to low heights but also due to the existence of focal points that made up memorable units. Also, it is mentioned that the bazaar shops had a flexible wooden frame that would be converted into seats, which also strengthens the friendliness among the craftsmen and in general the warm atmosphere of the bazaar.

The 70s and 80s movements create a new private-public connection, where the semi-private space use starts fading away and the recreational use of urban wide public spaces begins. Even so, affinity remains as a characteristic feature due to the single meeting point of everyone. Due to the concentration of all the social and cultural activities such as cinemas, theaters and the sports venues in a single area and guaranteeing its frequentation by most of the residents at the same hours 6pm-10pm, affinity remained a social feature: *“[Groups] would do a few rounds in the street. People would be attentive to their clothing*

by wearing the best suits they had and many relationships would start on that street”. In this way, a centralized recreational area preserved the sense of familiarity among residents despite the population growth from 16.000 in 1937 to more than 108.000 in 1981 (Municipality of Prishtina, 1988: p.6).



Figure 15 Narrow Streets of Old Bazaar<sup>18</sup>



Figure 16 Korzo Street- Current Mother Teresa Street<sup>19</sup>

The 90s have once again changed the occurrence form of affinity feature, as the former central recreational area was not as centralized anymore. The promenade tradition was being replaced with the private space events: private meeting venues, house weddings, new coffee shops, coffee shop lectures, unfinished home-classrooms, garage gigs, etc. Even so, these gatherings didn't ensure the social affinity as the previous periods, but the difficult social situation influenced solidarity among the resistant community (see for instance: Castells, 2010: p.6-12). It was this unity feeling that solved a big number of the long-going feuds not only in Prishtina but all over the country through the so-called peacemaking dialogues that actually did achieve peace.

In a comparison between the 90s and today, it is said: *“People were way more communicative and friendly. The economic interests were not as apparent as now. After the war, time started working faster”*. So, it didn't last long until the global competitive trends had overrun the solidarity and social equality feeling in Prishtina.

The generations that have witnessed the previous periods believe that there is not much left from the community feeling that had existed before: *“Now, we build [collective] buildings, with 20 or 30 flats, where neighbors don't talk and don't know each other. At that time, we had much bigger areas [properties], but we knew everyone because in a holistic view we were a much smaller city”*. Sylejmani (2017: p.92) believed that people created strong bonds with their neighborhoods and their city because of the spontaneous development.

Another lost affinity element that is mentioned in a fourth generation interview is the light color. As suggested, the street lighting used to be in a yellow color which gave the city a warmer feeling and a friendlier atmosphere; however, when the street lighting changed to white, the atmosphere changed into a more artificial and cold one. Nevertheless, the fourth generation believes that the community feeling does

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<sup>18</sup> Source: [http://www.wikiwand.com/en/Bazaar\\_of\\_Pristina](http://www.wikiwand.com/en/Bazaar_of_Pristina) <accessed on June 2018>

<sup>19</sup> Source: <http://mapio.net/pic/p-60044220/> <accessed on June 2018>

exist: “*We have a very connected society. But, space is what we lack. I think if we had that space, our society would have a big potential to give value to our city*”. Indeed, a common space is the prerequisite of a city identity. In general, many do find the old city area to be ‘comfortable’ or ‘reflecting a warmer atmosphere’ which is characterized by physical affinity and high built density. Apart from that, it’s the coffee shops that are broadly mentioned that due to their size offer a warm feeling similar to the garden gatherings of the first generation or the social events of the 90s, with an addition of commerciality. This affinity feature is present also, for instance in shopping centers as originating from the bazaars: with small shops placed next to one another, but instead of craftsmen, shops belong to the retail companies in spaces that are made for commercial purpose strolling. This is an aspect that pushes people away and therefore cannot substitute the destructed bazaar.

It was earlier mentioned that Plato believed that the determinant of the city size is the social need satisfaction i.e. participation in social activities (Mumford, 1938: p.486-488) but to have ‘participation’ the welcoming atmosphere is necessary.

### *Memorability*

Identity means both uniqueness and sameness, thus other than the unique elements the common elements become indistinguishable but also unnoticeable part of our life; nonetheless, as some of these elements were lost within time, it becomes easier to track them through the feeling of loss. First, we will look at the nature-related elements and then to the built element details.

To start with the first generation there is a clear memory of a nature-friendly city, enriched with plants and water. As the first generation remembers vividly the vast gardens, there are some references to specific tree types such as white and black mulberry trees in the inner gardens of “*almost all houses*”. In the public sphere, the main streets are remembered to have had rows of trees in both its sides. Then, second-generation points out the linden trees that were apparent on both sides of Promenade Street, but also in some others: “*We had a tree as our meeting point, so we would arrange meetings at the tree which was a linden tree (...) at that time, in Korzo the smell was of linden trees*”. Due to their prevalence, but also due to the aromatic features of the linden tree they are vibrantly remembered by second-generation interviewees. Further on, many social activities of the first generation were happening around the parks, hills or fields such as Arbëria hill teatime, Gërmia park picnics, traditional Ederlezi<sup>20</sup> celebration at the field around Sultan Murad Tomb, notifying Iftar<sup>21</sup> from the park of Dodona and the evening walks at the park at the current enclave of Privatization Agency of Kosovo. This connection with the natural sites becomes less dominant in discussions with the second generation and even less apparent in the third and fourth generations. Gërmia Park remains one of the most used natural sites, whereas the Arbëria hill, Arbëria stairs respectively as within time the hill became inhabited, is mentioned again as a socializing point for the third generation and merely a sightseeing point for the fourth generation. In fact, its usage as a sight-seeing point, although valid, has been vulnerable to obscuring constructions.

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<sup>20</sup> Ederlezi- is a Romani festival on May 5; also referred as welcoming summer celebration.

<sup>21</sup> Iftar- is the evening meal during Ramadan month, when Muslims fast from sunrise to sunset.

As for the rivers, only the first generation remembers it to have been clean and used by ducks, but also by children swimming during summer and sliding when frost. Moreover, there was a kind of a gathering point for swimming which is referred to as the “*beach of that time*”. Afterward, the second generation doesn’t have pleasing memories, due to houses throwing their sewage in the rivers, and are mostly remembered to have been dirty at all times and caused flood problems from time to time. That’s also the reason they were covered in the 80s. Apart from rivers, there was a considerable number of water fountains in the city: 66 fountains before WW2, 44 fountains after WW2, 24 fountains after 1963; whereas, now it is only a symbolic number of fountains left (Sylejmani, 2017: p.83). These fountains are vividly remembered by many first and second generation interviewees. Some of them, although destroyed, are used as reference points in the interviews such as bazaar fountain. The remaining fountains are mostly the Mosque fountains that are connected to the religious praying needs and are used daily. The destroyed ones are the water fountains that served civilian houses before the public water connection was available.



Figure 17 Destroyed Katër Llulla Fountain<sup>22</sup>



Figure 18 Existing Shadërvan Mosque fountain<sup>23</sup>

As for the built features, while the first generation mainly mentions the bigger destructions as a loss to the city, such as demolition of bazaar, Mosques, and Churches, the second generation considers smaller changes such as replacement of granite cobblestone pavements with asphalt or the entrance wooden doors to metallic ones. Roads with granite cobblestone had been a common practice in previous times, but nowadays only a few streets in the old part of the city remain with cobblestone pavements, which give an authentic perception of cobblestone streets. The third generation, as the one living under extraordinary circumstances, mentions the *odas*<sup>24</sup> and the unfinished private spaces where the public events were occurring. Although these places bring to mind the resistance time, their memory is not as pleasing.

<sup>22</sup> Katër Llulla- is a reference to four pipes which fountain had in its sides. Although the fountain was destroyed long ago, the fountain name is commonly used to refer to the neighborhood.

Source: [https://scontent.fopo2-1.fna.fbcdn.net/v/t31.0-8/29351900\\_1457658581027827\\_5047367249509624241\\_o.jpg?\\_nc\\_cat=0&oh=c0b514a399aa8ab47c16fc6595906752&oe=5B83E932](https://scontent.fopo2-1.fna.fbcdn.net/v/t31.0-8/29351900_1457658581027827_5047367249509624241_o.jpg?_nc_cat=0&oh=c0b514a399aa8ab47c16fc6595906752&oe=5B83E932) <accessed on June 2018>

<sup>23</sup> Source: <https://encrypted-tbn0.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcRsIEHQqiw44vCFmrOBQ6EMrLnexzB8lzVD170e1y4rbEKB4Cu4> <accessed on June 2018>

<sup>24</sup> Oda- in this context refers to the biggest room in a traditional Albanian house where political meetings were held and future decisions were made.

One issue that has affected the general feeling in the city is traffic. Traffic has changed the noise level of the city, as it went from horse carriages to few cars, to end up with too many cars. One of the interviewees said: “When I think of that time, I like the idea of having that silence again”.

In the overall view of memorability, there is a longing for less-artificial materials and more nature-related elements. The most significant difference is that while once the natural elements were all around the city, today’s generation lacks that direct connection.

*Summary of feature evolution analysis*

All of the six features went under significant changes, especially in the post-1999 period. Perhaps, if the situation was treated differently there wouldn’t be as much dissatisfaction as there is today, even if it was for discussing future illegal constructions.

The analyzed city identity features narrate a perspective of the past of the city, where each generation got into a different mindset that helps in understanding today’s dilemma. Each period had its advantageous and disadvantageous points; but as these are closed chapters of history, they are safe harbors for people to rely on. Individuals tend to emphasize the good aspects of the city’s past because it is their past that is being discussed. Apart from the exaggerated perfectness, repeating the previous solutions is technically not possible and practically not convenient. The answer for the future’s planning lies in the fourth generation’s search for originality, which is also the one in inheritance line to reshape the city’s future.

Due to the analyzed circumstances, the concerns of today’s city planning are superior. In order to get an insight from the existing planning documents, the following subchapter will check the planning objectives and city identity references of the local and national level plans.

Table 1 Keynotes on feature evolution along generations

	1 <sup>st</sup> Generation	2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation	3 <sup>rd</sup> Generation	4 <sup>th</sup> Generation
Legibility	Destructed city center Dull residential streets First Korzo Marked edges Religious buildings as landmarks	Livelier use of streets Public use of spaces Second Korzo Addition of cultural buildings as landmarks	Dispersed centers Parallel administration units as landmarks	Definite center Multiple centers Suffocating height-width ratio Acceptance process of new landmarks
Enclosure	Public and private worlds Public space as a leftover of private space	Openness Private space as a leftover of public space	Use of traditional routes over openness	Development and use of both types
Coherence	Adobe and wood as building materials Low-height buildings Spontaneous building	Collective buildings Planned urbanization Reinforced concrete Rigid planning and uniform buildings Uniform public life	Disturbed public life	The greyness of reinforced concrete Life in coffee shops

Heterogeneity		Dual city	Dual city	Confusing architectural language Disorder Modified rigidity
Affinity	Human-scale dimensions Sense of enclosure Use of private venues for gatherings Connector garden-doors	The dominant use of the promenade street Single-meeting point Social equality feeling	New coffee shops Solidarity Use of private venues for gatherings	Coffee shops as small areas facilitating familiarity
Memorability	Arbëria hill as sightseeing point Cobblestone streets Gërmia park Nature-society connection River beach Water fountains Mulberry trees	Arbëria stairs as sightseeing point Cobblestone streets Dirty rivers Gërmia park Linden trees	Arbëria stairs as sightseeing point Gërmia park Odas	Arbëria stairs as sightseeing point Coffee shops Gërmia park Traffic noise

#### 4.4 PLANS AND PROJECTS ON CITY'S FUTURE

This chapter will analyze the aims of the in-force plans in light of city identity consideration. First, an overview to the importance of identity in the newly-established state will be given, then city identity references in planning documents will be analyzed and finally, two future projects will be discussed in relation to their identity concerns.

The urge to create collective identities for new states can be found in many examples throughout history such as in former Soviet state (Castells, 2000), other ex-communist countries (Allon, 2013; Lewicka, 2008; Michlic, 2005; Tölle, 2010) or as mentioned, in the former Yugoslavia. Succeeding in forming a national identity is a pre-request to create a stable society. When national identities lose their strength, societies start doubting their political system and questioning their own destiny (Gospodini, 2004). Moreover, as stated by scholars, identity is not made of feelings; it is excessively material, made of history and experience (Castells, 2010; Rose, 1995). Indeed, identity creation is of high importance for in-force planning documents.

In the national level<sup>25</sup>, Spatial Plan of Kosovo (Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning, 2010: p.121-122) gives objectives for each of the four defined zones of the country in relation to their

<sup>25</sup> There are two planning levels in Kosovo: national and local. Until August 2013 there were five planning documents, two of national level: Spatial Plan of Kosovo and Spatial Plans for Special Zones; and three others of local level: Municipal Development Plans, Urban Development Plans and Urban Regulative Plans. However, as of 2013 there are six planning documents, three of national level: Spatial Plan of Kosovo, Zonal Map of Kosovo and Spatial Plans for Special Zones; and three of local level: Municipal Development Plans, Municipal Zonal Plan and Urban Regulative Plans. Due to these changes, currently the mentioned documents are to be revised by the municipality.



characteristics. Accordingly, the zone where Prishtina is at, stands out for its administrative character and the envisions are stated as development of attractive network with public services and improved citizen life quality, increased employment and social equality, development of the administrative, educational, commercial, energetic, agro-industrial and tourist activities (Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning, 2010: p.136-140). A major criticized point of Spatial Plan of Kosovo is its lack of reflecting the reality of the state and focusing primarily on economic development (CHwB, 2011: p.32-47). Although, Spatial Plan of Kosovo (Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning, 2010: p.100) states identity as “what makes communities different from one-another” and states it to be connected to heritage due to identity being “perceived through cultural and natural heritage”, there is a lack of a clearly defined vision.

In the local level, Municipal Development Plan (Municipality of Prishtina, 2012: p.59) also considers heritage to be the source of identity which strengthens the collective identity. The 2022 vision of Municipal Development Plan (Municipality of Prishtina, 2012: p.58) focuses on three priorities: a capital of a new country, a city for youth and better life quality. These goals, especially the first-mentioned one, are related to the creation of a better city image, a more representable one to the western-like taste, which is not very different from the ‘global city’ desires that make cities vulnerable to lose their ‘cityness’ (Sassen, 2005). One of the seven aims given to achieve the vision is strengthening identity through the historic, natural and cultural landscape (Municipality of Prishtina, 2012: p.66). Further on, this is developed in: evaluating historical heritage, promoting and developing tourism, enlarging tourist attractions, and creating and maintaining touristic infrastructure (Municipality of Prishtina, 2012: p.66). Further on, the main tools given to accomplish the fore-mentioned aim are: an integrated urban project of urban zones that are connected to values of identity with focus in studying urban evolution, and evaluate and preserve monuments, historic building typologies, materials and technics, road and parcel division of historical structures (Municipality of Prishtina, 2012: p.140). Regardless, the common belief is that the identity of the city can be strengthened through better life quality, functional and aesthetically pleasant public spaces and built environment (Municipality of Prishtina, 2012: p.123).

Further on, according to Urban Development Plan (Municipality of Prishtina, 2013: p.80), city development has previously been fragmentary in Prishtina, thus it is defined in three structurally different zones: old center, urbanized parts, and suburban parts. The old center is characterized with organic structure, urbanized parts are modern urban tissues built after WW2 that surround the old center and the suburban parts are the ones developed after 1999 that surround the urbanized parts. Although, the replacement of aged buildings in the old center with new ones is stated to have caused loss of neighborhood character and urban identity (CHwB, 2011: p.37; Municipality of Prishtina, 2013: p.67); the same document (Municipality of Prishtina, 2013: p.104) foresees further significant changes in the urban structure in the old part due to the suggested road widening which implies the destruction of many existent buildings.

In fact, despite the expressed will for preservation found in the municipal development plan as in: “Buildings contain as much evidence and information as documents” (Municipality of Prishtina, 2012: p.19) old building destruction remains a common practice. Although intervention is necessary, renovation and maintenance are rarely chosen over demolition; according to the municipal report of 2016 within 3 years, 120 buildings were destroyed by the municipality with the justification of them imposing a high risk to pedestrians, caused by natural decay or war damages (Municipality of Prishtina, 2016: p.4).

A bigger planned destruction is the envisioned case of the Urban Regulative Plan for Tophane which foresees a total reshaping of the old neighborhood, with a replacement of low-rise individual houses to high-rise buildings. In the words of the municipal authority interviewed: “[T]he [regulative] plan was made prior to the [heritage protection] law and didn’t consider the buildings under heritage protection (...) how I understand it: because it’s a very old neighborhood, with no possibilities of reconstruction, the goal was on revitalizing it with all new high-rise buildings, [but] it hasn’t been possible, as we now see it, there are only small portions where it is realized. Most of it remained as it was; it ended up with some low-rise and some high-rise buildings.”

Urban Development Plan (Municipality of Prishtina, 2013: p.78) states the importance traditions had historically had in territorial divisions of the city of Prishtina which served the citizens to feel identified with the built environment, as it suited their lifestyle. Fehmiu, one of the first Kosovar architects believed that “towns and societies have a constant causal dialectic relationship. Therefore, it is imperative that all development is based on a symbiosis of material-spiritual heritage and their modern additions, making sure that the intensity of human dimension is not lost”(cited in National Gallery of Kosovo, 2015: p.29).

One strategy to create an urban identity used by many post-socialist cities is bringing back the elements of the pre-socialist time (i.e. Michlic, 2005; Tölle, 2010; Young and Kaczmarek, 2008). Regarding this point, one of the future projects of the municipality of Prishtina is the construction of a commercial area nearby the old ottoman-time market location which is to exhibit a small bazaar-like development with a contemporary spirit.

Due to the worldwide competition, it is understandable that the institutional documents consider market-oriented tools for strengthening identity (Municipality of Prishtina, 2012: p.66; Municipality of Prishtina, 2013: p.205). Scholars categorize instruments of place branding in three groups: personality association, flagship building/ signature district and event hallmark (Ashworth, 2009). One project that could be considered in the signature district category is Libeskind’s Kodrina Masterplan. The call for 19 hectares Masterplan design was made in 2015, where the aim was stated as creating a clear urban identity, well-integrated in its surrounding context. The winning proposal was the one developed by Studio Libeskind, !melk and Buro Happold Engineering, which aims at “creating a new urban identity with the cutting-edge architecture and design” (!melk, 2015). This is indeed a ‘global city’ aim. According to the interviewed person in the spatial planning department: “[the general] direction [will] is towards the contemporary (...) mostly following the trends and the contemporary architecture.”

The plans active are not strong enough to govern different cases and in many instances don’t give accurate solutions to the real problems leaving room for flexible in-site decisions without following a clear common vision apart from economic development. Even though city identity is of high importance in a newly-established country and it is referred by all planning documents, it is de facto taken lightly.

#### **4.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS**

This chapter provided information on the past and the future plans of the city. The benefit of analyzing history is the reflections gained on the achievements and failures of the past. This is of importance, not to help in pointing out the causes but to gain insights on what today’s decisions will result in the future.

During the feature analysis, on many points, we have seen how the changes caused a loss without creating new social values. While the growth of the city was inevitable, the decision has impacted the loss of social values of the city. One of the most frequently mentioned lack of citizens is described as lack of green and recreational areas, although they exist in the near-urban surrounding. However, today's social activities, different from the 40s time, happen mainly within the urban area. Thus, searching for the past is not enough to foresee the future, as there will always be new social trends and beliefs but the key point to be aimed is robustness.

Now that the plans on the local level are being revised, the focus shall be on strengthening the city identity and the found relevant features. The difficulties and threats of Prishtina are case specific, and each case should be treated in its own context. The turning point towards a western-like urbanity has been long lost and the solution to be found for the current situation should be found within the case with a consideration of the global, but relying mainly on local past practices.

How a phenomenon is perceived depends on the viewpoint: the beauty is in the eye of the beholder. An inclusive prettiness that would be acceptable by everyone is not relevant, and neither is the aim of city identity itself. A solution for the city, as openly desired by many, can't be a total destruction of all found anomalies; moreover the demolition of the unwanted aspects of the city, if expressed in surface area, would be, similar to the unwanted *wild constructions*, unbearable for the state capacity. Rather than changing the object, modifying the subject of focus could be a step forward.



# 5

## DISCUSSION

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

It would have been a much more coherent city identity if Prishtina hadn't been a vulnerable ground to human and natural-caused damages in its recent past. Its values apart from experience were tested and recreated on the verge of political reputation struggles.

Urbanity is made of individual pieces that when gathered in an urban context create something bigger than their sum (Sassen, 2005). Planning a city is essentially concerned with planning a city identity (Butina-Watson and Bentley, 2007: p.2). Cities are social products that incorporate the changing beliefs, attitudes, and lifestyles within the physical surroundings. As city identity is constantly evolving, having a conceptual ground to stand upon at all times is of importance. A static ground helps cities endeavor a straight line instead of go-with-the-flow of temporary trends.

The objective of this study has been analyzing city identity features in light of continuity in a dynamic context, in order to understand the city identity development. The third chapter analyzed the evolution of six features: legibility, enclosure, coherence, heterogeneity, affinity, and memorability. In this chapter, we will discuss the study findings according to research objective in light of theoretical findings. Firstly, we will discuss features evolution, where the three sub-questions will find answers. Further on, in order to take a look at the findings from this case study, what it has had and what it has lacked a broader review will be made. In the final, some concluding remarks will be given.

### 5.2 EVOLUTION OF CITY IDENTITY FEATURES

There were three research sub-questions in regards to the changes in city identity features: finding the gained, the lost and the remaining features. The analysis done for the four periods in the last 75 years show four stages of the socio-political life of the city: 1) before the new beginning, 2) golden times, 3) solidarity and insecurity and 4) the new beginning. In regards to the planning approaches, there are three phases: 1) oriental, 2) rigid and 3) chaotic. However, these shifts are not as straight-cut; evolution is an aspect of city identity, and some degree of continuity inevitably exists in between periods (Cupers, 2005;

Massey, 1991; McCarthy, 2006; Oktay, 2002; Proshansky et al., 1983; Stavrides, 2008). Further, we will one by one categorize the feature's presence based on data analysis done.

To start with the legibility feature, it is neither a gained nor a lost feature, but it has been present at different levels. There were four points discussed: edges, nodes, paths, and landmarks. Firstly, it could be argued that the on-going constructions of the urban area have played a role in the difficulty of acknowledging physical edges of Prishtina. But, the issue of additions is on how they engage with the city in the whole and whether their presence adds value to the city. This connection has evolved along periods based on the socio-political beliefs that have favored the existence of a single center or dispersed centers. In this regard, it can be said that there is a continuity considering the existence of a single center, even though it has moved from its first location to the current one. But, this single-center has been very important in the connection of the singular parts with the whole. In fact, emphasizing a single node upon the others has been stated as a necessity for town planning (Moughtin, 2003: p.89-90). Although the subordination extent of other areas has been changing, respectively leveling up due to the growing size of the city, Prishtina still maintains its definite center.

The private-public sphere relationship adjustments had an impact on the paths, illustrating a physical adaptation to the social movements, where a more gender-balanced city life is marked and an inclusive recreational use of streets begins. This private-public boundary has been a constant exercise of definition and redefinition for cities throughout history (Madanipour, 2003: p.52-55). Although the human need for privacy is doubtless, Arendt suggests that life happening entirely in the private spaces means a "deprivation from achieving something more permanent than life itself" (cited in Madanipour, 2003: p.35). Additionally, Jacobs (1961: p.378) states that "streets provide the principal visual scenes in the city". Due to social significance, indeed public spaces are the foundation of a cultural identity (Zukin, 2012) and a core item of city identity (Miles, 2005; Oktay, 1998); making the blossoming of the public sphere in Prishtina a progressive step for city identity.

A critical point of city identity is time (Burdett, 2012), which in the case of landmarks means time needed to be accepted as a part of the city by the society. Even if still underrated there have been added landmarks that provide physical proofs of the social struggles and history, which at some point will be appreciated for their interpretations.

The urban development of Prishtina has had an official planning history for less than a century now, where the envisioned future for the city hasn't had a bigger picture aimed than satisfying the demand with qualitative housing conditions. In fact, the development planning has started and continued according to the modernist idea of turning the street "from lifeworld to a system" (Fyfe and Bannister, 1998: p.1). Although satisfaction with the surrounding is important for city identity (Lalli, 1992), meanings given to places affect not only the city identity but also the way people think of themselves (Lynch, 1981: p.132; Norberg-Schulz, 1980: p.22). When the planned additions to the city are not adding quality and satisfying social needs with their implementation, then they are causing a problem to the city. Therefore, the relationship of the additions with the city parts and the whole, need to be coherent and well-organized under a unifying shell.

Table 2 Main points of legibility feature

1 <sup>st</sup> Generation	2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation	3 <sup>rd</sup> Generation	4 <sup>th</sup> Generation
Dull paths Edged city Single Center	Growing city Lively streets Inclusive public use of urban spaces Single Center	Dispersed centers Growing city Public use of private spaces	Definite center Growing city Lively streets Public use of urban spaces

The enclosure feature is a remaining but a weakening one. We discussed two different approaches of planning that have affected enclosure in Prishtina: the traditional routes and the openness. The second one becomes apparent only after the 70s developments. Le Corbusier called this immense openness: a maximum individual liberty; whereas Jacobs (1961: p.22-23) criticized it, as liberty from ordinary responsibility that meant mechanization and depersonalization.

In the case of 90s Prishtina, this emptiness became a reason for avoiding areas that gave endless options of routes but little feeling of security. Mumford (1938: p.14-17) had stated the need for protection as a history lesson taught by harsh European uncertainties. In the distinction between the concepts of place and space, Tuan (1977) also states: “Place is security, space is freedom”. While security is of crucial importance, last century’s movements stood along freedom; whereas, the balance between private and public cannot rely on today’s understandings solely, discarding the possibility of history recurrence. This issue of security was mentioned by Jacobs (1961: p.200-221) where she called attention to the need for concentration i.e. high density of dwellings, as opposed to the other low-density areas that are often times deserted. One of the main conclusions derived in the second chapter is city identity’s composition of two parts: physical and non-physical; meaning, the absence of one part drops the relevancy of city identity discussion at all. In the case of emptiness, given the lack of socialization, city identity is at stake.

According to interviews, the traditional routes are generally more frequented sites or are perceived so, due to the limited surface. Thus, in a holistic view, it is easy to suggest that the traditional routes as providers of a sense of enclosure have attested a better solution to gather community and facilitate the relationship of society to the city that city identity aims. The duality of Prishtina makes the enclosure neither a complete loss nor a remaining feature but in terms of its evolution, a disappearing one.

Table 3 Main points of enclosure feature

1 <sup>st</sup> Generation	2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation	3 <sup>rd</sup> Generation	4 <sup>th</sup> Generation
Public space as a leftover of private space	Openness	Use of traditional routes over openness	Development and use of both types

Talking about the third point of coherence as a lost feature involves talking about growth and time. Zukin (2012) recognizes peace, or lack of natural or human-caused damages, as a facilitator of an aesthetic coherence. The much-needed factor of peaceful time hasn’t been achievable not only in Prishtina but in Balkans in general, creating only temporary coherences.

Both of the two periods of the 40s and 70s showcase a level of temporary coherent developments inside the period. The first period, lacking a formal planning, resulted in a spontaneously grown city that had its

own organic logic with similarities in appearance and building technique. The second period chose rigid order to achieve the amenably pleasant rhythm.

Jacobs (1961: p.223-224) suggests that too much sameness may as well cause confusion to the legibility of the city and produce chaos. Indeed, while this order is sometimes referred to as coherence due to its provision of aesthetic regularity, it is as well referred to as monotony. Nowadays due to the post-1999 intervention that was done, there are two factions of the city: disorder and greyness. But, this remaining greyness/coherence is not the physically same rigidness as before, due to its additions and modifications. Otherwise, the disruption of rigidness is a connection bridge with its new heterogenic counterparts that decrease the confusion caused by sameness.

Table 4 Physical and social coherence feature

1 <sup>st</sup> Generation	2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation	3 <sup>rd</sup> Generation	4 <sup>th</sup> Generation
Organic city Adobe and wood	Rigid urbanism Reinforced concrete	N/A	Disorder and greyness
Bazaar as socio-economic public space	The existence of public space routine	Disturbed routine	Life at coffee shops routine

In contrast to coherence, there is the gained feature of heterogeneity. While diversity has been referred to as a “harmonious juxtaposition” (Massey, 2007: p.88), when done badly it can look, not only messy but ugly too (Jacobs, 1961: p.223). Heterogeneity is a recent feature of city identity of Prishtina, in regards to not only appearance but also the variety of uses within singular areas. In fact, the heterogeneity element is the one that has to a degree, served as a connector by diminishing the dual city situation of oriental and rigid, or the lively and the empty areas. Hence, while until the last period the city depicted two different sides of it, today it has more commonalities in both sides. In Relph’s understanding, identity with a city refers to a continuous sameness and unity that makes it unique, referring to its physical settings, activities situations, events and the meanings given to the place (Seamon and Sowers, 2008). Therefore, with regards to the decreased duality, this kind of connection was needed for city identity.

Every generation rethinks their way of life and their surrounding (Zukin, 2010) but necessarily some level of continuity persists (Bakshi, 2014; Devine-Wright, 2013; Hull IV et al., 1994; Lalli, 1992; Oktay, 2002; Proshansky et al., 1983; Sepe, 2010; Twigger-Ross and Uzell, 1996). Actually, taken into account the past of the city, it is difficult to agree that the rigid order that had been trendy only for a few decades would have been able to produce the necessary conceptual ground to stay forever. Thus, abandoning order and re-applying higher built density is a more compatible choice with its past.

The problem arisen is that today’s heterogeneity with total order abandonment was not able to achieve the logic in the mess that would be harmonious. Despite the fact that future urban development plans dream of economically impractical destructions, heterogeneity is already a part of city identity. The sooner it is accepted, the sooner development plans would get realistic aims towards future and start planning for interventions that would balance and decrease the appearance confusion.



Table 5 Physical and social heterogeneity

1 <sup>st</sup> Generation	2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation	3 <sup>rd</sup> Generation	4 <sup>th</sup> Generation
N/A	Dual city	Dual city	Confusing architectural language Disorder Modified rigidity
Ethnic heterogeneity	Ethnic heterogeneity	Ethnic heterogeneity	Less ethnic heterogeneity

Affinity has been a lasting feature of Prishtina’s identity mentioned from various age-groups. German theorist Oswald Spengler, in his work *Decline of the West*, believed that when reached a certain size cities would corrupt their inhabitants through artificializing the human relationships by making them routine and unemotional (Sennett, 1969). Although Prishtina has grown exponentially, it is still a relatively small city; however, nowadays, assisting community socialization is a global need that has to be well-thought due to technological advancements as well.

According to the analysis, affinity feature represents the bone of public spaces in Prishtina: the most frequented areas have the built or green affinity that facilitates socialization and existence of activities and events. While affinity element is evident in the physical setting of the first generation due to the human-scale sized public spaces that have developed as leftovers of the built area, the second generation developments don’t have the same surrounding. Nevertheless, the affinity in the second generation is present due to the frequentation of the promenade street at the same hours giving it an impression of being full of people. Later, for the third generation, social life turns to other densely-built neighborhoods and single-centeredness is not as significant anymore. In this period, it is the solidarity among the ethnical majority that through the existence of the ‘other’ influences a degree of affinity caused by unity of resistance.

Thus, each of the first three periods gave another reason for affinity: human-scale dimensions of the first period, single-centeredness of the second period and solidarity among the resistant community of the third period. While the second one is practically difficult to achieve in today’s terms and the third one points to the exclusion as a unifying element, the only left possibility for affinity is the first one. Indeed, the most frequented public spaces today are still the streets that provide some kind of human-scale affinity, different from the zones built with the concept of openness, or alternatively that provide the full-of-users-look.

Table 6 Physical and social affinity feature

1 <sup>st</sup> Generation	2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation	3 <sup>rd</sup> Generation	4 <sup>th</sup> Generation
High building density Human-scale dimensions Sense of enclosure	Low building density Wide-scale adoption	Use of high building density areas Use of human-scale areas	High building density Mixed uses and developments
Connector garden-doors Gatherings in private spaces Rotating shop-frames	The dominance of promenade street use Social equality feeling	Solidarity Gatherings in private spaces	Coffee shops as small areas facilitating familiarity Street lighting color

The final feature analyzed, memorability, incorporates the elements that differentiate the city from others, giving it the uniqueness as required by the city identity concept. In Leach’s words, the effect of destructions are the “memories of associated activities [that] haunt architecture like a ghost” (cited in Butina-Watson and Bentley, 2007: p.10). Many of the built elements that were characteristic of Prishtina were deemed as unnecessary or improper, and got replaced with trends favored by new generations or were demolished and remain in ‘memories’. Prishtina has had major destructions in the period analyzed, but the most striking one is the relationship between nature and urbanity. It has been argued that “You change what individuals do, not by changing their minds, but by changing their practices, thus the culture” (Massey, 2007: p.101). In this case, society has replaced its nature-related activities with the urban-related ones by changing the economic activities to tertiary ones, marking the acceptance of cultural change as expected from the capital. This disconnection with nature has been a slow transition, maintaining elements of greenness well into the 80s or even later than that. It has been pointed out that the human-nature relation plays a part in identity construction (Butina-Watson and Bentley, 2007: p.12-14). Truly, the disillusionment with today’s quantity of recreational areas is a result of the growth that was planned in an urban garden approach where buildings were placed geometrically in fields of grass that can’t be considered as recreational areas due to their vastness and inability of attaining a meaning; therefore, remain spaces one walks through.

The memorable elements of Prishtina rather than being lost or gained have had a shift, from the nature-related to more urban ones where the loss was on nature-human relation and the gain has been the urban reputation. This choice hasn’t been satisfactory for today’s frame of mind that is in search of originality, livingness and nature bond- elements that were destroyed. Keeping in mind its past experiences, instead of haunted spaces, Prishtina should keep and enrich its existing places where memories are created, in order to keep the connection between past and present, that identity enables (Castells, 2000; Hall and Gay, 1996: p.18-26; Rose, 1995).

Table 7 Natural and built memorability feature

1 <sup>st</sup> Generation	2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation	3 <sup>rd</sup> Generation	4 <sup>th</sup> Generation
Arbëria stairs as sightseeing point	Arbëria stairs as sightseeing point	Arbëria stairs as sightseeing point	Arbëria stairs as sightseeing point
Gërmia park	Gërmia	Gërmia	Gërmia
Rivers	Linden trees		
White and black mulberry trees			
Cobblestone pavement	Cobblestone pavement	Gërmia park	Coffee shops
Tactile building materials	Reinforced concrete	Odas	Traffic noise
Water fountains			

In a final remark, the only gained feature has been the heterogeneity that has unified the city, in return for coherence. Enclosure due to its presence in two forms is categorized as a retaining but a weakening feature. Although having evolved in different directions as part of the normal flow of the city identity and the imposed rations of changing mindsets, features of legibility, affinity, and memorability remain relevant.

### **5.3 FINDINGS FROM PRISHTINA'S CASE OF CITY IDENTITY**

Many cities struggle with mechanical planning that focuses on economic development, but the real focus of city planning has to be the society. There are three city identity findings that Prishtina case stresses: the importance of public spaces, originality, and time needed in accepting the new.

First of all, with the growing number of opportunities, globalization has brought the competitiveness challenge, where cities have to engage in order to decrease the brain drain or to attract tourism and creativity. Choosing what is representable has been a common issue (for i.e. Stavrides, 2008; Stobart, 2004; Young and Kaczmarek, 2008) and this has turned into a status problem in this case study. Marketing tools have offered the solution of flagships that appeal to a broader audience (Ashworth, 2009; Kong, 2007) leading to neutral designs, which have received opposite views on the possibility of identifying with (Gospodini, 2004; Hall and Gay, 1996: p.19-23). A part of Prishtina provides the neutral design of socialism-modernism, which hasn't been described as identifiable by the interviewed sample; instead, it's mostly the used public spaces that people identify with (Miles, 2005; Oktay, 1998). Indeed, the fact that the oriental structure is a more identifiable area for residents is caused by its public space use. Further on, the relatively new commercialism that has emerged into society reducing alternatives of community building is not as warmly accepted by individuals interviewed as its use illustrates. Many interviewees, especially the youngest ones, point out the need for more public buildings. The lack of public buildings has been the theme of artistic presentation of *Mon Amour* in Palace of Youth and Sports in 2012 and is apparent with the launch of voluntary social communities by reusing abandoned buildings or with the necessity of renting spaces to organize public discussions and various activities. But, the sense of community is connected to city identity, and public spaces represent the connection point between the city and its society (Hull IV et al., 1994; Miles, 2005).

Second, city identity has been suggested that needs a comparison: an 'us' and 'others' (Castells, 2000; Massey, 2007: p.41-42; Proshansky et al., 1983; Rose, 1995; Twigger-Ross and Uzell, 1996). Prishtina, has had the problem of being reputable, not only recently but also in 15<sup>th</sup> century and 20<sup>th</sup> century, when it had to be comparable with the 'others', and each adaptation influenced a loss of its essence, as the 'other' is the comparative unit that within time becomes the inseparable part of identity (Cupers, 2005). Comparison results in loss of originality; whereas one's real value has to be created on one's own.

Thirdly, time is crucial for city identity (Burdett, 2012) referring to accepting and adapting to changes. The past is a reminder of society's uniqueness (Castells, 2000; Hall and Gay, 1996: p.18-26; Rose, 1995) and it can be used to activate feelings. In light of the continuity analysis of city identity, it can be said that originality may as well be found in the past experiences of the city, that's why heritage is so relatable to city identity (for i.e. Commission of The European Communities, 1990). Thus, the existent physical units have more advantages than the new ones due to them being already acknowledged as parts of the city. Husukić and Zejnilović (2017) suggest that war ruins may also be seen as unintentional monuments that activate sensory experiences and could serve the city identity instead of being the 'ugly' leftovers of the past scars. On the other hand, undertaking big changes in accordance with trends should be well-thought, as within time, elements become inseparable parts of cities and destructing them creates haunting memories. In another perspective, time changes the social mindsets but in this case study the spatial changes were imposed from elsewhere and the planning trend of socialism had been too short for the

society to obtain it into its understanding; which ended up with the massive abandonment of the imposed building rules as soon as it became possible.

Prishtina is an extraordinary case with very specific struggles, but its past refers to the global trends that have impacted cities for centuries. Therefore, these highlighted points can serve for re-consideration when adopting fashions.

#### **5.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS**

City identity has been stated as the relation between city and society that creates it and evolves it according to its changing beliefs, tastes, and demands. The study showcases the evolution of a city in a dynamic context.

While the objective was on analyzing the presence and evolution of features within time, the sub-questions were focused on having results on their presence. The results were interpreted as four remaining features, one gained and one lost feature. The remaining features were: legibility, enclosure, affinity, and memorability. The gained feature is named to be the heterogeneity, whereas the lost feature is coherence. Neither the first nor the second mentioned features are completely new or lost, but their [diss]appearance is more apparent.

The overall findings for city identity regarding continuity, from this case study, were summed up in three: the importance of public spaces, originality, and power of time in accepting the new. Public spaces were found to be the ones people identify with, due to the relevance of social activities; hence, they make up a pillar of city identity. It has been stated that the concept of identity itself is very connected with the 'other'; but, city identity comparisons create only comparable values whereas originality has to come from one's own to be truly identifiable. Changes, both social and physical, are difficult to get accepted within a society if not for the crucial factor of time, but once accepted they become inseparable parts of the city; therefore, the introduction of the new should be well-thought as later on, its destruction can cause scars in memories.

Although the presented issues were case study findings from city identity evolution of Prishtina, the issues are of global discourse and they may as well be considered applicable out of the case study locality.

# 6

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 6.1 MAIN CONCLUSIONS

The power of identity stands in creating and determinedly keeping the stable ground to ensure continuity of life. Nationalities, as constructed collective identities, rely on territories as means of proofing the existence of their 'union'. It is the harmony of the social values with the territory that has to be achieved; therefore it is the society and its products that are counted on city identity process.

When talking about identity, there are two essential points: difference and sharing. The city as a social product, apart from being imposed on national values, has to stand out from others. Plus, besides standing out from others, it has to be united in itself as influencing a sense of community is the goal of city identity.

City identity is an intertwined concept incorporating physical with non-physical means, where both means reinforce each-other to enhance their relationship. There were three conclusions derived for city identity concept. Firstly, city identity is a never-ending process. Second, it is made up of two actors that have to evolve together: the social and the spatial one. Thirdly, every identity needs to have broader connections, therefore, rather than being a singular, every identity is a collage of identities. Further, there were four components of city identity defined: continuity, social imageability, emotional attachment, and satisfaction. These components work together to make up the city identity, and can't be separated as all of them impact city identity in different ways.

For this research report, the emphasis has been on the continuity component which is a crucial point of city identity that connects the past with the present. It enables maintaining a connection with one's earlier self, ensuring the persistence of one's values and beliefs; in other words, the continuity of meanings given to one's life. Rather than stagnation, it suggests a logic that can be traced in the past. The social continuity is of importance in maintaining the spatial continuity, as rapid social changes impose difficult adaptation demands from cities, and vice-versa, spatial continuity is of importance in maintaining social continuity.

Every city-society connection is unique which implies that every city has a level of uniqueness. But, the ease of transportation and available knowledge have turned city identity into an achievement cities need to work for, which gets even more difficult taken into account the global trends of neutrality, world city or flagship dreams; despite other national level goals of identity interpretations.

The case study of Prishtina has been referred to as dynamic case study due to its spatial interpretation of its struggle for identity. The objective of this study was on analyzing city identity evolution within the struggle for identity. Out of six analyzed features, coherence was stated as a lost, heterogeneity as a gained and the rest of the features were listed as remaining ones. The turning points of city identity in Prishtina were caused by changes in social understandings of private and public spheres, safety demand, imposed planning approaches and regression of nature-to-human connection.

Change is part of city identity, but some of the imposed spatial changes were not consequences of social changes. On one side, the adoption of out-of-space incompatible ideas destroyed the continuity created for decades, and on the other side, it got interrupted without getting rooted in the social understanding which would ensure its future presence. Destruction of continuity resulted in less valid proofs on the existence of the collective identities which meant fewer meanings to hold on to. Planning-wise, in the deficiency of the social acknowledgment and appreciation of the constructed city identity for decades, the city abandoned the newly adopted once out-of-space ideas. In the absence of common social values, the individual's concern is the individual's destiny which isn't bounded to collectiveness, resulting in spatial confusion.

The central question of the research was stated to be: *how to imagine a future for the lost identities of the city's past?* Imagining a future according to city's past is not a suggestion of turning back to the previous century, as firstly, the residents would not want to be stuck in the past but also, its return would merely cause a nostalgic disillusionment. There will be five recommendations given to strengthen city identity that should be read in a recycling approach rather than in a destructive one:

- Define a solid vision for the future of the city- *Legibility*
- Acknowledge and work with the current reality- *Heterogeneity*
- Acknowledge and strengthen existing city qualities- *Memorability*
- Decrease appearance confusion- *Coherence and Heterogeneity*
- Utilize public buildings and places- *Enclosure and Affinity*

Firstly, a solid merging concept that goes beyond satisfying housing and traffic needs, to that of facilitating community building and sets the conceptual ground with roots in the past and perspective on the future to strengthen the legibility feature of city identity has to emerge. This vision has to facilitate unifying connections into the city that would orientate the pedestrian through paths, nodes, edges, and landmarks. Second is acknowledging the current reality; working with future contexts and half-recognized surroundings doesn't change the reality; instead, create a confusing context for architects to work with. Third, working with the memorable feature units of the past that evoke uniqueness would be of advantage for the continuity of city identity and satisfaction of the nature-connection lack. Fourth, the confusing appearance needs to be considered both on juxtapositions of rigid planning and harmony of the disorder which may include restrictions or at least encouragements for the use of certain elements. Fifth, city needs public buildings and places where the user frequency is certain and where the sense of community can flourish which have to rely on their surroundings to ensure its frequency level i.e. enclosure and affinity.

Lastly, this case study confirms the importance of public spaces, originality, and time needed in accepting the additions of city identity. Importance of public spaces has been often mentioned in the theoretical analysis due to its social imageability affecting city identity; therefore public spaces are the ones where the direct connection of the society with the city is highlighted. Second point, originality, although derived

from the effects of its lack, does reinforce the idea that localness rather than submissiveness to the changing trends is needed, due to the varying social identities that might not accept the global identities. Lastly, the crucial issue of time affects the way citizens see the city and the new additions: time makes the new accepted and its destruction means a destruction of memories and loss to city identity.

## **6.2 DISCUSSIONS ON THIS RESEARCH AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

This research has provided some results on the city identity features of Prishtina and accordingly gave suggestions for its future. Nevertheless, as with any other research, this research has had its limitations and weaknesses that need to be mentioned, which can be subject of future investigations.

To start with, the research has been focused on a very general view of the city identity of Prishtina along four periods. Due to the shortage of time, there was a limited sample analyzed with narrow individual background variety. Certainly, with a broader sample, there would be more results found. Second, while discussing the city life, the districts are often categorized into two or three according to the period they were developed in, which then generalizes life in these areas in order to interpret the findings in a synthesized way. This generalization is a weakness of the research as it discards the differences between them without analyzing the specificities of each. If a broader analysis was to be made, a sample of interview per district should be considered in order to have more precise differences and planning implications. Third, this sample doesn't have any minority representatives. Taken into account a considerable percentage of minorities that lived in Prishtina at least in the first three periods, the findings would have gotten enriched.

Further on, as Prishtina is comparable with many other ex-Yugoslavian cities in its city development, a further research can focus on a comparison between cities of new states that belonged to Yugoslavia. This would show how different societies reacted to the same planning and what influenced the reaction or lack of reaction against it. In the case of Prishtina, the rigid order was modified through the illegal interventions that added surface to existing or new floors. However, in some cities the rigidity has been accepted as a norm by the society. By comparing two case study identities, it would be possible to understand the reasons for choice and its implications for the society and city.

Lastly, there has been a discussion on the variety of perceptions on coherence and heterogeneity. A further research can deal with the influencers of these perceptions, which may showcase how the other factors of city identity, namely: satisfaction, social imageability or emotional attachment; affect the perception of city identity.

While there are endless options for analyzing the evolution of cities, Prishtina's need is a vision for the future that has to come from its past, originate from and reflect the local community. Therefore, any further research that can assist in developing a vision is encouraged to be undertaken.

On a final note, exploring the city identity has been an educational enrichment for city planning as well as for the general understanding of identity investigations in interconnected fields, and analyzing Prishtina as a city with a struggle or identity has made contributions to a better understanding of its evolution.





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## 7. APPENDIX

### 7.1 INTERVIEWS

#### *First Generation*<sup>26</sup>

M.SH.

\*Male, 85 years old, Employed, University Graduate

Q: What does 40s Prishtina remind you of?

A: Until 1941 it was the Serbian Yugoslavian Monarchy. At that time Prishtina was a small city. All the residents knew each other. I remember the limits of Prishtina at that time because my father worked at the municipality. Taxes were collected at the 'Trosharina' points. Taxes were for the villagers who came to sell their products: eggs, fruits whatever they wanted to sell. Everyone had to pay taxes for their trades. The first point was at the intersection of roads Nazim Gafurri and 1 Tetori. That's where the last house was. Villagers from Sofalia and further would have to pay their taxes for the products they wanted to sell in the city in there. The second point was at Llap Mosque. The third point was nearby Grand Hotel, in fact even before that point. The fourth point was at the end of Divanjolli<sup>27</sup> or today's UÇK street.

Q: Where was the Bazaar happening?

A: Bazaar was where the marketplace is today. But, not in the interior area as today, it was on the street. So, the city was small, for around 16.000 or 17.000 people. The city didn't have any changes from 1930 to 1945. In front of the Sultan Murad Tomb, there was a building where people who safeguarded the tomb were living at, the Tyrbedar family.

Q: What was the common language?

A: All Muslims in here would talk in Turkish because it had endured from the Ottoman time. My house was close to the gymnasium, the building where now the city archive is at. That gymnasium then moved [its function to] the current Sami Frashëri gymnasium, when it got built.

Q: Every house had its garden.

A: Yes. All houses had gardens. But, Prishtina was very small.

Q: Maybe kind of a village.

A: No, not like a village. With the arrival of villagers, it came to be a big village.

Q: How were the buildings in comparison to today's or even Yugoslavian time buildings?

A: They were, of course, simpler because there were no better materials. In the Ottoman period, the construction was the so-called Bondruk. Our house for example which is located at today's first Block, in

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<sup>26</sup> The one-to-one interviews are realized through questions and answers. In the given text 'Q' represents the author's questions and the 'A' represents the answer from the interviewed person. The interviewees are presented with their initials, apart from the complementary interviews where full name is provided.

<sup>27</sup> Divanjolli- refers to the today's UÇK street. In Turkish 'Divan yolu' means Road of Divan; and Divan in Ottoman system was the assembly formed by high-level statesman.

1948 got demolished [by authorities]. There were in total 6-8 houses, they were all destroyed in 1948, and replaced with the ones that are there today. I think there are about 13 buildings in there now. At that time, we had big gardens. So the aim was to demolish a few but to build a lot. Our property, for instance, was from the main street Nazim Gafurri till today's elderly home. There were three gardens: the garden with animals, then the economic garden for vegetable plantings and fruit trees, and the last garden in front of the house with some trees but mainly flowers.

Q: Was this a characteristic order?

A: Yes. This order was in everywhere. This logic of [garden] order exists in villages as well.

Q: Where were the gathering points at that time?

A: The coffee shops existed at that time as well.

Q: Were coffee shops frequented by youngsters as well?

A: No, they were for elderly only. The youth had to go to school and study. Our parents back then didn't allow us time for recreation. Even during [summer] holidays, we didn't have time for holidays. But, also at that time, the connections for the vacation spots were missing, as for instance the link to Albania. When someone would go to some distant city, as to Skopje, we would all go to hear the story, to learn how the city and life in there is. Now, people go and come, and nobody cares about it. It is quite difficult to explain life back then, to someone who has never lacked these [possibilities]. We would be working all day, but then there was a tradition that at night after the dinner, we would go visit neighbors, relatives, or friends. At a time, there was no street lighting, so my grandfather was in front with a lantern in his hand directing us. There was no electricity until 1936.

Q: Still, people would gather at Mosques, right?

A: Yes, that's an obligation for Muslims. Serbians went to Churches.

Q: Did the city have something unique from other cities?

A: That's very normal. Evliya Çelebi went along with the Ottoman army to cities and wrote a description for each of them. He has described the number of families, houses, shops, the main work [economy], and so on. But, it is very interesting.

Q: What were the crafts of the time?

A: There were tailors because there was nothing ready-made. Now, tailors are closing their shops off. Saddler was another handmade craft because many people had horses and the horses had to have the saddles. There were shoemakers, barbers, blacksmiths etc.

Q: They were all in the bazaar, right?

A: Yes, they were there. It started from the part were today's [Brotherhood and Unity] Monument stands at until Divanjolli, then to the left until today's center. That used to be the central core. Maybe 150 meters in length. This part got destroyed to be replaced with today's parliament.

Q: How did people react to the destruction of the old part of the city, were they happy?



A: No, of course not. Nobody was happy with that. We lost an architecture that was specific for that time. The system of construction was a simple one, but a quite good one. Shops had some external frames, that would rotate for people to sit.

Q: How did that work?

A: Shops had windows, and windows had wooden sheets for window protection. When that wooden frame would get down, it would be transformed into seats.

Q: Do you remember some other features of the time?

A: Let's talk about traditions. When school-children began their three-month summer holidays, fathers would take their children to work and learn some craft-making as for instance shoemaking. We had small responsibilities like cleaning the shop-fronts, bringing water or tools to the master. In the center [of the bazaar] there was a fountain that got its water from Gërmia, like the one at the big mosque, but at our house's garden, we also had one. Our water came from Gërmia. Usually, every neighborhood had one fountain. For instance, our neighbors used the water from our fountain.

Q: Do you have memories of the park at the hill, today's Dragodan neighborhood?

A: During Ramadan<sup>28</sup> month, Iftar<sup>29</sup> was notified from the Dodona park. There were two brothers. There was a German metal cap in the park. They would light the wire, and the ball would make a loud noise. This would be informing everyone that it's Iftar time. That park used to be a cemetery, an old cemetery. Later on, the cemetery was destroyed, and it was transformed into a park. Before the current park, earlier it used to be a park which had some stones left [as remnants from its previous function]. During Ramadan, people would stay awake until Suhoor<sup>30</sup>, and visit one another [neighbors], as there were no street lights at the time.

Q: How did the meeting points change, with the Korzo?

A: When Korzo was built, it served as a promenade street, until quite late, until the war. But, before, in the former Yugoslavia, it was in a different part. It started with the Brotherhood and Unity Square to Divanjolli. It was not a very long one, it was a short street.

Q: Do you know the etymology of the name Korzo?

A: Korzo was a Serbian tradition, we didn't have that tradition before. [For instance], people coming from villages would walk around there, would meet someone in there and get married. It was kind of a meeting point. Every city, in Serbian time, had a Korzo, so a part of the city was closed to traffic and people would stroll there. I don't know if Korzo has a meaning, but we all used to stroll around there.

Q: Do you remember when the river was clean?

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<sup>28</sup> Ramadan is a Muslim calendar month, when fasting is obligatory for all healthy Muslims.

<sup>29</sup> Iftar is a religious observance during the Ramadan month. It refers to the meal of breaking the fast, which happens after the sunset.

<sup>30</sup> Suhoor is a religious observance during the Ramadan month. It refers to the early meal during Ramadan month. It's a meal eaten before the sunrise.

A: Prishtina river was very clean in the beginning. There was a part made from wood, where we would swim during summer. It was at a source point, at the former building of water supply where today stands a commercial center, at Maliq Pashë Gjinolli street. So, that was our beach at that time. But, later on, it became a sewage stream. It was awful.

Q: Was there something better back then, than it is today?

A: One would always say that back then everything was better, because of the nostalgic feeling, because we were young perhaps. Nostalgia makes you think that even the bread was a better bread back then. Now, was it better? It was better because it was smaller. Even though, it is difficult to say what is big. For a big city, Istanbul is a big city. So, that's a different consideration. If we had to compare with Istanbul, we would need whole Kosovo [as a more comparable surface]. They are almost 20 million in there. Now, we build [collective] buildings, with 20 or 30 flats, where neighbors don't talk and don't know each other. At that time, we had much bigger areas [properties], but we knew everyone because in a holistic view we were a much smaller city. When a city is small, it is a much cuter city, as everyone knows each other. It becomes much easier to fulfill your needs. For instance, when I was younger I knew all the doctors, now I don't know anyone.

Q: The city was also greener.

A: Yes, of course. It was a much greener city. For instance, the building where the Privatization Agency of Kosovo is today, which is also encircled with shops, at that time, there was nothing in there. It was a park. Then, a military dormitory; It also used to be a pioneering center, where children would go to play at because they had a playground in there. Then there were other activities organized in there, such as dances. What I am trying to explain is that a small place has the affinity. For instance, Moscow as a big city needed wide roads, so to get from one side to the other side of the street takes a lot of effort. So, every dimension is big in there. Whereas, in our bazaar [of that time], the craft master's shops were within a five-meter distance from one another. It is a different feeling. These types of bazaars have a warmer feeling, because of the affinity. In the big cities, you don't see who is on the other side. So, there is no communication between them because of the distance. That is an element that we have lost. I think that is a characteristic of cities that make people connected to one another. If there is an affinity between them then there is a more real relationship between its people. It's a more human relationship.

Q: Do you think we lost this quality within the Yugoslavian era?

A: We didn't have many architects back then. When you go to Grand Bazaar of Istanbul, you have a different feeling, as people have a different behavior. In big spaces, that warm atmosphere among the people is lost.

Q: Do you remember the covered Bazaar of Prishtina?

A: Prishtina didn't have a covered Bazaar. What they are referring to, is not the covered Bazaar. It was perhaps a space with a 30-40 meter distance. But, in the old bazaar, the shops would have long roofs on both sides as if they were almost touching each other, and some [may have] thought that was a covered Bazaar. But, yes, there was this small part that was covered, and I don't know even what [kind of shops] was in there.

Q: What do you think of today's city?

A: Terrible.

Q: Is there something better in today's city?

A: Have you been to Gjakova? You have to go there, to see the Bazaar in there. The Bazaar you see in there was typical for all the cities. The same was in here too.

Q: What would you like to have remained from that time?

A: We [my generation] had to work for two years after the technical high school before going further to study at Belgrade University, so for two years after 1948, because there was a lack of technicians. We had some Russian professors at that time, one of them did the project for the National Theater. There were some symbols to be done on top of it, to show that the building is a cultural building, some art figures, but they were never built. At that time, there were more theatrical performances [than there are now], in Serbian but also in Albanian. There were cinemas as well, three cinemas: Youth cinema, Open Air Cinema and the military cinema close to Hotel Grand.

Q: What were the widespread construction elements?

A: When the Assembly of the Republic started its construction, it was a totally different building. The aim was to build the building with traditional national elements, but it didn't end up well. It didn't have a pleasant view. Then it was destroyed, and this [current] one was built. Everything that was built, was built without professionalism. For instance, Marigona neighborhood, it looks like it is meant to be close to the sea with big windows and flat roofs. But, today's trends are in that direction; because, people want [buildings] to be a little different. Now, everything [every building] is different from one-another. There is nothing left from the elements that were used back then. Now, people talk about preserving some buildings as they have historical values. How can they be historic, when we have nothing left from historical buildings of Prishtina? Everything [every building] that was historical for Prishtina is already demolished.

Q: You mean the destructions done in Yugoslavian time?

A: Yes. That part of the old Bazaar. At that time, the communist idea was to demolish everything, to forget the past, to make new buildings, buildings that have nothing to do with the old ones. Maybe someone did something [in relation to the traditional elements], but only a few. The most beautiful house there was, was demolished to be replaced with some collective buildings in front of Bajram Kelmendi. It was a very classic house, but it was very pretty, as pretty as we can't make a replicate of it today. It was destroyed after 1999 war. Now, we want to preserve some unpleasant buildings that other than having nothing to do with the traditional architecture, won't either be time-resistant. We didn't preserve what should have been preserved, now we want to preserve what is left to be preserved.

[Talking about the museum] In the Ottoman time it had a tower as well, stairs were the exact same ones.

Q: What was the tower for?

A: I'm not sure, but perhaps it served to see if there is a fire somewhere. The building had a few renovations, but the stairs are the same ones. The Catholic Church was situated at the Zahir Pajaziti square. Then a Catholic Church was built in the 80s at Ulpiana neighborhood.

Q: Do you remember the Synagogue?

A: Yes. They transferred that building to the place where now stands the Ethnological Museum. It's a small building, as there were not many Jewish people. The bazaar had no traffic, only horses. As a child, we [me and my friends] used to slide down from the Serbian Church at the hill until the technical school with the ice-sliders. The Tower Clock had a much prettier clock, which got replaced by the current big one around 1986 by some masters from Zagreb. Bell would ring once in every hour.

S.D.

\*Female, 84 years old, Housewife, High School Graduate

Q: Do you remember the old center?

A: Yes I do. There were no high shops; all the shops were very low in height. There were shoemakers, tailors, and other. So the street was made of a row of these small shops.

Q: Would women go out to the center?

A: It was mostly men. Women were mostly busy at home.

Q: Where were men going?

A: To the Mosques or to the coffee shop; but, not the women.

Q: Did you think of these shops as pretty?

A: They were fine... simple shops. Not like the ones we have today.

Q: Was there something better back then, than the ones we have today?

A: No. They were fine, but not something great.

Q: So the ones we have today are way better than the ones there were back then?

A: Of course. Now, everything is better.

Q: How were the houses of that time?

A: Houses had big gardens; they had two gardens in fact: the inner garden and the outer garden. In the outer gardens, there were granaries for corn, wheat and so on. Then people would take them to mills and turn back into the flour. There were animals as well: chickens and cows. But, these were all in outer garden. In the inner garden, we had three mulberry trees: white mulberry and black mulberry. There were a lot of mulberry trees; almost all houses had mulberry trees.

Q: Were the riversides ever used?

A: They were until people started throwing rubbish in the rivers and ruined the river. Before that the river was clean.

Q: Would people use the riversides by staying in there?

A: No, it was only a passage.

Q: Was it like the Korzo?

A: No. It was just a route which would take you from one point to another. It's not like in Prizren where people use the promenade along the river. Afterward, [in Prishtina] they placed big tubes and then covered the river.

Q: Would you want something to have remained from that time?

A: It would have been nice if the river remained but in its clean form. Not like it was though. It would have been good if they turned it into something like it is in Prizren with pavements in its both sides. In Prizren, there was one wide river in the middle and two narrow ones on the sides. Ducks would go out in the narrow rivers. Then there were mills in the narrow streams.

Q: Where there nicer things back then?

A: It was a different time. We would go to the Dragodan hill, there was nothing built in there. There were grass fields only. In the afternoons we would take tea and go there for teatime<sup>31</sup>. From there we would see the whole city. We would see the minarets and the small houses. The houses were not as [big as] the ones of today.

Q: There was also a church, so you'd see the church as well right?

A: Yes, that too.

Q: What was the language used?

A: People would talk in Turkish, Albanian, Serbian, Croatian... and others. But, for instance in Prizren people would mostly talk in Turkish, even the Serbians, so you wouldn't know if the person is Serbian, Turkish or Albanian; but, even now, in Prizren, they talk in Turkish. In Prishtina, Albanian was more common. Prishtina was a more mixed city.

Q: What does Prishtina of that time remind you of?

A: It was old, very old. Streets were old. One river didn't have paved sidewalks. There was a bridge which was also old. We would go to get water from the fountain in that bridge. Everything was old. Then it got rebuilt all over again, a new and a better city.

R.K.

\*Male, 85 years old, Retired, High School Graduate

A: We used to be more connected to each other. Now the time is more dynamic, the population kind of dissolved in small fragments. In primary school, I studied in Serbian, until the time of First World War, when 96 Albanian teachers came to teach in Kosovo, then we started learning in Albanian. I was first a teacher then became a journalist. Then I started writing books and composing songs.

Q: Where was the school?

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<sup>31</sup> Teatime- the original Turkish reference is Çaj-keyfi

A: Serbians built two schools: Vuk Karagjiç, today's Elena Gjika primary school, and in 1936 the Sami Frashëri gymnasium was built. Although first, the gymnasium was the building in front of it, at today's city archive built in 1928. Prior to that, schools were theological schools<sup>32</sup>.

Q: What do you remember from that time?

A: Historically, Prishtina is supposed to have developed into a village around 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century. Supposedly, it was a very small settlement. Usually, settlements would be positioned next to rivers or seas. In here, we are far from seas, but we also don't have rivers.

Q: But, we have had rivers before.

A: There were two but narrow rivers: Prishtina and Vellusha. During autumn and winter, when the season was rainier, it would have a lot of water that would often cause floods. Now, they are covered and function as sewage arteries. I wanted to say that, settlements were not found with the consideration of developing into large cities.

Q: Were people using the rivers before they were covered?

A: Prishtina at that time didn't have the sewage network. At the time, when I was a child, the toilet was far off from the house, it was kind of in the corner of the gardens. So, there were no sewage networks. The bathrooms were the hammams.

Q: So, people would go to Hammam of Prishtina?

A: Yes. But, first, let's talk about rivers. Because the sewage was not connected to rivers, the water of the rivers was very clean. It was deeper in this road in here [Lidhja e Prizrenit Street]. As a child, it was entertaining for us. During winter, it would get frozen and we would slide on ice, with ice-sliders. There was no traffic, no cars... only, some horses. We would go to the road in Podujeva direction, the hill in there, it was 400-500 meters. We would start sliding from there.

Q: Was there anything built in there?

A: There was only a road. The pavement was not asphalt, it was a rocky pavement, but it was solidly united. On Tuesdays, it was the Bazaar day, so there would be many cows. Villagers would bring their products in here: fruits, vegetables and so on. We would call that day the Bazaar day.

Q: Where did the Bazaar take place?

A: At a part where the marketplace stands today. There was a garden of a house there. The building where the RTK TV is at is the garden of Iljaz Agush<sup>33</sup>.

Q: What kind of crafts existed in here?

A: There were a lot of crafts, but they were slowly diminished.

Q: Where were people meeting at that time?

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<sup>32</sup> Mejtepe is the used term for theological schools.

<sup>33</sup> Iljaz Agushi (1882-1943)- was a minister and vice Prime Minister of Albanian Government

A: Prishtina had 14 Mosques; they were constructed within first years of Ottoman's arrival. The first Mosque built is the Bazaar Mosque, then the one of Sultan Murad 2<sup>nd</sup> which was constructed after the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battle of Kosovo [1448]. Kosovo had two Battles. The Minaret of the Bazaar Mosque is a unique one. From the ground level to its highest point is all made of rock and it has no other material as wood or metal.

Q: Did the Mosques change from what they used to be?

A: No. The big Mosque had deteriorated, but they renovated it. Llap Mosque was constructed from the excessive materials of the Big Mosque. That was the third Mosque constructed. Its etymology should be explained. Llap is the region as we know it, the part of Podujeva and the villages in that part. As that region didn't have Mosques, this Mosque was where they would come for Friday's praying or for Eid al-Fitr praying. My grandfather was the Imam of that Mosque. The teaching was in Turkish, but people from that region didn't understand Turkish, they talked in Albanian only. So my grandfather went to Istanbul to get permission from the Sultan to teach in Albanian. That's when he got the written statement that he could teach in Albanian, which was the first ever, in 1902. There were many trees back then; every garden had trees like grapes and others. Prior to Ottomans, Albanians were Orthodox. Ottomans developed the region, with the crafts, meals, fruits, and everything.

Q: There was a church in Prishtina, right?

A: There was a church at that part where today stands the Stadium. It was a small one. Then it got demolished. Then there was in the center the other Mosque- Llokaç Mosque. There were 14 Mosques, 10 of them that got burned in the last war.

Q: What would you like to have remained from that time?

A: Many things. They destroyed the most beautiful Mosque: The Llokaç Mosque which was located where today's Theater is. When Communism arrived, life was interrupted.

R.K.

\*Female, 80 years old, Housewife, Basic School Graduate

Q: How do you remember the city center of Prishtina?

A: We were always strolling in that city center, as there was only that center. There were shops around. There was Divanjulli. I didn't wear a scarf back then, now after the Haj, I wear a scarf when going out.

Q: So you would go shopping in there?

A: Yes.

Q: Do you remember the city to be greener than today?

A: Yes. There were a lot of trees, in here but also in Divanjulli. Afterward, they cut them off.

Q: What do you remember from back then?

A: There were small doors<sup>34</sup> between neighbors. We still have the small door in here. We have the old house in there. Nobody lives there anymore. Today's youth prefer living in apartments.

Q: Do you remember something from the time when the river was clean?

A: Yes. The river was very clean.

Q: Was it used by people?

A: There were ducks swimming there.

Q: How was city life?

A: We had a happy life.

V.GJ.

\*Male, 85 years old, Retired, Basic School Graduate

Q: Do you remember the old city center?

A: Yes, it was around that part where the Brotherhood Unity monument is located today. There were master shops of tailors, shoemakers... and so on. Then, there was one fountain at the place where the Entity of Social Security is located at. That's where the old bazaar would start. There was one main road that we used to call Divanjoll, which would get parted into other roads.

Q: Where would youngsters meet?

A: There. But, it was not as common for youngsters to go out. We were not allowed to. Only after the Korzo was constructed did the youth start the going outs as a recreation.

Q: Were there any coffee shops?

A: Not for us. I would not even dare to mention it. I remember two of my cousins who would go out sometimes, quite rarely, but even so, they would get a restricted permission of [say] until 9 pm. They would go to Korzo. The ones that had money would go to coffee shops or restaurants, which were all state-owned. The private coffee shops appeared quite late.

Q: So, where there any coffee shops in the old commercial zone at all?

A: There were, but for adults and elderly. They were state-owned as well.

Q: What else do you remember from the old commercial zone?

A: The shops in the street from the Central Mosque towards former BanKos were all made of Blacksmiths. It was mostly Blacksmiths in there. It was a small city. [For instance] there were masters that made quilts, they would leave the quilts in front of the shop but it would take long for it to get sold because women would make them themselves at home. So, then also the women that had good skills in making quilts would be acknowledged and be asked to make quilts for others. Then the [traditional] clothing, clocks, shoemakers and others were all surrounding the area were today stand the Privatization

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<sup>34</sup> Small doors- the original Turkish reference as adapted in Albanian is Kapixhik



Agency of Kosovo which was the military property before. But this development started after the commercial zone was demolished. There were so many shops, and all got demolished.

Q: Were there other activities happening?

A: The former Hotel Union, had music on its ground floor. That was the only one until the Božur was built. I remember one singer that would come from time to time and stay in here [Prishtina] for a month and give performances in there. Afterward, they started demolishing Prishtina. The worst part of it was destroying the old Prishtina, the old bazaar the whole part from the Brotherhood Unity to Divanjoli. Today, when you go to the Mother Teresa Boulevard, in front of the Theatre there is a fountain in a lower level. I used to drink water and wash my face a lot in that fountain. That fountain used to be in a higher ground level back then. This is to tell the amount of soil filling that was done. The fountain was of the demolished Mosque. There were two religious buildings there: a Mosque and a Church. The tradition they adopted in those years was to destroy everything.

Q: Were people happy with the destruction?

A: No. People were not happy at all. They were crying. To be honest, the Christians were even more saddened. The workmen doing the destructions were the Gorans<sup>35</sup> because people didn't want to be part of it. The state would bring the workman from elsewhere. People were crying, especially the Christians for their Church.

Q: Were all the Christians Serbian?

A: No. The church was not a Serbian Church. The Serbian [Orthodox] Church was not destroyed. The Christians were Albanians, but also Croatians as there were many Croatians living in here too. There were many Croatians living in Janjevë, so they came to see it and cry for it. Workman destroyed it slowly, brick by brick as there was no big machinery as we have today. In order to make a better city, they had to destroy the city.

Q: Do you remember any unique element of old houses?

A: Some houses had çardaks. Foundations were of rocks. The walls were with adobe and wood. The construction was with wooden columns.

Q: What would you like to have remained from that time?

A: The shop-owners in the commercial zone were [economically] damaged after destructions. They were not given anything in exchange for the demolished shops they owned. Actually, they would offer some money, but it was such a small amount that some wouldn't accept it at all. For the houses as well. We had had one shop which we had to give away to be destructed. When the commission came to evaluate the property, and even though we pointed out that the material used was brick, they concluded as adobe to make a payment as small as possible.

Q: Is there something to remind you of that time?

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<sup>35</sup> Gorans- a Slavic population

A: There are some Mosques... but, for me, there is nothing left of the old city. Municipality tries to make some imitations sometimes, but it is nowhere comparable.

Q: What is better in the city today than it was back then?

A: There is nothing left from that time. There is not the friendliness there once was. To start with, a good number of people fled to Turkey and the residents from rural areas moved to the city. I don't like today's city at all. We knew each-other, there were more friendships. People would gather at houses. In the mornings, we would have the teatimes and in the evenings visit one-another. There was the [belief]: cooked in 40 places, distributed to 40 places.

### *Second Generation*

A.K.

\*Male, 56 years old, Employed, University Graduate

Q: What do you remember from Prishtina in the 70s?

A: Prishtina was not a very well-organized city. At that time, [economic] activities happened in marketplaces. It had a bad infrastructure and terribly dirty rivers.

Q: Were people using these riversides?

A: I don't know, because my view of the city from that time is a visitor's view as I lived in a nearby village. What I remember from that time was the wide-spread activity of Blacksmiths and Saddler. They were making different tools, but mostly I remember seeing them make horseshoes. At that time, Prishtina was not as well developed.

Q: When did you move to the city?

A: After the war. My village is only 10km from here, so I didn't need to move here for studies.

Q: How do you identify Prishtina?

A: The former commercial center [Gërmia] for us, students of high school and universities, was a sheltering place. We were allowed to stay there as long as we wanted. There was a coffee shop.

Q: Were there some cultural activities happening in there?

A: No. It was commerce only. There were kind of two coffee shops per floor or so. But, they were not frequented a lot by locals; the non-residents were the ones that would spend time there. If we talk about an element that would identify the city, that would be the Korzo- today's Mother Teresa Boulevard. It was a very frequented street.

Q: Was there something different in Prishtina from other cities?

A: Korzo is the only unique element Prishtina had.

Q: How did the gathering points change?

A: In the 70s it was mainly Korzo, and even later on. Although, in the 90s it was different due to the insecure situation. But, the lack of security was everywhere. Still, the tradition of Korzo promenade continued.

Q: Is there something that was better in the 70s than it is now?

A: If we talk in political aspects, in the 80s we got the autonomy and a rapid development started. That's when the urbanization starts. Slowly animals are taken out of the city. So, horse-cars also had to leave. Then, the development starts. Infrastructure gets improved; streets widened, old buildings destroyed, new buildings built, the university opened, etc. Also, people changed the economic activities to a more city decent ones.

Q: Is there something that should have remained from that time?

A: Only the Korzo.

Q: In what ways has Prishtina improved?

A: Prishtina after the war has had a turbo-construction and people had to fulfill their needs of housing.

Q: Is there something that you could identify Prishtina with?

A: The youth.

Q: Is there some spatial aspect you can identify Prishtina with?

A: Youth builds the city. I don't feel as if we have managed to build an identity for this city. My generation is used to the system where the state thinks for individuals. I think we haven't shifted to today's [political] system, yet.

E.R.

\*Male, 56 years old, Employed, University Graduate

Q: What does the 70s of Prishtina remind you of?

A: City at that time was a small city; it had fewer inhabitants [compared to today]. I remember the time when city limits were at Grand Hotel, the Dragodan neighborhood was not built yet. All of the today's neighborhoods were fields. Then slowly, the city started extending. With the gained title of the autonomous region, a new development started with new buildings and better infrastructure. Migration to Prishtina from other parts of the country was evident. The development of Prishtina started especially after gaining the title.

Q: Where were the gathering points?

A: It was mainly today's Mother Teresa Boulevard or that time's Korzo. It was different from today, though. During the day cars were allowed until a certain hour, from 6 pm until around 10 pm only pedestrians were allowed.

Q: Were the other parts of the city frequented at that time?

A: Not really. People from all the neighborhoods would gather at Korzo. It served as a promenade street. It was not as commercial-oriented as today. Today, that street is full of open coffee shops. Back then, the few coffee shops that were there would close at 8 pm: Restaurant Gërmia, the coffee shop at Hotel Union, Red coffee shop, Belgrade Restaurant, and there was a dessert shop called Korzo.

Q: Do you know the etymology of the word Korzo?

A: No. But, it has always been used to refer to the street in there, or to the promenade action. That street was always full of people.

Q: Was the street the same as today?

A: Well, it was a bit different. It was more of a street, there were sidewalks, and both sides of sidewalks had linden trees from the beginning of the street to the end. Today, there are other trees. After the war, the street was adapted to the pedestrian Boulevard of today.

Q: Where were the other gathering points of the city?

A: All the social groups met at Korzo.

Q: Do you remember some other cultural activities?

A: At that time there was the Youth 1 Cinema and Youth 2 Cinema, Brotherhood Cinema and the military Cinema. National theatre also had performances. Other student activities were mainly held in faculties.

Q: Are you associating those years with some space or social aspect?

A: Mostly with the Korzo, when we waited for the traffic to stop and go out to walk.

Q: How were the new developments seen then?

A: The new neighborhoods had a very different urbanism than the other parts of the city. The interest of that time was not building high-rise buildings everywhere. The plan was to make a [sameness] coherent urbanism. Today we have a variedness of building heights everywhere.

Q: What's the typology of neighborhoods, zones or streets you associate Prishtina with?

A: I remember the times when the streets were all with cobblestone pavements, from granite, which are more resistant to time than the concrete. All the alleys were with cobblestone pavement. Mother Teresa Boulevard was also from cobblestones. Actually, it was better for pedestrian safety because cars had a speed limit imposed by the pavement as well. Linden trees were very aromatic and were apparent in many parts of the city.

Q: I have heard that the hill where Dragodan neighborhood is located at was used by people to see the city. Do you have some memory of that?

A: Yes, we would go there often. There was nothing [built] there. It was fields only. Well, the right side from the stairs of Dragodan had buildings, but the left side didn't. There were motorcycle races organized in there. From there you could see the entire city.

Q: What is the image you have in mind of that landscape of the city?

A: Different urban plans of the neighborhood were visible from there; today's variedness within neighborhoods didn't exist back then. The neighborhoods that had medium-rise buildings had only medium-rise buildings, the ones that had houses had only houses, and the ones that had high-rise buildings had only high-rise buildings.

Q: How were the natural parks used then?

A: The Dodona Park is closer to the city, people frequented that one too. But, most used parks were the Tauk-Bahçe park and the Gërmia park. I remember we [my family] would often go to these parks in the afternoons to drink tea and meet other family members, or friends.

Q: What do you identify today's Prishtina with?

A: From the post-war period, a different kind of life started here. Prishtina is an administrative center. It has a high development potential and attracts job-seekers from all over the country. In the spatial aspect, there is variedness. This variedness is caused by many companies' buildings continuously as there is this migration from all parts of the country. Then, there are also ethnic Albanians that reside in other countries but, invest in housing in here.

Q: In a comparison with then and now, what is better today and what was better back then?

A: In urban aspects, when a building was built, it had a plan for a park where children could play in the future. Now, companies maybe think of some small grass but not for children playgrounds. Then, the municipality has to find an area to offer a small playground. The previous [political] system considered the needs of the children too, which is lacking today. Of course, there is a great technological difference as well. Back then, there were no computers so the youth was more engaged with cultural and sports activities.

I.B.

\*Female, 64 years old, Employed, University Graduate

Q: What do you remember from the times when Prishtina was in its peaks of development, at the end of the 70s and beginning of 80s?

A: The autonomy of 74, gave the right to Kosovo to govern. The Serbian police had to ask for permission in order to enter the country.

Q: Where were the gathering points of people?

A: I didn't go out a lot, only sometimes to Korzo. When I was a student, I would be either at faculty or at home. We would gather at houses with my friends. There were not many cultural associations or something alike. My father was a strict man, he would give limited permission, so when I went to Korzo, I had to return home by at latest, say 8 pm.

Q: Is there something else that happened at that time?

A: There was the 25<sup>th</sup> May event; we would prepare activities for that day. Štafeta would start its route from Tito's birthplace and go throughout Yugoslavian cities to end up at Tito's hand. Every city would

have the celebration in their stadiums. It was a very crowded event. I participated in this event twice. It was a joyful event and a joyful preparation. This was the main cultural event for the youth. This celebration took place over many years. The preparation took also very long. We would start preparing for our physical education classes for folkloric or other performances. That Štafeta would go to all the cities. Youngsters would run holding the Štafeta, wearing white sneakers and white socks. On 25<sup>th</sup> of May, it had to be given to Tito. It was very interesting for us back then.

Q: Do you remember some characteristics of old houses?

A: Old houses had *çardaks*. From the garden, you would see this cube going out of the house in a higher level, whereas in the lower level there was always a niche to put some teapots and tea glasses for the teatime. Then there were doors to pass from one house to another. When you had to go to a neighbor it was not common to go out of your property to the street and then enter to your neighbor's house, you would use these doors. Door to door you could cross through the whole neighborhood. This was because women were wearing hijabs earlier.

Q: Was this occurring during the 70s as well?

A: No, it was before that, maybe until 1965 or even earlier. Then there was not this door to door concept anymore. But, even when my father rebuilt the house he left the door in there [garden] on the side of our relatives because it was very functional.

Q: Was there some widespread element?

A: I remember the times when there were horse-cars. There was a kind of a station at the big Mosque. People who did not have cars would take these horse-cars to get to Gërmia or to the tomb of Sultan Murad. We'd often go there.

Q: What was the occasion for going to the tomb?

A: We'd go there for *Hëdërelez*<sup>36</sup> on 7<sup>th</sup> of May. The Romani community would gather at the field at Sultan Murad Tomb. They would be wearing traditional clothing, dance, cook lamb, eat and drink. But, it was an interesting event, so we would go to see it too. My mother-in-law had told that the residents of Vushtrri would attend even more this celebration. So it would be very crowded. Schools would take us in there as well, on an excursion. The death of an Ottoman Sultan by a Serbian is considered as a prideful historical event for them. So, they are proud of showing that Tomb mausoleum. There was a date, 28 June. If I'm not mistaken when we were getting together in there with the Serbian directives.

Q: What was better that time than it is today, or otherwise?

A: When I think of that time, I like the idea of having that silence again: less noise, less pollution, fewer people. The air was cleaner. The city was smaller, there was more affinity.

Q: Do you remember something connected with the rivers?

A: I would go to my primary school along the river. It was a very narrow passage. I don't remember it being clean. When it was raining a lot, a flood was probable or at least the passage would be very muddy.

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<sup>36</sup> *Hëdërelez*- a Romani tradition to celebrate the arrival of spring

Q: Do you remember some activity happening in the riversides?

A: No, that passage was very narrow. There were water fountains next to the river, when houses didn't have water, people would take water from there [talking about prior 1960].

Q: Do you have a memory of linden trees as well?

A: Yes. This entire street [Ilir Konushevc] had linden trees on both of its sides. Korzo had linden trees on its both sides as well. They were cut when the decision for street widening was made.

Q: Was there something unique for Prishtina?

A: I remember the joy of going to Gërnia. It was difficult to get there, we didn't have cars. [We would get there] only when some family member who had a car took us there. And to take a whole family in there you would have to make a few rounds. We would make flija<sup>37</sup> and tea. Then, there is the Arbëria neighborhood of today. That hill or Romani field<sup>38</sup>, as we called it, was all unoccupied, and it had a beautiful view. We would go there during summer, make tea and eat home-made pastries. The railway line was a limit to the buildings, along with the railway line there was the Romani neighborhood, and the other side was all empty, except from one building that used to be the tuberculosis hospital. That building it today used the Health Ministry. It is an old building. It was placed in there because it was a periphery of the city, and the illness was an infectious spreading one. That is to say that, there was nothing else in there. So we used to go there often because the hill was easily reachable, close to our house and we could see the entire city. It was a nice view. Mosques were visible. Then, [we'd see] when the lights of mosques [minarets] would turn on. It was easy to detect the places because there were no high buildings; the highest structures were the minarets. So you had the entire city as if it was on your plate. Then you would start finding the houses of families you know. I miss that.

Q.N.

\*Male, 58 years old, Employed, University Graduate

Q: Where were you living back then?

A: We [my family] moved to Dragodan neighborhood in 1967, when there were only a few houses built in there. That brick factory is close to there, and it was a very noisy area. I remember when they would take land to transfer to the factory, there were graves found in there, as supposedly it was previously used as a cemetery. But also when the new buildings were being built there were some artifacts found there.

Q: Were those artifacts taken from the museum?

A: No. Prishtina lacks museums. Nor does it have a museum for Gjergj Kastrioti<sup>39</sup>, neither for Mother Teresa. But, there is a museum for Sultan Murad<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>37</sup> Flija- traditional food

<sup>38</sup> Romani field- a literal translation of the reference used. The original Turkish form: Çingene bağı

<sup>39</sup> Gjergj Kastrioti is a national hero of Albanians that lived in 15<sup>th</sup> century

<sup>40</sup> It refers to the tomb of Sultan Murad, the Ottoman Sultan that died in the battle of Kosovo in 1389. It's a few kilometers away from central Prishtina.

Q: What does the end of the 70s, the time of peaks of Prishtina's development, remind you of?

A: The highest level of development in the city was in those years after it gained the higher title of the autonomous region until the beginning of the 80s. Prishtina developed a lot in those years. As a high school student, in the second and third years, we had to go to construction sites for two or three weeks to draw [construction] details as a part of practical work. I had done that for Grand Hotel and the first collective building in Dardania neighborhood. I remember there were horses in a pasture in this neighborhood. Then, I had a part of my practical work at the annex structure of Philology Faculty. Afterward, I had another part of the ombudsperson building. This is to tell that there was a rapid development in terms of constructions in Prishtina.

Q: It sounds similar to today's, wasn't it?

A: Not the central part the so-called Boulevard. For me, that's not a square as they refer to it. It used to be a street with grass on its both sides, partly. Traffic was allowed until 6 pm, from 6 pm it was pedestrian only. As high school students, we used to go there after school. It was a brilliant walking route. Our generation used to frequent that place very often, for two or three hours. There were linden trees on both sides of it, so there was a very dominant aroma of linden trees especially in the linden season. We didn't have to spend anything, and we were freshened to study for another two or three hours. And, we kind of knew all the citizens of Prishtina [because of promenade]. Afterward, it changed with the 90s, protests, and so on.

Q: Do you think that today's Boulevard is similar to the pedestrian street of that time?

A: No, I think that it lost the effect it had. Of course, there are a lot of people walking through there. It's always vibrant, because of the increase in population number. I think Prishtina's loss was with the river covering. I remember that river to be very dirty. It is said to have been very clean before, but with the industrial development, mass use of plastics and so on, it became very dirty. From time to time, there were floods as well, that endangered riversides. Still, it would have been much better if they built a collector, and leave the river flow above the ground. Maybe it was not a very wide river but it gave a different feeling to the city. The same applies to River Vellusha as well. Rivers meet next to the City Stadium. It would have been a great idea to make a walking route until the Tauk-Bahçe park. It would have been a better and more valuable landscape for today's generation.

Q: Was the riverside ever used back then?

A: I remember them to be dirty. But, they say that children used to swim in there previously when it was clean. Situation changed with the population increase. The development plans of Prishtina were being done in Belgrade. For example, they would plan the development of the Dragodan hill within a decade, but it wouldn't be enough for the population increase, so of course, the illegal construction starts which is developed mostly towards Kodra e Trimave neighborhood. I remember a conference on Prishtina's urban development in 1982 or 1983, I'm not sure of the exact year, but I participated as a student. There was a discussion among experts on the possibility of destruction of the Kodra e Trimave neighborhood. When they did the math, the calculations showed that it is economically impractical. They were unsure if it would be endurable for the state even though we had factories and there was a rapid development. In the end, they were to say that the costs would be too high for the state. The fact that factories are all non-



functional today is very appalling. The economic development there once was, is not here anymore. Many neighborhoods were ruined in a very short period.

Q: While the state-built structures had a neutral architecture, were the illegal ones displaying any traditional feature or would they go towards a modern architecture as well?

A: Buildings are always done with whatever is trendy. Now, we are in this building (Institute of Monument Protection), and there are only a few of these houses left. This house belonged to Fadil Koxhadishi. All of these houses belonged to rich people of the time. People built according to their incomes. When the investor is Albanian, the builder is Albanian, how is it possible to call the architecture Ottoman or Yugoslavian? Now, they are renaming the square known as Brotherhood and unity<sup>41</sup> to Adem Jashari<sup>42</sup>, keeping the Brotherhood monument. These are contradictory political concepts. Brotherhood and unity were built for political speeches of Yugoslavian time. So it is debatable whether we have enough reasons to keep that place as it was. People that don't know the evolution of the city and don't understand it, believe Prishtina to be badly positioned. In fact, Prishtina has the best possibilities for development as a city in Kosovo. As an archeologist, I have visited at least a 60% of settlements of Kosovo. If it would get developed towards [south-eastern side] Mramor village to the lake of Badovc, it would enlarge itself for another 18 Gërmia parks. If the agricultural land would be protected and the city would have gone towards that part, there would be enough space for a large population and it would have had enough recreational areas. The only value left of Prishtina is Gërmia. It's the only place where one can fully relax.

Q: What was the importance of the Brotherhood and Unity square in the late 70s or 80s? Was it ever used?

A: Not really. Similar to today, there were some banks. Maybe you would see someone sitting in there once in a while, but the center of the city was the Korzo. So, it was not a place people would gather in. Maybe there were some occasional events for children choirs, but not something more than that. But, with the construction of Palace of Youth and Sports, these were activities were all moved in there. Mainly, these activities were held in the plateau of the Palace of Youth and Sports.

Q: Was there something unique of Prishtina of that time?

A: University was in here. It was a city of students. It was a cultural center; there were many concerts, cultural associations, and so on. The cultural life back then was even richer than the one of today.

Q: How did the gathering points change over time?

A: With the beginning of the 80s the cultural life starts decreasing. Slowly a gloomy atmosphere is present. Then, if we talk about the 90s, this was a period of violent ruling. There were some activities in city corners of the city because the central areas were more controlled by Serbians. You can't call that a really positive development.

Q: What do you identify Prishtina today?

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<sup>41</sup> Brotherhood and Unity- is the monument representing the ideology of Tito, Yugoslavian leader

<sup>42</sup> Adem Jashari- is a national hero, a commander of Kosovo Liberation Army who sacrificed his whole family in the name of war.

A: With an irregular construction... a chaos. If we talk about the plan of urban development of this neighborhood [Dodona], it should have taken into consideration that high-rise buildings should be built next to the riverbed, in order to leave the possibility to open the river one day.

Q: What would you like to have remained from that time?

A: The national library, even though it has been overly criticized for its architecture. Grand Hotel perhaps.

Q: Could you name some common element from the time or some quality instead?

A: Korzo was a characteristic of Prishtina. It shouldn't have been ruined. I am talking about the time when there were a few coffee shops only. But, it was very good for us youngsters. We would go out and not spend money. Later on, new coffee shops started opening. So, a socio-economic differentiation began to be visible. Now, coffee shops are everywhere and this is not an improvement, neither a sign of urban development. Life is not meant to be lived in coffee shops. Korzo was a street with cube pavement, later on it was paved with asphalt with sidewalks on its both sides. There were trees on its both sides. Social groups had a specific tree as their meeting point, and they would do a few rounds in the street. People would be attentive to their clothing, wear the best suits they had, and many relationships would start in that street. Linden trees were dominant, but they got replaced with others afterward. There were also some willow trees, but only a few.

SH.G.

\*Female, 58 years old, Employed, University Graduate

Q: What do you remember of Prishtina from the 70s?

A: I moved to Prishtina in 1978. It was very different from the city (Skopje) where I had previously lived.

Q: What was different in Prishtina from Skopje?

A: Skopje was a totally urbanized city. I had to take a bus to get to school. When I moved to Prishtina, I was living in Dragodan neighborhood and the faculty of architecture where I was studying was across the city. I would take the route from the Dragodan stairs, through the Palace of Youth and Sports, Zahir Pajaziti square, economy faculties to the architecture faculty. It was a straight route, but I didn't have a bus line [to faculty] from there.

Q: Is there something that reminds you of that time?

A: Very little. Some old streets that have maintained the look they had once. Whatever was built afterward has influenced the city negatively because city turned into an over-loaded city. There are no civic spaces for citizens, no recreational routes, neither parking places.

Q: Was there something unique about Prishtina?

A: In Skopje, the Kiosks were, all the same, made from metal painted red but they looked like plastic; red buses, yellow taxis. In Prishtina, there were not many taxis. I didn't really use the buses then. In Skopje the buses are still red. In here the kiosks have always been different from one another. Also, the kiosks get

overloaded inside, so that extra space is needed, and the extra space is found with putting their products in their outdoors.

Q: What does city identity of Prishtina remind you of?

A: I know Prishtina more from the old photographs of the city. The things that were better back then, is that the individual houses were all one floor only, all red roofs, and only the Mosque Minarets would be the highest and serve for orientation. Constructions were more uniformed. Highest floor level [in the 70s] was something like 4 to 5 floors because more than that is also not advised for human psychological well-being. Now, every new building is higher than the Minaret with different façades that have caused a loss of identity to the city. It got a total transformation and it won't get better again. Now, it will continue to be destroyed. For instance, in the Arbëria neighborhood, which is a hill, the plan foresees medium-rise buildings, instead of low-housing only.

Q: Where were the meeting points that time?

A: That's a joy in itself. It was in Korzo Street, the Mother Teresa Boulevard of today. As a student, we didn't have an economic independence so we wouldn't go to coffee shops. Although there were four state places: Restaurant Belgrade, Restaurant Rugova, and Hotel Božur. After that, new coffee shops started opening. But, every social group had its own meeting place at Korzo. We had a tree as our meeting point, so we would arrange meetings at the tree which was a linden tree. At that time, in Korzo the smell was of linden trees. So, we had our gatherings in there without spending anything. We would gather, and chat while standing. Afterward, whoever wanted would go to one of the restaurants. So, the entire event was happening in Korzo.

Q: At that time there were protests as well. Where were they held?

A: At student convicts but also at the boulevard.

Q: What was unique of the society of that time?

A: There was no internet, so we would go to the cinema and national theater. There were two cinemas: Youth Cinema and Brotherhood Cinema<sup>43</sup>.

Q: Were there some other cultural events held?

A: These were held in the Stadium of the city. I remember the match between Split and Prishtina. At that time, they were giving out free tickets for women for sports events to stimulate their participation and ensure the gender equality. Then there was the Štafetijada event every year for 25<sup>th</sup> of May, Tito's birthday. This was an event held throughout all Yugoslavia. Štafeta would start its route from Belgrade, would circle around cities of Yugoslavia, say, in Prishtina, Skopje, Sarajevo, and then would end up again in Belgrade. Someone would be running and holding the Štafeta. It was a symbolic thing. Then there were [performances] organizations connected with it. It was held in the Stadium of the city. For a night this Štafeta would stay in Prishtina, followed with concerts and performances. There was a high level of safety feeling.

Q: How did the meeting places change over time?

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<sup>43</sup> Brotherhood Cinema is today's ABC1 cinema

A: For some time we would always meet at Korzo, but then for some time we were not going out because of curfews and lack of safety. Then after the war, the rapid development of coffee shops started. So, it was a very drastic shift. Now there are a lot of meeting places and there is not the Korzo tradition as it was before. People agree with their phones at the coffee shop they are going to meet each other and go there directly.

Q: What was better in the city back then, than it is today?

A: Everything. I liked much more the lifestyle of that time than the one of today.

Q: If we talk about spatial aspects?

A: Yes, in spatial aspects as well. I don't like the direction of the change and of the constructions. The building development was better back then.

Q: Were there some traditional elements used in the city, alike the *çardak* of the Ottoman time?

A: Yes, in the old part of the city. But, there are not many of these old buildings left alike in Struga in Macedonia or Berat in Albania.

Q: Would you say that the building structure of the Yugoslavian time neighborhoods is similar to Skopje?

A: Yes. But, Skopje kept its development in the same direction with the same typologies. In here every building differs from another, in Skopje neighborhoods are uniformed in their heights or color.

Q: Would you say there has been some improvement?

A: Improvement would be something when the needs of citizens are fulfilled. I don't think that has happened. I still have transport problems.

Q: What do you think is today's identity of Prishtina?

A: I think it's only the Brotherhood monument that is left from the old city. Everything else has changed.

### *Third Generation*

K.XH.

\*Male, 35 years old, Employed, University Graduate

Q: What does 90s Prishtina bring to your mind?

A: That was a totally different time, not comparable to anything. I was living in Dragodan neighborhood which was all inhabited by Albanians.

Q: Which places did you use as a playground for example or other leisure activities?

A: Mainly in the neighborhood, but also at the Arbëria park. Dragodan was very frequented at that time, with a lot of students because of home-schools.

Q: What were the meeting points or gathering points at that time?

A: Main activities at that time happened in the Arbëria Park.

Q: What type of activities happened there?

A: Football or other sports. Cultural events [were happening] too but in a different kind, in an alternative style.

Q: If we talk about the socio-cultural aspects of that time, can you name some kind of tradition or social element that we may have lost within time?

A: Understandably, the solidarity of that time was the highest of all times. We [my family] gave our house to be used by home-schools. I remember there were a lot of students coming during the day, and we had to [help them in different ways] for instance, give them water or whatever needed. My brother had a [music] band, they had performances in our garage.

Q: But, I suppose you were mainly in your neighborhood.

A: In fact, Dragodan was mostly inhabited by Albanians, so it was also a safer area in comparison to the city center or other areas that were [ethnically] mixed. The other areas had a whole different atmosphere from the Dragodan neighborhood.

Q: Did you frequent the other neighborhoods?

A: Yes. My primary school was Meto Bajraktari [located in city center], but it [neighborhood] had a different atmosphere.

Q: Did it feel less secure?

A: There were Romani, Serbians... so it was very different.

Q: What is Prishtina's identity? What would you identify Prishtina with?

A: Maybe with irregular constructions and a general irregularity. Disoriented could be the right word.

Q: Is there some part of the city that is more connected to you personally, that you would be able to identify the city with that?

A: Maybe the stairs of Dragodan, because they have remained the same.

Q: Has there been some event in there?

A: We had a lot of gatherings there; it has always been a meeting point. Stairs connect the city center to the Arbëria Park. It is a good link. But, more than that it is a meeting point.

Q: What are today's meeting and gathering points?

A: Now the whole system has changed. Maybe previously the community and cultural centers were more developed than now. Today it is mainly the coffee shops that are developed.

Q: Which cultural centers are we talking about?

A: For instance, the Palace of Youth and Sports had a lot of activities. There were more public organizations. Now [after the war] the whole system has changed, as people are mostly in coffee shops.

Q: What are the improved aspects of the city?

A: Actually it has to be the constructions. But, then the construction is so chaotic, that it is not possible to say that it has been an improvement. Perhaps, this philosophy of building has destroyed. For instance, the new parts of the city Road B and Enver Maloku street are very lively. But, apart from them, there are not many neighborhoods that had success in achieving that kind of an atmosphere. The constructions generally were visionless, or even illegal, that impacted a loss of identity maybe, which would be very difficult to get back to.

Q: If you could keep something the same as it was in the 90s, what would it be?

A: In Dragodan neighborhood, in the upper part of the hill some [low-rise] houses were replaced with [high-rise] buildings that had caused losses to its identity. For instance, also the developments in the part of Arbëria neighborhood, below the new building of municipality have caused a loss to the neighborhood's identity. There were many other neighborhoods [where high-rise buildings could have developed], for instance, Tophane neighborhood would be ideal for high-rise buildings, and not the parts were one could have a good view towards the city which also is part of the resident's identity in there. These neighborhoods should have been preserved, and well-thought before constructing a high-rise building.

Q: So, if you could preserve an element of the city it would be the view towards the city, right?

A: Yes. But, also the old part of the city, the parts with cobblestone streets and so on. I would like it to remain as it was in those years to show that the building culture doesn't start after the war.

Q: Do you think that the old part of the city is connected to its identity?

A: Definitely yes. It should have been kept and renovated. With the old part of the city I mean the part starting with the marketplace, mosques, the parts where [some streets] are cobblestone paved. There are remnants, but not maintained properly. Then also, the Palace of Youth and Sports [is connected to identity] because of its history. These monuments with what Prishtina is identified with [should be kept as they are].

M.D.

\*Female, 48 years old, Employed, University Graduate

Q: We will talk about the Prishtina in the 90s.

A: In 1987 I graduated from high school, and then I started the university. Three years I studied at the faculty until the last year when we were expelled from the faculties. This was a stagnation period, where there was no activity whatsoever. Afterward, we started taking exams at different shops and houses. These coffee shops were mainly at Kurriz<sup>44</sup>, but there were many houses as well [where we were having exams].

Q: Where were these houses located?

A: At that time, some design studios started operating. I remember the commercial zone close to Sami Frashëri high school, there was a design studio. I had an exam there. Afterward, we started taking exams at the coffee shops at Kurriz, because there were many students of architecture and civil engineering that

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<sup>44</sup> Kurriz refers to a commercial zone developed during Yugoslavian period.

were working as waiters in there. There were around 3 or 4 coffee shops where we were having exams. After that, 1991 was the time when we were expelled from faculty, and then classes moved to home-schools in Dragodan neighborhood. First, there was kind of two garages that two families had given to serve as classes. They were narrow and long rooms with desks and chairs. In the next year, it [home-schools] became more widespread. Most of the neighborhood houses had given one or two rooms for home-schools.

Q: Where was this neighborhood exactly?

A: Very close to today's American Embassy. I remember how frightening it was when we were having coffee breaks in the balconies in-between lectures and would see some policeman outside. It was very easy to be mistreated for simple actions. They would come from time to time, with cars, around the neighborhood [to keep us frightened]. In the fourth year, we were 40 students, but the room had a capacity of a maximum of 20 people. So, students started leaving school. Of course, there was also the economic crisis, people didn't have jobs. So, students started working as waiters, taxi drivers, or whatever. So, we were only a small number of students that continued studying, and less that graduated.

Q: So, it was generally less secure.

A: Definitely, we were terribly afraid. Police cars were continuously coming, and the house was placed in between two streets, which would make it easy for them [to find us in there].

Q: What do you associate that time's Prishtina with?

A: Actually, it was an interesting feeling to have lectures in the coffee shops. There were, of course, moments of joy as well. There was more unity feeling.

Q: Could you name some physical aspect of the city that is associated with that time for you?

A: The only place where there was some activity was Kurriz... were the youth was at. All the meetings and all other activities were held in there. For instance, the graduation event was held at a storehouse of a house. It was a big storehouse. We had live music and everything. Later on, I got married and gave birth at Mother Teresa clinic at Kodra e Trimave.

Q: Was there a reason why the gatherings happened at Kurriz?

A: I don't know. But, there were fewer provocations [by police] perhaps.

Q: Were there other leisure activities back then?

A: Very few. Because there were very few people left working for public institutions. My brother was an engineer and he was asked to work as a waiter at a coffee shop where all waiters were graduated architects or engineers. So, the graduated ones could not find jobs at public institutions and were left for coffee shops, marketplaces or likewise.

Q: Were there music or sport events?

A: There was live music in Kurriz. There was a two-floor building outside of Kurriz, where live music performances were held and we would gather there. But, they were kind of private. There was nothing official.

Q: Do you remember some other socio-cultural feature of the time?

A: That was the time when mass blood forgiveness<sup>45</sup> happened. It went on for some time until the conflicts were solved, two years or so. At least, this was the period when big gatherings were held. I haven't taken part in that. But, I have had friends that went to these peacemaking dialogues. The main actors were Ibrahim Rugova<sup>46</sup>, Anton Çeta<sup>47</sup>, Bajram Kelmendi<sup>48</sup> and others. So, they were mainly academics.

Q: Was there something special in Prishtina, different from other cities?

A: Not really. The Yugoslavian system was a system where everything belonged to the state itself. There were a few private economic activities happening. [With the beginning of the 90s] everything stagnated, and then more private activities started happening.

Q: Was there some specific economic activity that was more widespread?

A: There was kind of everything. I can't think of something specific.

Q: Was there something better at that time than it is today?

A: Albanians loved each other more. And then, there was hyperinflation<sup>49</sup>.

Q: Is there something of the 90s that you would want to have been kept in the city?

A: My best memories of that time are from the time before we were expelled from faculties. And the atmosphere Kurriz had once. The difference of that time and today is that at that time people were meeting and gathering at houses, whereas today all the meetings and gatherings happen in coffee shops.

Q: Is there something better today than it was back then?

A: Definitely infrastructure and constructions. Although back then, you had infrastructure too. Faces were more familiar back then, today we're all strangers because city grew and a lot of people moved in.

Q: Which are the new parts of the city that you like?

A: Mother Teresa Boulevard is very pretty. All the gatherings that happen, take place in there.

Q: Is there some part or some aspect of the city you identify with Prishtina today?

A: Kurriz is not as trendy as it once was. The old part has only a small role. I would say the new developments mainly, like the Mother Teresa Boulevard.

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<sup>45</sup> Blood forgiveness- Conflicts in between Albanians that had led to many families prisoned in their own houses because of the fear from the family they had conflicts with. These were solved by pleas of Albanian politicians of that time through a dialogue between both families.

<sup>46</sup> Ibrahim Rugova (1944-2006) had an academic title of Doctor of Science in literature from University of Paris. He was the first president of Kosovo in its after-war period.

<sup>47</sup> Anton Çeta (1920-1995) was an author and literature professor.

<sup>48</sup> Bajram Kelmendi (1937-1999) was a lawyer and human rights activist.

<sup>49</sup> Hyperinflation during 90s- value of money changed within hours. Electricity, water and telephone expenses were very cheap. But, other daily expenses were high and varied from day to day. As Yugoslavian Denar was losing its power, people were changing the currency to German Mark.



N.T.

\*Female, 53 years old, Employed, University Graduate

Q: What does 90s Prishtina remind you of?

A: It reminds of a period, which we had earlier hoped would be a period of advancement and development but in contrary, it was stagnation and backwardness for us. While we had built better educational buildings for our children to study at, we had to leave those buildings and found ourselves in the situation where the individual houses became schools. Moreover, [we moved] from a neighborhood to another, from a house to another, from a garden to another... this was the situation of that time. To cite a parent of my student when he saw his daughter taking notes on her lap said 'I graduated 30 years ago, but [if nothing else] at least I had a desk and a chair. Years after, when I thought my children would have a computer in front, there is not even [the minimal requirement of] a desk and chair'.

Q: Where were these home-schools?

A: Mainly, these home schools were concentrated at the Kodra e Trimave neighborhood. Residents of the neighborhood volunteered to give their rooms or floors, that were detached from [main entrance of their] houses or in some cases unfinished buildings with only the red clay blocks and some windows without a completely finished flooring, only with a concrete layer as a finishing. In the first year, we worked in Odas<sup>50</sup>, that had carpets and sitting cushions. Previously houses had Odas that were in the corners of the houses and were dedicated to male guests. These spaces were kind of detached from houses, they had these sitting cushions encircling the room, and a carpet. So, the students would sit in these cushions and we [teachers] were somewhere in the corner, in one side of the door where we would be standing and teaching. Within a day we would teach the whole material of a week or two so that there would be more time in between classes. We had to consider that there would be a [long walking] distance to attend the next class.

Q: Where were you living back then?

A: I was living in Kodra e Trimave neighborhood.

Q: So, it was not a long walking distance for you.

A: No, not for me. But, I had colleagues that had to travel from many other zones. Everyone who had been a teacher or professor before 90s had continued working in these home-schools, regardless of long distances.

Q: Was there a safer zone in that time that you could relate to?

A: There was no security in any neighborhood. But, Kodra e Trimave was a densely populated individual housing neighborhood. Perhaps it had more alternative routes compared to the other parts, that's why it gave a sense of security. But, also the other parts of the city had better houses, whereas the ones in Kodra e Trimave the housing quality was not quite good or many were unfinished.

Q: Where were the gathering points of the city?

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<sup>50</sup> Oda- is the biggest room in a traditional Albanian house where political meetings were held and future decisions were made. The same noun is used to refer to the political meetings held in these spaces.

A: We [teachers] had meetings once a week. But, when we had important meetings such as the end-year meetings when everyone needs to be present we would go to the house of the director and hold meetings at his house garden. Or, we would go to some shop that belonged to some professor. Sometimes, it would also be a company-owned place. So, like the schools that were placed in private houses, meetings were also held in private spaces.

Q: Was there a similar public place usage to the 90s?

A: Of course there was, but it was a more insecure feeling, because life was insecure. I remember the times with police curfews when going out was forbidden. It happened that I was pregnant during that time and was scared if at some point I would have to go to the doctor during night-time. I remember how afraid I was on the way to give birth and saw a big crowd of policeman around the Llap Mosque. My first child was born in a private house of a doctor, in Arbëria neighborhood. Mainly the educational activities were in the periphery whereas the medical ones in central ones with the exception of Mother Teresa [an alternative medical clinic]. That was a really good place, we went there for controls, and children received unpaid medical services.

Q: Would you say the feeling was different in Prishtina than in other cities?

A: Of course, starting from the inhabitant number and its political responsibilities. The most dangerous city was Prishtina because of the frequency. We had the Serbian community in here, then we also had the Serbian policeman closer. In the other cities, there was a limited number of Serbians and less Serbian policeman. In here, we often had to hide [in the school-houses] to not be detected by them. So, the danger of Prishtina was way higher than that of the other cities. We were afraid of them because they could spy on us. There were people that had their neighbors spy on them. Under these circumstances, of course, there was an insecure feeling.

Q: Would you consider that the 90s have had some positive social or spatial aspect?

A: I think the only positive thing was that we didn't give up. In that period, education was the only activity that functioned. If we gave up on education back then, I can't figure how it would end up. Nothing else functioned. [It functioned] with kind of very private system, with private diplomas but with stamps of the Republic of Kosovo. I have students that graduated in those years and succeeded in their careers even though they were studying in that period [with improper conditions]. When people are determined to succeed, regardless of the conditions given, they do.

Q: How would you identify today's Prishtina with?

A: With its youth. It's very alarming that the politics of today is not very well-orienting.

Q: If we talk about the spatial identity of Prishtina today?

A: The post-war period was characterized by high-rise buildings. But, I think Prishtina should prosper to be like the other capital cities. It had to vision a better urbanism and better-planned city. Otherwise, Prishtina had the need for new buildings, because we were living in over-populated houses.

Q: Which part of the city do you identify yourself with?

A: Now, I live in the Spitali zone, and the new developments are oriented towards that direction. I think that zone will be the new [central] zone of the city. There are three zones in there: east, west and central. I think [It has the potential to be] like the Mati 1 zone, which became so densely populated that it's kind of a city in its own now, or more precisely the Road B, which is very different from anywhere in the city. It's always frequented and crowded: coffee shops and parking places are always full, and many other activities are held in there.

S.R.

\*Female, 52 years old, Employed, University Graduate

Q: What does 90s Prishtina remind you of?

A: Serbian policeman, protests and watching news.

Q: Where were protests held?

A: Protests were held in the city center, but then the escape would be towards Kodra e Trimave neighborhood, with Tophane neighborhood in between, where the biggest clashes were happening.

Q: With city center, you mean the Mother Teresa Boulevard, right?

A: Mainly from Mother Teresa Boulevard, but once it had started from 1 October Street in Velania neighborhood. Its name origins from that protest actually. It was a very big protest<sup>51</sup>.

Q: Which were the neighborhoods were people felt more secure?

A: Mother Teresa Boulevard had more policemen around, and more police meant less security. They also had other gathering points as the one in front of the health center of Tophane. They were standing there, but occasionally they would make controls. They were fully armed which gave a sense of fear, although this was more frightening in the late 90s.

Q: Let's talk about the home-schools.

A: The school where I was teaching was at Kodra e Trimave neighborhood. There were a few other houses that had given their house for home-schools in that street. Simply, rooms were adapted into classes. When I started teaching, in 1997, there were already better conditions [than in the beginning], there were chairs and desks, although not appropriate for the small rooms they were in. Two classes were held in one session.

Q: Would you say that Kodra e Trimave was a more frequented neighborhood?

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<sup>51</sup> Protest of 1 October 1997 was a student movement, today considered to be a starting point of a historical shift. University of Prishtina's rector Ramadan Zejnullahu on 18<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the event said: "Protests showed the world that nobody can segregate a population by isolating its intellectual elite. This event showed that Kosovar Albanians cannot accept living in slavery, humiliated, deprived from its right of a normal development. The 1 October 1997 showed that dignity is invaluable, and it encouraged a movement of the population to support the resistance against the occupant and the rightful war of Kosovo Liberation Army" Source: <http://www.kosovalive360.com/protesta-studentore-e-1-tetorit-kthese-historike-per-kosoven-video.html>

A: Yes, there were many students. It was livelier [compared to other neighborhoods]. Then, new coffee shops started opening there, although that neighborhood hadn't even been asphalted yet.

Q: Could you name some symbol of that time?

A: At that time, it was not allowed to even write RK, because it was clear that you would want to write the Republic of Kosovo, which would make you the 'wanted'. The main activity done at that time was watching the news.

Q: Were there other activities happening?

A: Of course, people were living, there were weddings and babies being born. But, for instance when I gave birth to my first child, I was the only Albanian in the hospital; all mothers were going to give birth in Gjakova because the doctors in here were Serbian. Later on, a new medical clinic Mother Teresa opened. Now, that building is a house. I'm not aware if it has something left from that time, like an informative table or a name.

Q: Where were socio-cultural activities held?

A: In the beginning, they were held in private houses. Only later, some new private halls started opening. Before the 90s, for instance, having a wedding in the Grand Hotel or Božur was very prestigious. But, these events stopped [taking place in the prestigious public developments]. When I got married in 1991, there were military planes flying above in the sky as the war in Croatia had started.

Q: What do you think of today's identity of Prishtina, in comparison to the other cities?

A: There are fewer buildings that were preserved. A lot of houses were demolished in the post-war period when there was little institutional control. In the name of development many valuable buildings were demolished.

Q: Which buildings are we talking about?

A: Houses mainly. Unfortunately, it can't be said that the remaining ones are preserved in any way.

Q: What would you like to have remained from that time?

A: People were way more communicative and friendly. The economic interests were not as apparent as now. After the war, time started working faster.

Q: When we talk spatially?

A: There are not many changes. Maybe there were more green areas because there were fewer buildings.

Q: So, the quality of the 90s in comparison to today is the greenness?

A: Yes.

Q: In comparison to other cities, was Prishtina less secure?

A: Yes, because it was and is the capital. Although, I don't know how the citizens of other cities felt. But, protests were held in here and also the Serbian policeman was concentrated in here.

Q: What are the elements that you associate Prishtina with?

A: There are some streets that are associated with Prishtina. For instance, Meto Bajraktari Street, even though, they replaced the cobblestone pavement in there with the concrete cube pavement. Also, the pavement at the other alley at the Hammam was similarly replaced with the concrete cubes. Generally, it's the low houses, long consoles at roof level, entrance wooden doors.

Q: Do you think that Prishtina should get back to these elements?

A: I was not yet born when the old city was destroyed, but I would like to at least rebuild a fragment of it again, in the location of today's marketplace.

Q: Do you think that there are common elements between the old housing typologies and the Yugoslav buildings?

A: No, not at all.

Q: Does any of it feel more of Prishtina to you?

A: With time people accept them as part of the city. For instance, the modernist buildings at the Mother Teresa Boulevard, all belong to 50s. But, they are also a part of city's memory. Perhaps, they don't have architectural values, but they have memorial heritage value. I wouldn't want them to ever be destroyed or be replaced with a more contemporary style or high-rise buildings.

V.I.

\*Male, 40 years old, Employed, High School Graduate

Q: What do you remember of Prishtina in the 90s?

A: A very difficult situation, when we had to ensure our safety by not taking books with us to not become a prey.

Q: Were there safe areas and neighborhoods?

A: In general, insecurity was everywhere.

Q: Home-Schools were in Kodra e Trimave neighborhood, right?

A: Mainly. But, there were a lot of changes with time. The first semester I had classes at the primary school of Asim Vokshi in Kodra e Trimave, then the next semester I had classes at another school in Bregu i Diellit. Afterward, [I studied] in Velania in a private house where the conditions were not good. But, there was a constant need to be attentive to the surrounding. If there was a policeman on the way, then I had to turn back.

Q: Is there some spatial aspect of the city that reminds you of that time? Or maybe places where social events took place?

A: No, I didn't really go out.

Q: Then let's talk about solidarity.

A: There was more solidarity at that time. Society helped each other by protecting one another.

Q: But, there was also a more nationalist atmosphere right?

A: Yes.

Q: Would you see nationalistic symbols in the city?

A: Yes, more than today.

Q: From Albanian side only?

A: From both sides, I would say. They also expressed their nationalism. We also did. We had a disagreement with them. So, whenever a situation came up, even if you didn't know a[n Albanian] person, that person would protect you against the [Serbian] other.

Q: What were the lacks of that time?

A: Now, we have many more activities, a way better infrastructure than of that time.

Q: Where were you living back then?

A: At Dardania neighborhood.

Q: So, you more or less had to cross the entire city to get to school. Which parts of the city do you remember to have been more populous?

A: Understandably, the Kodra e Trimave was way more populous.

Q: What do you identify Prishtina today?

A: With constructions... illegal and suffocating ones.

Q: Was there a part of the city that you could identify yourself with?

A: Pejton neighborhood. Because I think it was a good neighborhood with a good infrastructure [urbanism].

Q: This neighborhood was on your way to school right?

A: Yes, I only passed through there. I liked that neighborhood.

Q: Why don't you like it anymore?

A: Because it is changed completely. It got destroyed with the new trend of wild constructions.

#### *Fourth Generation*

B.M.

\*Male, 23 years old, Employed, University Student

Q: What do you identify Prishtina with?

A: I identify it with 'grey' as a color. Maybe because everything is grey: asphalt, buildings ... a metropolitan city.

Q: Do you like the greyness of it?

A: Not at all.

Q: Would you say there are colorful parts of it then?

A: Yes. Parts of the inner city, maybe natural sites... the old part of the city maintains its lively color and vibe as it has always had. With the old part, I mean the part at the mosques, the road to 'taukbashqe'... the parts where there are no collective buildings, even though, lately many collective buildings are being destroyed.

Q: Why do you like that part?

A: I feel way more comfortable. I think that the energy of this city is located there. When you go to the other parts [new] of the city, you feel the energy of work. Perhaps, this is because there are a lot of people coming from other parts of the city, [we have seen it] especially now with the latest reported statistics due to air pollution crisis. Maybe this busy circulation of the city gives the impression of a 'work' only city.

Q: Would you say that the meaningful places are located in the old part only?

A: The way I see it, that's the part that has preserved the true identity of Prishtina.

Q: Where are the meeting and gathering points in the city?

A: With the exception of coffee shops, that are a lot, and have given a solution to the needs of meeting places, I'm not sure if other places count. Of course, we have to make an exception for teenagers that are to be found in every corner, because every corner is suitable for them.

Q: Every corner?

A: Yes, because Prishtina has a lot of alleys, so this is very convenient for youth.

Q: Can you think of some spatial or social element that is different from other cities?

A: I can't really think of some unique [spatial] element that cannot be found in other cities, or that characterizes Prishtina. But, the type of businesses is interesting. The food industry, for instance, there are a lot of supermarkets that is very different from other cities. Until late, only the industrial zones of the city had supermarkets, but now, in the central area of Prishtina, there are, let's say, 5 supermarkets that are not even 10 minutes away from each other.

Q: So, do you think that these developments impact negatively the life quality?

A: Yes, maybe in the small-scale businesses especially, but also [passenger] frequency. In the other cities, people walk to the markets a bit longer but don't overload the city with cars to block the city because of supermarkets. But, also other businesses, the fast-food businesses for instance. In here you have them every 2 meters, and when you go to the other cities then you feel their absence.

Q: So, your point is that Prishtina is a more commercial city than the other ones?

A: Precisely.

Q: Can you tell something about the natural sites? If they are used, why they serve for, or why do you use them for, or maybe some personal memory?

A: They are used a lot. The problem is not their usage, but their maintenance. Prishtina was planned to have a park in each zone of it. In the city center where I live, there is a small improvised park. But, that place from the time it got constructed, never received maintenance. Only once, it had a total renovation: the land was re-worked, new playground elements were set. But in [let's say] a month-time, it was damaged and nobody repaired it.

Q: Have you used it, in your childhood?

A: Yes, of course. I was raised in there.

Q: So, that was the public space of your childhood?

A: Yes. And I believe Prishtina needs these points. I think every zone should have a playground in its affinity. When you compare the childhood memories of people that were grown up in the districts with and without a playground nearby: the ones that had a playground nearby have way better childhood memories than the ones that didn't have a playground or at least some field to play.

Q: You mentioned that you don't like the commercial aspects of Prishtina. Let's talk about public buildings. Do you think we have enough public buildings for gatherings? And, also do you think that commercialism is a part of social gatherings as well?

A: No, we're way behind. There's a great lack of public places, institutions, or other socialization-related [environments]. For instance, let's talk about libraries. They [public authorities] replaced the library from the city center to the middle of nowhere [metaphorical]. Really, the average age of the population in Prishtina is somewhere in the mid-20s. I may be wrong, but there was a statistic that 60% of the population is under 35 or something like that. Anyway, my point is that there are a lot of people that need these places. Worse than that, these places are not even supported. For instance, Prishtina Hackerspace<sup>52</sup> [community center] is a youth initiative for experimental purposes. It's a kind of a place that exists in many cities and its contribution for youth is enormous. It's a place with a social atmosphere that gives the opportunity to every young person to show their talent, ability or whatever one wants to express.

Q: Are you also using this kind of alternative community centers that work with exploring personal talents?

A: No, because I'm working already. But, there is a big number of youngsters that do use these places and need them and aren't aware of their existence. It is neither promoted, nor supported by the municipality or higher institutions.

Q: Earlier you said that you identify yourself with the old part of the city. Could you be able to name some elements that make you feel that?

A: It's the whole. I'm including the architecture, low buildings, and these narrow streets that are over-connected with one-another that express the best of city identity.

Q: Would you say that the affinity found in between buildings is reflected in the society?

A: Yes.

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<sup>52</sup> Prishtina Hackerspace is a community based co-working open experimentation space established exclusively for technological, educational, cultural and scientific purposes." <http://www.prishtinahackerspace.org/about/>



Q: Do you think there is some other element of society that is reflected in spatial terms?

A: Perhaps the isolation of the society has made us feel more attached to one another. We have a very connected society. But, space is what we lack. I think if we had that space, our society has a big potential to give value to our city.

Q: What else do you think affects the city identity?

A: There's another factor that I would want to mention in regards to identity. That happens to be the outdoor lighting. Let's talk about Elida<sup>53</sup>. Its ambient, furniture and food hasn't changed for 50 years maybe; from the time when our parents used to go there. Everything, apart from lights, is preserved as it was, and it's a very good thing. Now, they changed the lights with little consideration of its color. The outdoor lights in the streets also changed. And this has changed the whole character of that place [Elida]. Some places are determined by the color of their lights. The yellow lighting gives a warm feeling or a warm ambient. White gives a feeling of hospitals, clinics, public buildings that symbolize hygiene. So it shouldn't be used for entertainment places. The same thing [that happened to Elida] happened with the streets too. I have an image in my mind from childhood memories, sitting in the car and observing the outdoor, the lights that gave a special feeling to the city. Now, we use LED that has a direct light and has changed the city from what it once used to be. So all the warm feeling changed due to a single factor only.

D.G. and E.A.<sup>54</sup>

\*Female, 24 years old, Employed, University Student

\*Female, 23 years old, Unemployed, University Student

Q: What do you identify Prishtina with?

E: Things that identify Prishtina are the Palace of Youth and Sports, Museum, Clock Tower, Mosques, cobblestone streets... I'd say it's mostly the old center of the city.

Q: What's the feeling you get when you are in these places that identify the city?

E: These are kind of more familiar places.

D: Palace of Youth and Sports, for example, is a reminder of childhood when one used to go to Elida to have an ice cream. Elida is not only in our memories, it's also a part of our parent's memories. It maintained its originality which gives a nostalgic feeling.

Q: Which are the meeting and gathering places?

E: Mainly it's the coffee shops. Prishtina has too many coffee shops. Whatever the purpose of the meeting, even if it's for studying, business or friendly meeting, the coffee shop is the place to go. Best macchiato is served in Prishtina.

Q: Is there some element that reminds you of Prishtina?

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<sup>53</sup> Elida- A local ice-cream and dessert shop

<sup>54</sup> In this one-to-two interview, the questions directed by the author are represented with the 'Q' letter, whereas the answers by the interviewee D.G. with 'D' and the answers by interviewee E.A. with 'E'

E: When you see the official symbol of Prishtina, which is the goddess on the throne, you immediately relate it to Prishtina. I would also add the buildings in Dardania and Lakrishte neighborhoods, the high-rise buildings, I think they are identifiable with Prishtina, even though they would be identifiable with all Balkan. Perhaps, it's because when you enter the city you have this view, and you create an idea that all the city would be similar to that. It's more of an image of the city you get in the entrance.

D: Do you know the triangular balconies in a building at the Boulevard? That could be an element that is kind of identifiable with Prishtina. Maybe in a few years, we would be saying Newborn monument. Even though currently we don't have the feeling of identification with it, or of it with the city but it's a historical monument.

Q: What would you mention as a natural identification of the city?

D: It would be Gërmia, but, also Dodona, which is not quite frequented lately. I have had some childhood memories in there, but I never felt secure in there. It's a very big place and it has a potential of developing. It's not that it lacks maintenance; so, I don't know why it lacks frequency.

E: It's Gërmia, but mostly on the weekends. All the families go there. During the summer, the swimming pool is full of people.

Q: Perhaps something that is connected with you personally, something you identify yourself with?

E: I can't think of something. Well, I was raised in Kodra e Trimave neighborhood, which is close to the railway that has been out-of-function for a very long time. It is a very convenient link; or better said, it would be if it functioned. But yes, I still wonder how is it possible for that railway line to be there and non-functional. It's not a specific case of Prishtina, whole Kosovo has the same problem of railways in the post-war period.

Q: Which part of the city makes you feel most comfortable at?

E: My house.

D: Coffee shops, Palace of Youth and Sports and the [Mother Teresa] Boulevard.

Q: Why do you list the Boulevard?

D: Because it has always been a gathering point. To name the demonstrations as a start, which we saw on TV as a kid, but also people always gather there for everything, as everything that happens is in there. It's a 'korzo', the meeting point of our parents.

E: Even prior being a pedestrian-only street, as it is today, it has always been a frequented street, as a kind of a square. I remember that It was very frequented even before the car prohibit.

Q: What does Prishtina lack? How should Prishtina develop to strengthen its identity?

E: Stop demolishing valuable sites.

Q: What are the valuable sites?

E: Monuments that identify Prishtina shouldn't be destroyed. If something is not working with the building it can be renovated, but not to destroy its identity. Like what was done with the building of radio 21, which is a kitsch now. Another example is the Grand hotel.

D: I have seen in a blog, where someone wrote that none of the blocks of the city are identical. But, then this kind of chaos growing inside the variety becomes its identity.

E: There is a beauty in the chaos too.

D: But, It won't be a good idea to keep it and continue with it as part of city identity.

E.H.

\*Male, 23 years old, Employed, University Student

Q: What does Prishtina remind you of?

A: My childhood, adolescence and now the adulthood. When I was a child, I used to go to Gërmia and its swimming pool with my friends. When I was an adolescent, I used to go to coffee shops of Prishtina after school. Prishtina is quite well-known for its coffee shops. Talking as a student now, I have more stressful days than joyful.

Q: In what part of the city lies the essence of the city?

A: The part that makes me feel that I am in Prishtina is the old part of the city. I was raised there, graduated from primary school 'Elena Gjika', one of the first schools of Prishtina. Then, the gymnasium, where I studied, was also in there.

Q: What are the meeting points and the most frequented points in the city?

A: Now, a new part of the city started being frequented, the part called Road B. I hear that a good part of our generation is frequenting that part. But, the city [center] is also very lively: the coffee shops in the city center.

Q: What reminds you of Yugoslavian time?

A: Brotherhood monument.

Q: What reminds you of Ottoman time?

A: Mosques.

Q: Which place has a special meaning for you? Perhaps related to your own memories or to livingness feeling?

A: The old part of the city. Starting from the museum, mosques, tower clock, the [Brotherhood] square, theater, etc.

Q: Are you considering the age of the surrounding to be the determinant factor?

A: Yes. They bear stories because they are old. For instance, Elida is the most famous dessert coffee shop in the city. It has been a meeting place a long time ago, as it continues to be frequented today as well. I think because they didn't change anything in the style; maybe the whole Palace of Youth and Sports in general.

Q: Can you identify some social or spatial element of Prishtina?

A: At first sight, Prishtina gives the impression of a grey city that has a lot of constructions; although, recently some colorful art murals and graffiti started appearing. But, yes I think in general this is what Prishtina is characterized with.

Q: What does Prishtina lack in terms of public spaces? Do you think that Prishtina has enough meeting places or other public socialization spots?

A: Prishtina lacks recreational places, maybe grass fields where people could meet and socialize. But more than that, Prishtina needs [cultural] places where concerts can be held, theatrical performances or alike.

Q: Where do current cultural events take place?

A: Concerts usually take place at the amphitheater at beginning of Mother Teresa Boulevard or Zahir Pajaziti square, at the plateau of Palace of Youth and Sports and in Gërmia. These are three main spots.

Q: What would you like to see in Prishtina?

A: Recreational areas, but also more colorful streets. When you enter Gërmia, it gives you the impression of a very green space but little recreation. It has a lot of parts where some activity could happen. For instance, the swimming pool could be used during the winter season for instance, for ice-skating or other winter sport. There is also a place where basketball is played, but the problem is that it lacks variety. It is sometimes partly used as a football field but nothing else. Prishtina also lacks bicycle lanes and a river.

M.D.

\*Female, 23 years old, Employed, University Graduate

Q: How do you identify Prishtina? What comes to your mind when you start thinking about Prishtina, maybe a social feature, a building, neighborhood or else?

A: [I think of] Palace of sports and youth, fog, polluted air...

Q: Would you say that you identify yourself with Prishtina? Do you think that your personality is connected with the city?

A: In a way yes, because I was born and raised in here...

Q: And what part of the city would be the one that had most influences?

A: Certainly, the neighborhood I was raised in. But, also I believe the neighborhood around the high school [Sami Frashëri high school] had a great impact. The impacts from that period are mainly from the [social] activities, meaning coffee shops.

Q: What are the gathering points and the most frequented ones?

A: During this summer I frequented events and activities happening in Termokiss quite a lot because it is a social center for youth and their events and activities were of interest to me.

Q: Would you say that its lack of commerciality also plays a role?

A: Yes, it is something different [from what we're used to]. It fits youth and gives a sense of comfort. Also, the building itself is interesting. It's the idea [that I like] of taking a building of reinforced concrete, a cold building, and bringing it into life through youth and activities and give it a special atmosphere.

Q: What would you say is different in Prishtina from other cities?

A: Prishtina doesn't have a good reputation for urbanism, as it is more of a business city. Also, all the youth comes here, so the average age in here is younger than for instance in smaller cities or villages. So, [I'd say] the [socio-cultural] activities in here.

N.P.

\*Female, 24 years old, Employed, University Student

Q: What do you identify Prishtina with?

A: Prishtina reminds me of the place I was raised in, the city that I know to its recesses and all the events that take place.

Q: What do you think characterizes the society of Prishtina?

A: This small Prishtina is made up of a society with a lot of young people that stay in groups of the same generations, go out and do everything together.

Q: How would you say that this society is reflected in the city?

A: To be honest, I don't know if in urban planning it is thought of this community because of low-investment. Municipality has emphasized the library that was recently renovated and some recreational parks as dedicated for this community. As for urbanism, unfortunately, I don't think it is even thought about. As for economic development, I can say that bars and coffee shops are booming.

Q: What makes you acknowledge the society to be full of youngsters?

A: It is visible from the crowds in the coffee shops, promenades in the boulevard, uniforms of the gymnasium, noises of children, etc. Perhaps, it's the density of population and houses. Also, I have observed that the affinity of living influences going outs, football matches ... [socialization].

Q: What are the gathering points?

A: Most crowded areas are around schools and landmarks. From what I have observed, meeting points are always in front of schools and faculties. Recently, as a lot of foreigners also point out, there is an overgrowth in supermarket numbers. They kind of serve as an attraction point for citizens as there is nothing more entertaining [than shopping], and I'm not talking about the big shopping malls, it's the normal supermarkets. These places [supermarkets] also serve as meeting points, especially for youth.

Q: Where do your memories lie, that give you the feeling of Prishtina?

A: Since Prishtina is a small city, I have always tried to find things I haven't seen before and I like trying to see the same street as a new one. I was raised in Taslixhe, so I was trying to find out its limits. I tried taking different routes from high school to home to find out something interesting. Mostly, I like the narrow streets.

Q: What is the identity of the city for you?

A: Old Prishtina part: Clocktower, mosque Sultan Mehmet, museum. Probably because I have seen in book covers or whenever something about Prishtina is written. Also, my grandmother's house is in there, I have even seen some of the old buildings there getting destroyed. Whenever someone visits the town for the first time, I take them there because there I have more things to show as it has more history.

S.GJ.

\*Female, 23 years old, Employed, University Student

Q: What do you identify Prishtina with?

A: Tininess. I think of it as a very small city. Because literally with a local bus you're able to see all the city.

Q: What are the places that have been important to your personal development?

A: A positive change has been done with the library in the Dardania neighborhood. We had an extremely high need for a library. The national library is old and has very old furniture. Even though this new building is a small one, it doesn't fulfill the needs, it is a positive step.

Q: How do public spaces and buildings affect the identity of the city for you?

A: Mostly I use this new library and the Mother Teresa Boulevard. I don't quite frequent theater and cinema.

Q: Which monuments are instantly connected with Prishtina in your mind?

A: Clocktower. It is definitively an object that identifies Prishtina, in historical discourse as well as taking into account that it also is located in the old part of the city. But, I'm also emotionally connected to it, because I attended the gymnasium next to it.

Q: Could you name an element that is different in Prishtina from other cities.

A: Air pollution. It's evident from the very entrance of the city, even from the Fushë Kosova city; you feel the difference from the other parts of the country.

Q: Could you name some social or spatial element or an area that you like in this city?

A: The city park. It's a small but cute place. I used to frequent it as a child. It is suitable for picnics, sports, and other activities.

Q: What does Prishtina lack?

A: Parking lots. There is a project that they want to open a big parking lot at the entrance of the city to decrease the number of cars getting inside the city. But, it doesn't seem very implementable in these conditions. For example, a colleague of mine that lives in another city, during the pilot period she had to change 3 buses to get here which raised the transport costs. So the costs should be considered. Also, streets are very narrow.

Q: For which streets are we talking about?

A: In general all the streets inside the neighborhoods are very narrow. They are in function for two lanes, but its dimension is almost for a single lane only.

Q: So, the buildings are very close to one another?

A: Yes, that too. It gives a feeling of suffocation. I mean, in some parts, not everywhere. For instance, the Mother Theresa Boulevard is a quite wide one. Even the space at Gërmia forest gives me that feeling [of suffocation] because it's kind of a valley that is inserted in a hole. The sun enters later, and there is always a shady part.

Q: Which space makes you feel comfortable?

A: Mother Teresa Boulevard.

Q: And what reminds you of the Yugoslavian time or Ottoman time city?

A: The Chimneys of Kastriot that give an impression of the past ideas somehow. Sometimes, Prishtina gives me the feeling of a city that unexpectedly became a capital city. A city that was never destined to be a capital city, based on the very fact that these chimneys are so close to the city.

Y.I.

\*Female, 22 years old, Unemployed, University Graduate

Born in 1995, Arbëri neighborhood

Q: What do you identify Prishtina with?

A: I live in Dragodan, where the landscape of the city can be seen. Whenever I think of the city, I think of this mosaic made of a lot of small particles. Prishtina is always full of on-going constructions.

Q: What aspect of this mosaic do you like?

A: Perhaps, the way the gatherings work. Independent of the season, people gather in coffee shops to socialize. I think the atmosphere found in the Coffee shops in Prishtina is quite different from elsewhere.

Q: What is characteristic of this society?

A: Friendships last forever, especially the ones that have started in primary or high school. This is maybe a factor that keeps people united.

Q: How is the society reflected in the city?

A: I think that this current generation is different from the previous ones, are more curious about finding new experiences and bringing them in here.

Q: What about the physical terms of this reflection?

A: New buildings. I think that this element that keeps people together is determined with the places they frequent. I think that every place is associated with a group of people.

Q: What are the points that are special for you?

A: Maybe the small gigs at PRC [local coffee shop] or ODA Theater.

Q: How close is society's relationship with the natural sites?

A: Gërmia only perhaps. There are other small parks, but they are sometimes associated with some negative aspects, especially during nights. So, the only natural park that I can mention is Gërmia that is widely frequented during weekends or other special days.

Q: Is there an element you instantly associate with Prishtina?

A: Mother Teresa Boulevard, definitively. Even the foreigners believe that the boulevard is the landmark of the city. I have reinforced this thought especially after so many foreigners said the same.

Q: What happens in the Mother Teresa Boulevard?

A: Everything. There are concerts, protests, other festivities. Boulevard is present in every special moment.

Q: Many people believe Prishtina is turning to a business only city. Would you say that the Boulevard is part of it as well?

A: Yes, for foreigners or for people coming from other cities.

Q: What do you think of the alternative youth community centers alike Termokiss or Sabota?

A: I think it's a really good phenomenon happening in Prishtina. Even though, in the beginning, people didn't respect it by vandalizing the building. These social communities have kept and continue cultivating the community feeling through concerts and events they have. I think it's a product to admire done by the young generation of the city.

Q: What would you like to see in the city, in the physical city?

A: Even though there are a lot of constructions going on, there are a lot of small things that we could do. Sometimes, some buildings are totally bad-positioned or have alienated designs. So, you feel that you could do something to change and give it a 'new' feeling.

Q: What characterizes the built part of the city?

A: High buildings, because of the point of view I get from my house. Regardless of that, there are a lot of parts of the city, that many people would also say, that are hideous and have low buildings.

Q: Which ones do you like?

A: Regardless of the height, I associate them with localness, something that is non-commercial. Maybe something that I have an emotional attachment with...

Q: Which buildings are the ones that you have an emotional attachment with?

A: Maybe with the Palace of Youth and Sports, because I have been part of many activities happening in there in my childhood. But now, since I'm not staying in Prishtina for long periods, I would say coffee shops and bars because these are the place where I meet the people whom I haven't seen in a while.

### *Complementary Interviews*



Burbuqe Hydaverdi

\*Spatial Planning Department, Municipality of Prishtina

Q: What do you understand with city identity of Prishtina?

A: It is a mirror of the city. Identity evolves along different phases of city development, from early years to date. Now there is the vision of the city with the municipal development plan, approved in 2013, which follows the directions of the Spatial Plan of Kosovo. The vision is of Prishtina as 'a blue port' - a city of administration, economy, and university. There is a new planning law, which foresees different documents: municipal development plan (the same one), zonal map and details regulative plans. These are new plan categories. One such request is a zonal map. This was a challenge for planning [experts] since there are no examples of these maps in the region. The examples found on the internet are from some American cities for instance. Now, the municipal assembly decided to begin the planning of the zonal map, but also of the municipal development plan. The last one needs to adapt to the requests of the new planning law. But, also now we have different circumstances, because of changes in the city: road axis, highways, city development, and so on. Zonal map considers a timescale of 8 years and needs to be in harmony with the municipal development plan. That's why we have decided to revise it.

Q: While preparing the document are there considerations for the city's past?

A: This is a decision to start the planning process. We haven't started yet. First, the mayor needs to form a directing committee that will consist of representatives of different institutions: public and private universities, chamber of commerce, civil society... so, everyone can contribute. [Then we'll see] as maybe the vision would change a bit, or move in another direction ... So, this is to integrate the society, to make an inclusive planning. On the other hand, a representative group will be formed consisting of municipality directories, for all of them to work in their specific fields. Every department needs to plan their strategy for 8 years, which would help us in planning the municipal development plan. We think that these workshops will have one or two representatives from each department that would contribute to the plan, to not give tenders to private companies. Even though, probably we would need to get consultants.

Q: Some regulative plans, such as Tophane neighborhood, foresee a total destruction of the neighborhood. Why is that so?

A: Tophane is one of the oldest neighborhoods. It has some buildings under heritage protection. But, the problem was that when the regulative plan was made in 2005 the heritage protection law was not approved yet. The heritage protection law was approved in 2006. So, the plan was made prior to that law and didn't consider the buildings under heritage protection. It was in discussion, I don't know [what was thought at] that time, but how I had understood of it: because it's a very old neighborhood, with no possibilities of reconstruction, the goal was on revitalizing it with all new high-rise buildings. The problem is that it wasn't possible to be done, as we now see it, there are only small portions where it is realized. Most of it remained as they were: some buildings are low-rise some are high-rise. On the other hand, private companies were the ones making the analysis, and sometimes they were chosen with tenders, so with the cheapest competitor as a winner. In that case, the winners were foreigners that maybe didn't know and didn't consider the past of the area at all. The old part of the city is a current challenge we will face for the plans [that are to be developed]. For many years now, we were not able to even select borders of the

neighborhood at the [remaining] old part of the city and leave aside something further than that. Ministry of Culture was also not cooperative at all. The problem is, that the municipality is not enough to analyze [the problematic of the old part of the city]. That should develop into a touristic place, where one would see something. Every city has some [attraction part]. Gjakova has its old city, Peja as well. [In Prishtina] there is not a place, where a visitor would come to the Boulevard and from Boulevard would go to this area to see a part of the old style of living and feel the city evolvement.

Q: There is, for instance, the project for the Privatization Agency of Kosovo, though.

A: Yes, but it's a small project. The aim is to protect the old trees situated in there. But also, the users [shop-owners] of that space will have an advantage in using that new bazaar, so that the [current] shops won't move somewhere out of there but be incorporated inside.

Q: Is there an initiative to incorporate the old craft shops in there as well?

A: I don't know. There 's not an initiative alike. Maybe that should have been suggested by the Directorate of Culture.

Q: Are there other initiatives for directing architecture towards the traditional, contemporary or else?

A: As I see it, the direction is towards the contemporary. I don't feel the will from the municipality or by private investors to get back to the [traditional architecture] with the façades or some other element. I think it's mostly following the trends and the contemporary architecture. Perhaps, one day we will also start thinking about that, when there won't be something more to explore in the contemporary trends and we'll get back to traditional.

Njomza Dragusha

\*Termokiss workshop organizer and participant

Q: What aspect of the city do you identify yourself with?

A: Everything. I don't walk with my headphones in the city. I want to hear the noise. But, I wasn't able to fully identify myself with the city until I [participated] in building Termokiss. I understood that I like everything but I don't accept anything. So, I decided that If I am not able to accept it than I have to change something. So it's a 'let's take some steps and define it' thinking. It's not a sort of movement that is completed. We want to change something for us, to change things for other people as well. Termokiss should be the first point to change the circle and it shouldn't remain as the only place. It has to empower the others in their own terms and conditions, not as a copy but an inspiration.

Q: Is there some unique element or feature of Prishtina?

A: I love Prishtina in its whole, chaotic as it is. I like it, and it's in its phase of getting better and better. And, [it feels as if] it's in its first phase.

Kumjana Novakova, Yll Rugova<sup>55</sup>

\*Novakova- Film director, Skopje14

\*Rugova- Director of Department of Culture, Municipality of Prishtina

Q: When do you leave something to go and when do you decide to keep it?

Novakova: I don't know. This is the key question for me. What is the role of the cities in this thing? I can give a pre-formula of what happened or what didn't happen in Skopje. In Skopje there was a reaction, there was a very big reaction. There was a group of activists that started as a movement and turned into an organization called the freedom square which started protecting the square. But, the radical tools of the government radically whipped-out the protest. They destroyed the movement violently. The whole project was built like this: no information, nor public debates, no possibilities for interventions. I think it's easy for citizens to say that we could do more, but it's also important to say that we could do more. What you see in Skopje today is completely unacceptable. I cannot understand how was it possible that we were not able to stop it even with such a radical government. I think there should be a balance. Sometimes, we think we are experts on issues we can't be experts of. There needs to be some kind of central politics... they should gather much smarter and much more informed experts than the public would be. Sometimes you have actions that are uneducated and uninformed. But, also who is the one to be asked. If you ask, of course, there are some who support it [what was done in Skopje]. There are other examples as well, for instance in Budapest they got all the communist monuments and put them in a park outside the city and it became a kind of an amusement park outside the city. You walk around Budapest and you see nothing [from that time] inside the city.

Q: Yll, do you think Kosovars have an identity crisis? Are we still trying to delete the past to create a future?

Rugova: To show you the identity crisis of Kosovars I will ask the public: Who thinks that Albanian flag is our legitimate flag? [*Only a few hands were raised*] Who thinks that Kosovar flag is our legitimate flag? [*Majority of hands were raised*] The idea is that... even I don't know the answer. Of course, we have an identity crisis. The question: what is Kosovo? I don't know if it's a nation-state or a state. To be honest I was surprised by this answer that more people identify with Kosovo flag than the Albanian flag. But, you could have another group having a totally opposite answer. This is very schizophrenic for us. If you see the street names, most of them refer to a post-war period, representing nothing prior to that. It is as if we didn't have a past, which for me is very weird.... A lot of old buildings are getting destroyed. This is deeply disturbing. This is happening with the Yugoslav monuments too.... If we really need to destroy something, there are a lot of illegal buildings, we could destroy them, and build something in there.

#### *Thematic categorization of interview notes*

Discussed themes were coded into eight categories: 1. Imageability, 2. Common sights, 3. Emotional attachment, 4. Socialization and activity venues, 5. Socio-cultural characteristics, 6. Features needed at the

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<sup>55</sup> This is part of the city identity public discussion that followed Skopje14 film. The questions represented with 'Q' belong to the presenter. The answer given by Kumjana Novakova is written under her surname, likewise the answer given by Yll Rugova is written with his surname.

time, 7.Features needed today, and 8.Other. *Imageability* group incorporates the discussions of city structure, urban tissue, building structure and materials, incorporation of natural features and city landmarks. The second group of *common sights* refers to the widespread physical, natural and socio-cultural elements or details. *Emotional attachment* group incorporates the city parts or buildings people feel or have felt emotionally attached to, which originated in the speaker’s direct words or has indirectly derived from the speaker’s attitude. *Socialization and activity venues* include spaces that were used for social activities. *Social characteristics* include socio-cultural and economic elements. *Features needed at the time* refer to reasons individuals used a space and their requests of the time. *Features needed today* refers to the topics discussed on reasons why people use the spaces they do, requests and implications for future spaces. Lastly, the *other* themed group incorporates diverse topics, mainly on non-satisfactory issues with the city.

Table 8 Thematic categorization of collected data

	1 <sup>st</sup> Generation	2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation	3 <sup>rd</sup> Generation	4 <sup>th</sup> Generation
Imageability	Adobe constructions	Dirty rivers	Arbëria stairs	Boulevard
	Affinity of buildings	4 cafes	Korzo	Clock tower
	Bazaar	Korzo	Old part	Gërmia
	Clean river	Minarets in city view	Palace of Youth and	Greyness
	Greener city	Palace of Youth and	Sports	The old part of the
	Marked limits	Sports	View towards the city	city
	Minarets	Railway line as a city		Palace of Youth and
	Mosques	limit		sports
	Narrow rivers	Uniformed		
	A row of small shops	constructions		
		View towards city		
	Greener city			
	Water fountains			
Common sights	Big gardens	Bazars	Cafe lectures	affinity of living
	Çardaks	Blacksmiths	Granite cobblestone	Amount of new
	Connecting doors	Çardaks of old houses	Green areas	buildings
	Mulberry trees	Connection doors	Long consoles at roof	chaos
	Shop frames	Gërmia	level	crowds in the cafés
	Simple constructions	Granite cobblestone	New Cafés	density
	Trees in main streets	pavements	Unfinished classrooms	goddess on the
	Water fountains	Grass fields	Wooden doors	throne
		Linden trees		dense route networks
			non-functional railway	
Emotional attachment	House gatherings	Korzo	Korzo	City landscape
	Mosques		The old part of the city	The old part of the
	Old bazaar			city
			Palace of Youth and	
			Sports	

Socialization and activity venues	Arbëria hill House gatherings Mosques River beach and ice skating venue State coffee shop Theatre performances	Arbëria hill Gërmia commercial center Gërmia park House gatherings Korzo Stadium of the city Sultan Murad Tomb field Tauk-Bahçe park	Arbëria park House gatherings Kodra e Trimave Korzo Kurriz cafes Palace of Youth and Sports Private meeting venues Velania	Bars, coffee shops Boulevard Youth community centers Dodona park Gërmia New library Oda theater Palace of Youth and Sports School fronts Street B Youth social Zahir Pajaziti square
Social characteristics	Affinity of people Craft-making: quilt, silver, blacksmith etc. Ethnically mixed city obligatory craft making skills Sense of community	Affinity of people Familiarity Non-commercial gatherings Shift to city-decent economic activities Single meeting point	Affinity of people Lack of safety Peacemaking dialogue Solidarity Stagnation Unity	Affinity of people Concerts Other festivities Protests Unity
Features needed at the	Building rehabilitation Wish to keep the old city	Mono-center city Shelter- public space Urbanized city	Alternative routes Cultural activities Densely built areas Properties with fewer access possibilities Safety	
Features needed today	Affinity Coherent urbanism Reasonable heritage understanding Warmer atmosphere	Coherent urbanism Continuity Reasonable heritage understanding River recovery Sameness Satisfaction Silence	Affinity Cobblestone streets Continuity Density History Lively Unchanged	Familiarity Historical relevance Originality Possibility of improvement Unchanged Variety of activities Warmer atmosphere
Non-Satisfaction	Constant search for difference Destruction of old buildings and areas Diminished handcrafts Fragmented community Loss of domestic architecture	Chaotic constructions Irregular constructions Lack of museums Lack of public spaces Obvious socio-economic differentiation Too many coffee shops Too many constructions	A visionless urbanism Chaotic constructions Destruction of old buildings Fragmented community High-rise collective buildings Irregular constructions Lack of green areas Suffocating constructions	City of business only Greyness Lack of a river Lack of recreational areas Lack of socialization places White lighting