Architecture as Ideological and Political Metaphor for Recreating the (Post-)Modern City

The Case of Prishtina

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ABSTRACT

The subject of this research is the interaction of architecture and city planning, with ideological and political instances. The objectives are to define how and when architecture operates ideologically, conceals ideology, or resists the ideologies that have informed it; and to decipher architecture's implication with political power and conflicting political discourses, as presented in the city space. The study is framed within a modern and postmodern condition, by defining their peculiarities, critical differences and intersection in cases when there is no clear transition from one to another.

This research renders architecture as a metaphor for a language that facilitates communication between ideology and morphology, meaning and aesthetics, political power and the city. The initial hypothesis is that the combination of high and low domestic and international ideological and political instances, produces a distinct outcome in architecture and its urban setting. Within this discourse, architecture and the city have an inner structure, as well as a language of their own, which can be deciphered and interpreted through a model to be presented here.

Through a mixed methodological design (literature review, text & discourse analysis, archival research, field-work, typological & morphological analysis, iconology) the findings will be utilized in the case of Prishtina. Prishtina is used on account of its particular history in the course of the twentieth century, characterized by radical shifts in ideological and political systems, and a complex architectural and urban form with distinguished modernist features. The study of the city is focused on two plans of architectural and urban ideology: 1) The political-economic context which produces a condition within which architecture becomes ideological and determine future politics; 2) The episteme of architecture, which impacts the form, aesthetics and technology of buildings and cities through modern ideology and normativities.

By measuring the concrete ways in which architecture and the city emerge as fields of contending or collaborating domestic and international ideological and political discourses, this research contributes to the developing of a globally applicable model. In addition, it extends the discourse on (post-)modernism in the context of post-socialist states in South-Eastern Europe, as this discourse is often limited to the contexts of western, capitalist cultures.

Keywords: Architecture, City, Ideology, Politics, Urban Planning, Spatial Planning, Language, Modernity, (Post-)Modernism.

ABSTRACT

L'oggetto di questa ricerca è l'interazione tra architettura e pianificazione urbana, con istanze ideologiche e politiche. Gli obiettivi sono definire come e quando l'architettura opera ideologicamente, nasconde l'ideologia o si oppone alle ideologie che l'hanno informata; e decifrare l'implicazione dell'architettura con il potere politico e i discorsi politici contrastanti, come presentati nello spazio urbano. Lo studio è incorniciato in una condizione moderna e postmoderna, definendone le peculiarità, le differenze critiche e l'intersezione nei casi in cui non vi è una chiara transizione da una all'altra.

Questa ricerca rende l'architettura come una metafora di un linguaggio che facilita la comunicazione tra ideologia e morfologia, significato ed estetica, potere politico e città. L'ipotesi iniziale è che la combinazione di istanze ideologiche e politiche domestiche e internazionali di alto e basso livello produce un risultato distintivo nell'architettura e nel suo contesto urbano. All'interno di questo discorso, l'architettura e la città hanno una struttura interna, oltre a un linguaggio proprio, che può essere decifrato e interpretato attraverso un modello qui presentato.

Attraverso un design metodologico misto (revisione della letteratura, analisi testuale e discorsiva, ricerca archivistica, lavoro sul campo, analisi tipologica e morfologica, iconologia), i risultati saranno utilizzati nel caso di Pristina. Pristina è scelta a causa della sua particolare storia nel corso del XX secolo, caratterizzata da cambiamenti radicali nei sistemi ideologici e politici, e una forma architettonica e urbana complessa con caratteristiche moderniste distinte. Lo studio della città si concentra su due piani di ideologia architettonica e urbana: 1) il contesto politico-economico che produce una condizione in cui l'architettura diventa ideologica e determina la politica futura; 2) l'episteme dell'architettura, che influenza la forma, l'estetica e la tecnologia degli edifici e delle città attraverso l'ideologia e le normatività moderne.

Misurando i modi concreti in cui l'architettura e la città emergono come campi di contendenti o collaboratori di discorsi ideologici e politici domestici e internazionali, questa ricerca contribuisce allo sviluppo di un modello applicabile globalmente. Inoltre, estende il discorso sul (post-)modernismo nel contesto degli Stati post-socialisti dell'Europa sud-orientale, poiché questo discorso è spesso limitato ai contesti delle culture occidentali capitaliste.

Parole chiave: Architettura, Città, Ideologia, Politica, Pianificazione Urbana, Pianificazione Spaziale, Linguaggio, Modernità, (Post-)Modernismo.

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To Veton, Guri and my family…

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

INTRODUCTION

I. Research Context

Starting with the premise that ideology is a system of representations to describe reality (Althusser, 1971/2014), this research indicates that architecture – the building and the city – is an ideological practice which represents a political, socio-economic and cultural reality. Thus, an architectural phenomenon is structurally connected and interdependent with political, socio-economic and cultural forces, i.e., a building is a signifier of the (real or, on occasion imaginary) conditions created by these forces and expressed in the city space. At a spatial level, both architecture and the city, have an *a priori* ideological determination, being fields of representation.

The technical, aesthetic-linguistic, artistic and formal modalities of architecture usually conceal its ideological and political character. The practice of "concealing" is in principle an "*ideological practice that positions architecture, especially modern and postmodern architecture, as a nonideological or post-ideological state apparatus*" (Šuvaković, 2014, pp. 10-11). In other words, architecture (in this regard, architectural and urban form) operates ideologically. Here, ideology is conceptualized not only as a structure of the individual's views and beliefs; ideology is and exists in social, political, cultural *and* architectural practice.

For instance, the architecture of the National and University Library of Kosovo in Prishtina – as it will be shown in this thesis – is a representation of a modernist "Yugoslav Identity" constructed through a (re)building programme for the modernist urbanization of the city of Prishtina and other capital cities in Socialist Yugoslavia at the time (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023). Having a central position within the complex of the University of Prishtina, the edifice is a landmark of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo's era (1968-1989), aiming at visually stating the province's political and economic "power", as well as its "equality" to other republics of the former Socialist Yugoslavia – leading to the construction of Kosovo's own "national identity". What we can understand from this example, is that the function of architecture consists in giving physical form to ideas which are constructed on certain ideological premises. Therefore, architecture and consequently the architect, exists within the framework of an ideology which also shapes the ontology of the state.

Motivated by an insatiable interest in the ideological and political context of architecture, the aim of this doctoral research is to identify the relation between ideology, politics, architecture and city planning, and to determine how the first two instances influence, or to put it in Althusser's parlance, determine the last two instances. Based on the curiosity about the impact of architecture as a vision for (re)creating the city, this research shall discuss the function of architecture as language between ideology, politics and the city. This discussion will focus on the modern and postmodern periods, in which intense and, on occasion, radical socio-political changes were reflected in architecture and city planning. To summarize, this research engages in the philosophical debate on creation, meaning and the future, and touches upon how architecture operates ideologically and politically and how the city operates as a (re)creation of the architectural practice. By adopting the term "city" in this thesis, it is indicated by intention to deal with an urban and not rural spatial setting.

II. State of the Art

To highlight the function of architecture in the (re)creation of the city, this research initially focuses on defining the concept of architecture and city planning and deciphering their meaning, focusing on the modern and postmodern era, in order to identify and interpret their relation to ideology and politics. Thereupon, it will propose an analytic framework for the discussion of this relation in the past, present and future. It will discuss the ideological context of architecture and its implication with political power and conflicting political discourses. The selected case studies present and aim to validate the hidden dimension of buildings and urban/spatial plans which used to express political and social values. They are used as clear reflections of the tensions and conflicts that existed within society around the issues such as power, identity and social justice, placing architecture on an influential level by showing its power in the context of a tool or instrument of social control.

This research deals with the idea that architecture is a metaphor for a language that facilitates communication between ideology and morphology, meaning and aesthetics, political power and the city. In doing so, it will study the architectural and urban form, and their semantics in relation to ideologies which they represent and political conditions in which they were/are created and developed, i.e. it will study buildings as signifiers of political and social events, and stylistic or linguistic relations. This research will bring into discussion the ideological and formal compatibility in modern and postmodern architecture and planning both in theory and practice, by questioning the condition of (re)creating the

national identity and state-formation in Kosovo (including the context of former Socialist Yugoslavia), through *new* architecture and *new* cities (as extensions of existing cities).

This compatibility will be represented through the study of *new* formal, aesthetical and technological features of an architecture and an urban setting, using the term "nova" to refer to possible *ideologemes*. The *ideologeme* as a fundamental unit of ideology, in the case of this thesis is interpreted through *architecture* and *plan*: urban/spatial settings and architectural works (cf. Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). Therefore, *architecture* and *plan* are both *ideologemes* of this thesis, meaning the indicators or the fundamental units that contribute to defining ideology by giving it a material and physical feature.

Through an analysis of formal, stylistic/linguistic and technological dimensions, we can understand that the discipline of architecture is part of a wider international discourse within the modern movement. In this context, this research defines the three plans of architectural ideology: 1) Political-economic plans in architectural and urban development; 2) The episteme of architecture, presented by morphology, style and technology; 3) The operation of architecture as ideology and the "concealing" of this operation. If we are to accept that architecture is not an autonomous and self-referential practice, but rather, it is conditioned by and it also conditions an ideological and political reality, then, we presume that there exists an interrelation and inter-dependency of architecture with ideology and politics. In this context, politics is the domain, or the realm, and within that realm there are oscillations of different ideologies. Therefore, one could say that when a certain ideology falls, architecture continues to exist and operate within a political condition.

The subject of this research is the interaction of (post-)modern architecture with ideological and political instances. The fundamental premise is that architecture is an ideological practice, while ideology is conceived as a system of representations to describe reality and has a material existence. The term "(post-)modern" is used to describe a condition defined by theories and principles of *modernity*, which at times oscillates between socialist and capitalist systems, signified by modernist and postmodernist discourses. The terms also refers to the cases in which we do not have a clear transition from one condition to the other.

This research thesis deals with public architecture, i.e., with edifices built for an explicit public use through state funds, or private funds and limited -if any- state funding, and it is confined to an urban and not a rural setting, which was deemed necessary to tame an otherwise vast research material. Another limitation of this thesis relates to the pursuit of case-study research. Although case-study research is an approach that promotes in-depth analysis of a limited range of research materials, it has been criticized as providing an

inadequate base for generalizations, as granting a central role to the researcher, as difficult to replicate and time consuming. To mitigate these limitations, this thesis provides a comparative perspective to the research findings.

III. Claim, Hypotheses and Objectives

Arguing that architecture and city planning is a realm of contending or collaborating domestic and international ideological and political discourses, this research will question the concrete ways in which architecture reveals itself as an ideological practice, and how the socio-political changes are reflected in architectural and urban form. Architecture and city planning will be treated as practices impacted and even shaped, by the dynamic of domestic and international ideologies and politics – a combination of high and low domestic and international forces. In this context, it will be demonstrated that the understanding of the relation between architecture, city planning, ideology and politics can be framed within a model. Thus, in order to interpret how architecture (architectural and urban form) operates ideologically and politically, this thesis will develop a model through which we can explain the concrete ways in which ideology and politics affect or impact architecture and city planning, and a methodology by which it could be applied. Finally, it will test the model by the prescribed methodology against a case-study (Prishtina's architectural works and urban plans).

The leading hypothesis of this doctoral research develops within the combination of domestic and international ideological and political constructs. Put differently, it deals with what happens or changes in architecture and the city, when such a combination exists. In a hypothetical form, this research, as it will be demonstrated, states that the combination of high (or low) domestic ideological and political pressures with low (or high) international constructs, at a given time, produces a distinct outcome in architecture and city planning. For instance, as it will be shown in this thesis, the construction of the Parthenon in Classical Athens is associated to low international ideological and political pressures (from other city-states in the Athenian Empire, members of the Delian League), and low domestic pressures (as Athens' political, economic, cultural and military power as the leader of Athenian Empire was not to be contested).

In another context, that of Prishtina during the period between 1945 and 1990, we can identify a specific language game occurring in the city (as well as in the whole region), in a contending ideological and political discourse characterized at specific moments with simultaneously high domestic and high international pressures. As we mentioned the

National Library, it is interesting to study it together with its urban setting: the architectural and urban forms at the University of Prishtina Center, where the building is located (cf. Chapter 6). The building, together with the Orthodox Church, the University Centre and other modernist public buildings, create a specific network: a working site where they operate or participate ideologically within critical historical junctures, not necessarily simultaneously and in the same way.

In this context, the aforementioned hypothesis produces a number of questions regarding how architecture operates ideologically and politically, how it represents a national identity (i.e. the state), how it is impacted from the institutions which represent the state's ideological and political programme; and how it (re)creates the vision for the future city and society. Following this, a more explicit hypothesis would be that the National Library in Prishtina, for instance, transcends or resists the ideology on which it was built.

III.I. Research Claim

This thesis presumes that there is a certain line of political thought, which is elevated to an ideological level and produces an architecture that is referential to that ideology. This architecture operates as an ideological and political metaphor, (re)creating the real conditions of our existence in formal, spatial and temporal terms: the city. In this context, this research is focused on defining the ideological and formal compatibility in (post-) modern architecture, and deciphering architecture's implication with political power and conflicting political discourses, as presented in the city.

III.II. Hypothesis

The main hypothesis of this research derives from the above-mentioned research claim, using as instrument domestic and international ideological and political constructs. This research, states that the combination of high and low domestic and international ideological and political forces, at a given time, produces a distinct outcome in architecture and city planning. Thus, one can assume that architecture (a building and a city; private and public) is an ideological institution, or, as Althusser would put it, an *ideological state apparatus.*

III.III. Objectives

From the research claim and hypothesis derive the main objectives of this research, which would have the function of research questions:

1). To define how architecture operates ideologically and politically, and whether it transcends or resists the ideology on which it was built, by identifying the plans in which architecture becomes ideological.

2). To define the concept of ideologems, such as "nova", which since 1945 was used as a vision for the future planning of the city of Prishtina (and other cities in former Yugoslavia), by analyzing and interpreting the "ex-nova" as a determinant factor for the construction of "nova"; and to define the different nuances that this concept/notion takes, represented as "new" in relation to time and space.

3). To create a network of sites and buildings and decipher when they are ideologically and politically charged, or aesthetically and technologically charged

4). To develop a model through which we can explain the concrete ways in which ideology and politics affect or impact architecture and city planning, a methodology by which it could be applied, and to test the model by the prescribed methodology against a case-study, the city of Prishtina, through several study samples such as buildings and urban plans

IV. Literature Review: Discussion of Sources

A main part of architectural theory taken into consideration in this thesis, is thoroughly informed by Western, neo-Marxist theories of the Frankfurt School and others. The legacy of critical thinkers such as Walter Benjamin, Theodor Adorno and Ernst Bloch has been formative for authors such as Manfredo Tafuri, Michael Hays or Fredric Jameson (cf. Heynen & Loosen, 2019). Their works, such as "Architecture and Utopia" (Tafuri, 1973/1976) and "Postmodernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism" (Jameson, 1991), are precisely the link that creates the communication between architecture and philosophy, that will provide us with a detailed explanation of ideological and political impacts on architecture. In this context, it is relevant to emphasize that architecture finds its place in philosophy mainly as an ideological power. As Kurir informs us, "*almost every important philosopher of the twentieth century wrote at least one essay concerning architecture and it does not come as a surprise that most of them were dealing with ideology*" (Kurir, 2018, p. 38).

This research will present the work of several authors (architects, historians, philosophers, etc.) aiming to study and interpret the interrelation of architecture, ideology and politics within different and even contradictory point of views. Thus, we would be able to follow and/or criticize a specific framework, a line of thinking, for developing the research hypothesis. For instance, Tafuri and Benevolo belonged to a same ideological and political side – they were both known as supporters of Marxist thought and of the left. Yet, they think of architecture differently. As Tafuri believes that ideology defines everything (Tafuri, 1973/1976), Benevolo writes that the practices of architectural design and urban planning are often resistant to ideologies; said otherwise, they do not necessarily reflect the ideologies that put them to life. One can understand that it does not mean that all architectural works are subject to ideology in the same way. Thus, the relevance of literature review in this research stands in clarifying all these concepts and developing an approach towards them.

Regarding the concept and the definition of ideology as a system of representation, one would argue that ideology is a "*relatively coherent and determined set of ideas, symbolic conceptions, values, beliefs and forms of thought, behaviors, expressions, presentations, and actions, shared by the members of a particular social group, political party, state institution, ethnic or gender group, or class of society*" (Šuvaković, 2014, p. 8). In addition to this, in his book "On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses", Louis Althusser discusses the meaning of ideology through two theses: 1) Ideology represents the subject's imaginary relationship to his or her real conditions of existence; 2) Ideology has a material existence (Althusser, 1971/2014).

What should be considered at the first, is that ideology does not exist only at the level of distortion and/or misrepresentation of reality. When it is said that ideology is the "imaginary" relationship of the individual with reality, we must understand that the individual has an illusory relation to the real conditions of his existence, where these conditions are constructed through architecture. Thus, a building, hiding its ideological function, organizes the built environment and the human relationships occurring there. There is an interesting convergence between this first thesis and the 'mapping' of the city space studied by Kevin Lynch in "The Image of the City" (1960), which is related to Jameson's cognitive mapping. In addition to this, Tafuri's "ideology of the plan" (the urban/spatial plan and its utopia, and the plan for the (re)organization of the capital) is a representation of the imaginary relationship of architects to their real conditions of existence, and of state's vision for the city and society.

The second thesis relies on the fact that ideology exists from the subject and for the subject. Thus, ideology does not exist in the spiritual world, it exists in institutions: the institutions Althusser is referring to appertain to what he terms as Ideological State Apparatus (Althusser, 1971/2014, pp. 15-25). The National Library of Kosovo and the Parthenon, for instance, are Ideological State Apparati. What we should understand here, is that the two buildings (and the public architecture in general) were formally outside state control – the former is a library, while the latter is a temple – but they did reflect the values and ideas, the programme and the vision of the state, thus, positioning architecture in an interplay with power.

Understanding the "material existence" as an application of architectural theories through practical works, one can argue that architecture's materiality – achieved through its techno-artistic and techno-aesthetic modalities – renders architecture as a "pure" formal, functional and visual practice. Thus, architecture operates as autonomous, only by concealing its ideological and political character, thus, being an ideology itself. If we are to consider architecture's relation with other contending or collaborating forces and not to look at architecture as a self-referential practice, it would be interesting to bring into discussion the 'postmodern condition' introduced by Friedrich Jameson. For him, this condition is precisely represented through architecture:

> "*It is in the realm of architecture, however, that modifications in aesthetic production are most dramatically visible, and that their theoretical problems have been most centrally raised and articulated; it was indeed from architectural debates that my own conception of postmodernism…initially began to emerge*" (Jameson, 1991, p. 43).

Even though Tafuri states that with the emergence of capitalism, architecture, through its break with utopia is separated from ideology and it is left without "any possibility of developing it" (Tafuri, 1973/1976); he positions architecture as interrelated and even impacted by all the changes in politics, world economy and general cultural production occurring from the sixties and onwards. Also, Jameson – while defining Postmodernism – argues that architecture, ideology, politics, economics, film, psychoanalysis, culture, painting, etc., are structurally connected forces (Jameson, 1991). Thus, Postmodernism itself is a force-field of different practices, actions and events, that if not always competitive with one another, are interrelated and impact each other.

In addition to the works from the aforementioned thinkers, Kojin Karatani's book "Architecture as Metaphor: Language, Number, Money" (1995) and Roland Barthes' "Mythologies" (1957/1972), are concerned with the creation and meaning in architecture. In this way, in their work they research myths, metaphors and language, in order to gain an understanding of how architecture is used a communication medium between the state, the society and space, through the process of (re)creation. Following this, it is understandable that architectural theory has consistently brought into question the impact of architecture on the creation, construction and functionalization of the state (Tafuri, 1973/1976; Benevolo, 1963/1971).

In this context, architecture, more than any other art, relates to politics and the exercise of power, as architects want to design their buildings as "great" as possible and therefore stay on the side of power (Biermann, Klein, Evers, Freigang & Thoenes, 2015). For instance, the architectural and urban form played an ideological function in creating the city of Washington D.C.: classicism was an "ideal of uncontaminated reason" (Tafuri, 1973/1976) and the whole city was a representation of the European ideology of Reason and City Beautiful movement principles. Thus, by the end of the eighteenth century, the emerging American nation was interpreting classical architecture in order to give rise to its own specific interpretation of "representative democracy". It is also Aldo Rossi who gives an interpretation of the relation of architecture and power, by emphasizing that "*there are no buildings of opposition, because the architecture that is going to be realized is always an expression of the dominant class*" (Kurir, 2018, p. 38; Rossi, 1984). This can be read as a dominance of ideology within the discipline of architecture, as the latter is a spatial manifestation of the ideology of the dominant class (Kurir, 2018).

To contextualize this discussion through the case-study – Prishtina's architectures and urbanities, – this thesis will take into account a number of research works which deal with the topic, although in different cases and discourses. Relevant to mention at this point, are the works such as: "Behind the National Identity: Politics and Social Activity through Architecture – Liberal Socialism in Kosovo" (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016); "The Socialist Modernization of Prishtina: Interrogating Types of Urban and Architectural Contributions to the City" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018); "Kosovo: A Spatial Portrait" (Hasimja, 2016); "Contested Borders. Territorialization, National Identity and Imagined Geographies in Albania" (Kalemaj, 2014); "Unfinished Modernizations. Between Utopia and Pragmatism" (Mrduljaš & Kulić, 2012); etc.

V. Epistemological Premises

If a critical materialistic epistemology of architecture could be extracted from the works that this research refers to, its focus would be on the architectural product and its influential function on politics, economy and society. This epistemology would then surpass the assigned attributes, names or adjectives of architecture, by delving into the surrounding spatial setting, the productive modes and social relations. If architecture fails on transmitting this, it would be turned into a simple physical manifestation of ideology and not have an influential relation with it.

Ideologies and politics are constructs of an objective world with which this thesis is concerned – the real world or Althusser's real conditions of existence, whose built space is (re)created or shaped by architecture. Thus, this thesis is particularly concerned with how architecture gives formal and aesthetical qualities to ideologies and political ideas, and is mainly related to the context of public spaces and buildings, as important fields of the representation of an identity – a national identity – i.e., of the state. In this way, architecture is a carrier of ideology and not just a mere embodiment of it, because buildings communicate messages, thereby being signifiers of socio-political and stylistic changes and impacts.

Architecture and city planning are socially determined (re-)constructions or languages of ideologies and politics. In this context, public architecture and city planning – for instance, the National Library of Kosovo, the main square, or the urban development during the 1990s – are basically framed by institutions. Public architecture itself is an institution – an Ideological State Apparatus as Althusser would put it.

Thus, we can assume that architecture and city planning are set to meet institutional needs – which are dependent from the ideological and political constructs representing the state – and they manifest themselves more assertively when such needs reflect the changes in ideological and political systems. Within the field of ideology and politics, as it will be demonstrated in this thesis, architecture and city planning have an inner structure, as well as a language of their own, which can be deciphered and interpreted through a model in a spatial and temporal context represented by ideologems such as the "nova" concept.

VI.   Methodology of Enquiry

The structure of this section consists of two general aspects. The first, explains the ways through which the relation between architecture, city planning, ideology and politics will be studied and interpreted. While the second aspect is related to the proposed model through which the methodological approach for the concretization of this research will be designed. This includes an overview of the variables through which the model will be operationalized. The methodology that will be used in this research is a combination of different methods, including literature review, text and discourse analysis, archival research, etc.

In order to study ideology and politics, literature review and text and discourse analysis are utilized, since it is important to develop a way of thinking and the means for writing and interpreting, based on the works of other scholars (Efron & Ravid, 2019; Feak & Swales, 2009; Locke, 2004; Weiss & Wodak, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 1999). On the other hand, to study architecture and city planning, except from literature review, this research relies in archival research, field work and morphological and typological analysis (Frisch, Harris and Kelly, 2012; Gilliland, McKemmish & Lau, 2016; Groat & Wang, 2013; Niezabitowska, 2018; Olin, 2000). In doing so, existing public buildings will be documented through plans, elevations, sections, drawings and photographs.

In archives will be searched for urban plans and building plans during the periods of modernism and postmodernism; for politicians' statements and speeches during the inauguration of these buildings (especially those during 1970 – 1990); for important reports on political activities in Kosovo and within Yugoslavia; for important architects of that time – their writings and designs – and their statements for relevant events related to architecture and city planning. To combine and interpret the research findings regarding ideology, politics, architecture and city planning, in the process of developing the research model, an iconological approach will be used (Panofsky, 1955).

The model to be tested in this thesis through a case-study (the city of Prishtina), aims to be globally applicable. Although case-study research promotes in-depth analysis of a limited range of research materials, it has been criticized as providing an inadequate base for generalizations, as granting a central role to the researcher, as difficult to replicate and time consuming (Yin, 2003; Yin, 2018). To mitigate these limitations, this research shall provide a comparative perspective to the research findings. To avoid the narrow base of case-study research from its inception, the model, in the course of its development, will be tested on two cases from two very different time periods, before being applied to the city of Prishtina.

These cases are not selected to compare Prishtina in terms of temporal changes and impacts, but rather, based on the typology and morphology of the architectural and urban product. On one hand, the cases of the Parthenon from Classical Athens and the urban plan for Washington, D.C., are used to set the conceptual framework and generally interpret the interplay of architecture, ideology and politics. On the other hand, to contextualize this framework, this thesis will compare the modernist urbanization and the "nova" phenomenon within the city of Prishtina, to other capital cities in former Yugoslavia and South-Eastern Europe.

VII. Presentation of Thesis Structure

The structure of this thesis is made of two main parts, together with the abstract, introduction and conclusions, supporting the research subject, objectives, hypothesis and the case-study. The first part focuses on laying out the epistemological premises and the methodology, based on a process of literature review. The aim is to clarify the concepts from relevant theories in the history of architectural, political and philosophical thought; define the working-notions; and create a critical approach toward specific theories. This part is an in-depth discussion of theoretical and philosophical aspects of architecture, laying out a constructive interpretation of (post-)modern architectural theory and critical thought in architecture and city planning practices.

The first chapter aims to define the general research framework. It will first construct the theoretical and epistemological premises upon which architecture is interpreted as an ideological practice and political instrument. Secondly, it will present in detail the methodology and its application in the following chapters. The second chapter defines the notion of ideology and its contextualization in architecture. By theorizing on two concepts: the *architectural ideology* and *state ideology*, politics as a third element alongside ideology and politics will be analyzed. This chapter will also bring into discussion architecture's function as a tool for communicating between conflicting ideological and political discourses.

The last chapter of the first part, Chapter 3, aims to represent how architecture's interplay with ideology and politics is materialized in the city space. It brings into discussion the compatibility of ideological and political discourses with architectural and urban features such a form, style and technology, in modernist and postmodernist contexts. This chapter starts with the very concept of modernity, continuing with its contextualization in socialist

states, particularly in the post-Second World War Balkan region, and the emergence of postmodernism in the western culture.

Being able to follow a line of thinking, the second part of this thesis reflects the research aim, questions and hypotheses, through the case of Prishtina. In so doing, it will present a network of sites and buildings, used for the operationalization of the model. The second part – respectively chapter 4, 5 and 6 – creates the possibility to discuss this thesis in a practical level. By interpreting the theoretical framework through a case-study, involving specific existing buildings and urban settings, this part serves as mediator between theory and practice, proposing concrete scenarios for the current and future development of Prishtina.

Chapter 4 in an entry to the second part of the thesis, which is primarily concerned with the case of Prishtina. It will present an overall analysis of the ideological and political conditions in the city, Kosovo and former Yugoslavia in general, focusing on the period between the Second World War and Kosovo War (1945-2000). This chapter discusses two issues: 1) Former Yugoslavia's domestic and international affairs, and worldwide events impacting the situation within Yugoslavia; 2) The actions and reactions of political elites in Prishtina and former Yugoslavia, as well as those of the international community, towards domestic issues. Finally, it will define the critical junctures of Prishtina's modern history, resulting in the drafting and realization of relevant urban plans and architectural works.

Chapter 5 discusses the political and economic plans which influenced the urban form and urban architecture of Prishtina, by producing an ideological condition for the practice of urban planning. One of the key concepts that will be developed here, is the "Nova" as an ideologeme in the case of Prishtina. Chapter 6 deals with the architectural ideology, and will present architecture as a signifier and determiner of the destiny of the city. At the center is the episteme of architecture, producing a specific ideological condition and identity, expresses through landmark architecture. Chapter 7, the last one of this thesis, brings together the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

VIII. Principal Contribution and Expected Results

When thinking about architecture as language, the city is the physical space where this language is developed: architecture defines a spatial context, it (re)creates the city: architecture is a creation of the city that gives concrete form to the society (Rossi, 1984). Therefore, architecture – the building and city – is a representation of ideological and socio-political conditions and the vision associated with it. For example – and in support thereof – as it will be shown in this thesis, the socialist city is defined by modern architecture and city

planning, outlining that the emergence of new styles is always related to the political system and social emancipation. In support of this, 'architecture' in this thesis is referred to architectural and urban form, both to a building and an urban space or the concept of the city as a whole.

Architecture in the interplay between power, order, agency and imagination has been treated in several discourses dealing with different times from antiquity to the present day (cf. Benevolo 1963/1971; Tafuri 1973/1976; Lane 1986; Engh 2009; Ring, Steiner & Veel 2018; Heynen & Loosen 2019; Smart, 2020). In spite of this, it seems that nobody has hitherto identified the concrete ways in which architecture emerges as a field of contending or collaborating forces in relation to domestic and international ideologies and politics. We are therefore in need to identify a conceptual model by which we can apprehend the concrete ways in which the mix of domestic and international political pressures and ideological constructs impacts architecture and city planning across times. By so doing, through this research thesis we would be able to overlap the analysis of ideology and politics with the analysis of morphology, style and technology, in order to understand how and when architecture operates ideologically, using different study samples.

Finally, as this research will focus more on the period after WWII, it will analyze relevant events occurring at the time – modernism and postmodernism. In this context, this thesis shall infer the works of Jameson, "Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism" (1991) and Lyotard, "The Postmodern Condition" (1984), in the context of South-Eastern Europe during 1970-1990. Both scholars delved into postmodernism in a global scale, yet their discussion and cases are limited to the contexts of western culture.

Jameson, for instance, constructs his definition of postmodernism using John Portman's Westin Bonaventure Hotel as a point of departure. During the 1970s, in the United States (California), Portman – who was both an architect and a businessman – was building in postmodern style and was signifying capitalism through his architectural concepts and investments (cf. Jameson, 1991). Unlike the West, in the context of post-socialist states in South-Eastern Europe (particularly in former Yugoslavia), there were different cultural, political and socio-economic conditions and different actors involved in the building programme – a programme which was concerned with the promotion of socialism and social equality. Considering this, the research will contribute to the moderation of unilateral focus to western culture.

This research, is of interest and concerns several groups of specialists. First, it relates to the works and studies of architects, urban planners, philosophers, art and architectural historians, political scientists and historians. Hence, my thesis will hopefully be of interest to Universities, Ministries, local authorities and policy-makers. By testing the two-by-two matrix model against the city of Prishtina, with comparisons from other cities in Europe and the Balkans, this research contributes to our understanding of how ideology and politics impact creativity and meaning in architecture and city planning, by designing and developing a globally applicable model. In addition to this, the extending of the discourse on (post-) modernism in the context of post-socialist states and architectural developments will also be a contribution to the fields of inquiry.

In so doing, this research also projects how contemporary politics shall form both the future plan of the city and the future city. In the contemporary studies, there are some relevant texts, such as "Cities of Power: The Urban, the National, the Popular, the Global" (Therborn, 2017), "Living in the End Times" (Žižek, 2010), "Modern Architecture & Ideology" (Levine, 2018), "Architecture, Critique, Ideology" (Wallenstein, 2016), "Modern Times (Rancière, 2022), etc., which are concerned with current social and urban developments. They are important to engage with, because, upon completion, this research will create an approach toward understanding current challenges in the architectural practice. This community of researchers and writers, provides information needed to stimulate a critique on what is happening with the city, ideology and politics today, and which is architecture's function in these circumstances.

This will lead to questions that deal with current global crisis, such as: what represents the city and what is considered "new" today; which are the political implications of architecture and urban/spatial planning nowadays; which is the relation that is created between current conditions and the historical aspect of cities; how the future city can be discussed related to the triad Architecture – Ideology – Politics; and what kind of ideologies and politics can shape the future city. In conclusion, the principal (international and national) contributions of this thesis could be:

1). To identify a conceptual model by which we can apprehend the concrete ways in which the mix of domestic and international political pressures and ideological constructs impacts architecture and city planning across times

2). To extend the discourse on postmodernism in the context of post-socialist states, in South-Eastern Europe, as this discourse is often limited to the contexts of western cultures

3). To put Prishtina and Kosovo not only in the map of SEE, but also in the global map of modernist ideology, through the abstraction of the elements which constitute the "nova".

VIII.I. Expected Results

On one hand, by way of abstraction from my comparative case-study research, it is aspired to give answers to what happens to public architecture and city planning where there is a combination of: 1) high domestic and low international political-ideological forces; 2) high domestic and high international political-ideological forces; 3) low domestic and low international political-ideological forces; 4) low domestic and high international political/ideological forces. The result of this would be the modelling of architecture as a field of contending or collaborating, domestic and international political-ideological constructs. On the other hand, it is expected to define the morphological, stylistic and technological condition, in which architecture operates ideologically, or it "conceals" its ideological character.

VIII.II. Stakeholders

This research relates to the practices of architecture, urban and spatial planning, philosophy, art and architecture history and theory, politics and social sciences. Hence, it will hopefully be of interest to Universities, Ministries, local authorities and policymakers, and it would be useful to further studies related to the research topic.

VIII.III. International Interest in this Research

In addition to the above mentioned contributions, through the case of Prishtina, this research shall create an approach for studying the (re)creation of the capital cities of newly formed states, which is then aspired to be extrapolated in other cases to check its applicability. By extending the discourse on modernism and postmodernism in the context of Eastern culture, Prishtina's architecture is placed in the global map of modernist ideology, as an influential factor in current interdisciplinary studies.

PART 1.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: IDEOLOGY & POLITICS IN ARCHITECTURE AND CITY PLANNING

The Japanese philosopher and literary critic, Kojin Karatani, argues that architecture is a *par excellence* event in the sense that it is a creation that transcends the control of the creator (Karatani, 1995). In other words, an architectural work – distinct from a work of art – participates in the organization of the human life through its function on the (re)creation of the physical space of the society. Therefore, the study of architectural practice is not restricted in presenting architecture only as an autonomous field of human creativity:

> "*The history of architecture is no longer a history of remembering the architectural works of the past, or a history of the traces of positing architectural works as traces of techno-aesthetic and techno-artistic ideas. The history of architecture then becomes a critical history of the social relations of production, exchange, and consumption of 'architectural products' in their singular situatedness via politics and presentedness via ideology. In other words, paradoxically, architecture is something other than that which appears as direct affective experience before the body and the eye. That other must be explored*"
>
> (Šuvakovic, 2014, p. 12).

What Šuvakovic writes is valid, only if we are to accept the interrelation of architecture with ideology and politics. Put differently, if we are to accept that architecture is not a self-referential practice, but it is conditioned by and conditions the ideological and political reality. For illustration, the image of the modern city – created from uniform buildings positioned in series, where each would have its own minimal housing unit – it has an ideological function, be this a representation of movements such as Socialism, Humanism or Enlightenment. The urban plan of Rome during the Baroque period, for instance, is also a product of ideology, that of the Counter-Reformation and the contradictions within the catholic church – reflected with the reconstruction of the main basilicas and public spaces, commissioned by Pope Sixtus V (Caves, 2005).

Historically, architecture has been used as a n instrument for representing ideology and political power – whether by concealing or revealing them, – while the city was the field where this interplay occurred. In the works of critical thinkers and architectural theorists, such as Georg Simmel, Walter Benjamin, Manfredo Tafuri or Aldo Rossi, the city was the testing ground of theories and ideas that have been formative for the construction of critical

discussions on the function of the discipline of architecture. According to Tafuri, the problem of how to perceive the city, emerges as essential since the eighteenth century, "*it took a new turn with the invention of urbanism as a new discipline in the writings of Ildefonso Cerdá in the second half of the nineteenth century*", while was placed at the core of the research with the beginnings of modernism, particularly with the development of CIAM (Wallenstein, 2016, p. xxxi).

The modernist discourse is precisely at the center of this thesis, while this first part particularly includes discussions on both modernism and postmodernism (and/or contemporary theories) for the purpose of understanding how modern architecture and city planning emerged and developed internationally during the second half of the twentieth century. In this context, from the sixties and onwards – in relation to all the changes in political theory and practice, the history of philosophy, the world economy, and the overall cultural production that the date connotes – architecture, both built and projected, has been largely debated according to theoretical categories (Hays, 1998, p. x).

To analyze and interpret the issues related to the interaction of (post-)modern architecture with ideological and political instances, this part of the thesis initially focuses on defining the principal concepts and notions through which will be discussed the significant impact of twentieth-century (especially post-Second World War) political ideologies on social, urban *and* architectural development in particular. Here, architecture is studied as a metaphor for a language that facilitates communication between ideology and morphology, meaning and aesthetics, political power and the city. In this context, architecture transcends its "*fundamental dimension of human existence*" (Šuvakovic, 2014, p. 12). It transcends the character of habitation, elaborated with much precision by Marc Antoine Laugier in his "Essai sur l'architecture" (1755), through the concept of the "Primitive Hut".

The aim of this part of the thesis is to identify the fundamental epistemological premises by which we can interpret the relation between ideology, politics, architecture and city planning, and to apprehend how the first two instances influence, or to put it in Althusser's parlance, determine the last two instances (Althusser, 1971/2014); thus, bringing into discussion the ideological and formal compatibility in the modern and postmodern architecture. Architecture and city planning are treated as practices impacted and even shaped, by the dynamic of domestic and international ideologies and politics, arguing that the understanding of this relation can be framed within a model. The model, its

operationalization and utilization in relevant case-studies, are a constituent part of the methodological design that will be presented in detail in the following unit.

This part will also bring into discussion architecture as a domain of visualization of conflicting ideological and political discourses within the modern history. Furthermore, it will present relevant theories and practices related to architecture and the city in a modern and postmodern condition, by also comparing these two in order to understand their differences and the transition from the former to the latter. The whole discussion is illustrated using cases from a global context and particularly the Balkans and Southeastern Europe, in order to create the link with second part of this thesis, which focuses on the case of Prishtina within former Socialist Yugoslavia.
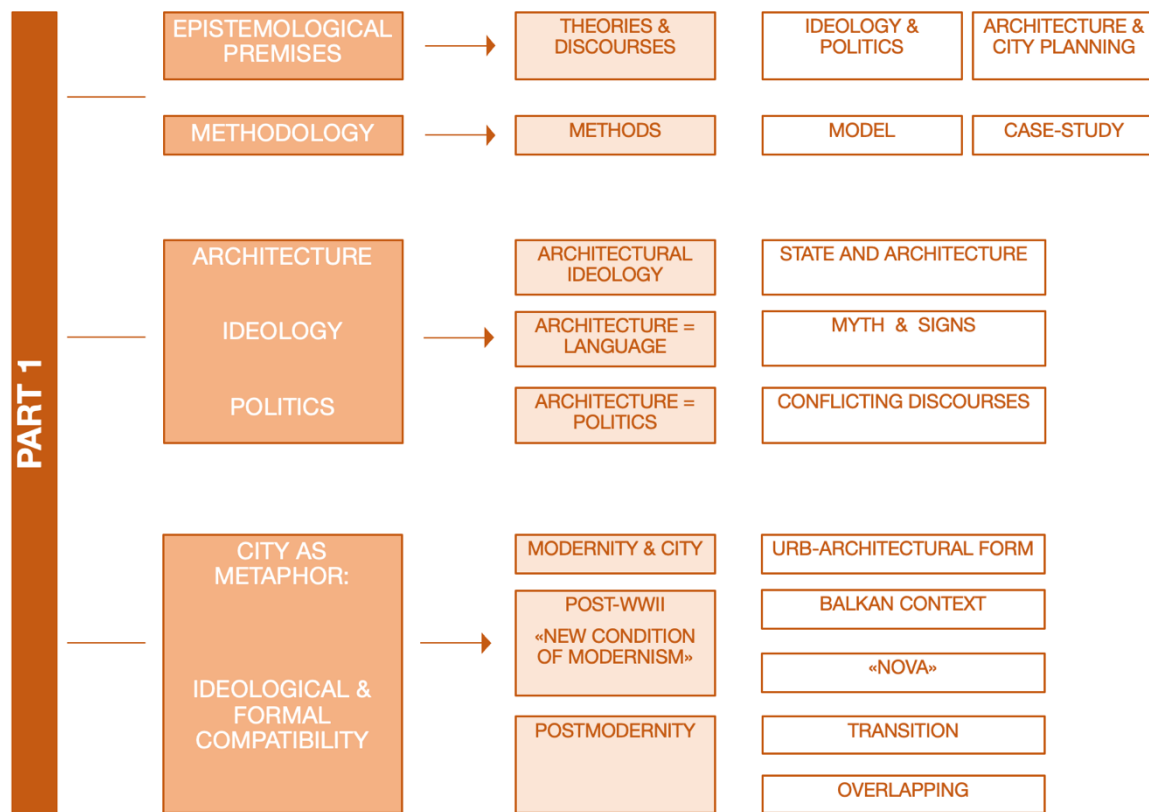
Fig. I. *Structure of the first part* (source: author)

CHAPTER 1.

EPISTEMOLOGICAL PREMISES & METHODOLOGY OF ENQUIRY

In order to develop the discussion on the interplay between architecture, ideology, politics and the city, this chapter defines the general research framework of this research thesis. By so doing, it will first construct the theoretical and epistemological premises upon which architecture is conceived as an ideological practice and political agent in the (re)creation of the city space. In addition, it will briefly discuss the main sources from literature review, from which derive the basic notions and concepts used in this thesis. Secondly, this chapter will present the methodological design and its application in the following chapters, including the used research methods, the model and variables, and the selected case studies.

1.1. EPISTEMOLOGICAL PREMISES

The first fundamental premise of this research, is that architecture (the building and the city) is an ideological practice which represents the (real or, on occasion imaginary) conditions of our existence within a political, economic, social and cultural reality. Architecture as ideology, using its technical, artistic and aesthetic dimensions, participates in the organization of the "individual and collective human life" occurring in the city space. Therefore, architecture is a material practice, a *signifier* of the human existence and its physical, visible environment: i.e., it represents the order of power, governance and existence (Šuvakovic, 2014). The city, particularly the urban setting, is the *space* in which architectural practice is developed and is in constant interplay with other fields of human activity. Thus, architecture defines a spatial context, and it (re)creates the city. As Aldo Rossi would put it, *"architecture is a creation of the city that gives concrete form to the society"* (Rossi, 1984, pp. 21-22). For instance – and in support thereof – the socialist city is defined by modernist architecture and city planning, outlining the fact that a *new* ideological and political system is always represented through *new* styles, building typologies, technologies, etc.

The study of the ideological context of architecture, imposes a discussion on the relation between architecture, the city as an architectural work (i.e. city planning) and politics. In other words, if we are to think of architecture as an ideological practice, then we have to consider the political conditions created from that specific ideology. In this regard, once we deal with public buildings – constructed, for instance, with public funds for public or institutional needs – the matter becomes political, as they are commissioned by local or national authorities. Athens under Pericles, Washington D.C at the time of George

Washington, the radical urb-architectural transformation of Paris commissioned by Napoleon III and carried out by Haussmann, Mussolini's Rome, or the Soviet imagination for the city, are some of the finest and concrete examples of a state commissioned programme for the construction of public architecture.

Considering that the building programme for a city manifests the political programme of the state, it also determines the principles for the construction of a particular identity, be it national, individual, architectural or other. For instance, America's representative democracy is reflected in the formal and aesthetical dimensions of L'Enfant's urban plan for the city of Washington D.C., whereas the preservation of former Yugoslavia's socialist political system until the late 90s, as an opposition to the full development of capitalism, was represented through the utilization of modernist principles in architectural projects and city planning.

1.1.1. Ideology, Politics, Architecture and City Planning

As it is understood from above, ideologies and politics are constructs of an objective world with which this thesis is concerned – the real world, or Althusser's real conditions of existence – whose built space is *(re)created* or shaped by architecture. Thus, this thesis is particularly concerned with how architecture gives formal and aesthetical qualities to ideologies and political ideas. This function of architecture is mainly related to the context of public spaces and buildings, as important fields of the *representation* of an identity – a national identity, i.e. of the state, – and a configuration formed out of the mix of international and domestic politico-ideological instances.

Architecture and city planning are not self-referential as they are not autonomous fields. There exists an inter-dependency of architecture with ideology and politics, materially and spatially represented in the city space. After architecture is rendered as a signifier of ideology and politics, then this inter-dependency also appears in relation to economy, culture and general social development. Ideology, in this thesis, is defined as the fundamental framework for the operation of architecture within the city. And this ideological character is most present and influential when it is concealed. Politics on the other side, is the driving force which instrumentalizes architecture and makes ideology concrete.

In this context, architecture is a *signifier* of ideology and not just a mere embodiment of it. This is supported by the fact that architecture is a material practice which has an active role in social events. Buildings – as architectural products – communicate messages, thereby positioning architecture as a signifier of socio-political changes and impacts, and aesthetical

and technical dimensions. Therefore, architecture and city planning are socially-determined (re-)constructions or *languages* of ideologies and politics.

As a material practice, architecture *as* ideology, exists in institutions, not in the spiritual world. In this context, public architecture and city planning – for instance, the "National and University Library of Kosovo", Prishtina's main square, or the city's urban development during the 1990s (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.2 and Chapter 6, Section 6.2) – are basically framed by institutions: the institutions Louis Althusser refers to appertain to what he terms Ideological State Apparatus (Althusser, 1971/2014, pp. 232-272). At this point, we can assume that architecture and city planning are set to meet institutional needs, which are dependent from the ideological and political constructs representing the state. Therefore, the changes in architecture and city planning manifest themselves more assertively when such institutional needs reflect the changes in ideological and political systems.

Architecture (particularly, architectural theory) has the function of a mediator between formal analyses of a building, its social ground and spatial context. This relation is created on a way which shows that an architectural work has an autonomous force through which it could also be seen as "*negating, distorting, repressing, producing, as well as reproducing, the context*" (Hays, 1998). Therefore, within the field of ideology and politics, as it will be demonstrated further in this thesis, architecture and city planning have an inner structure, as well as a language of their own, which can be deciphered through a model and interpreted in a spatial and temporal context. This context is discussed through *ideologems* such as the "nova" concept, used to describe the ideological and formal/spatial compatibility in the modern and postmodern architecture, represented through *new* architecture and *new* cities. Although it is a term that corresponds to novelty, "nova" does not always represent something new and innovative. Yet, it is used to interpret the specific changes and transformations stimulated by ideological and political instances occurring in the city, which are *new* in comparison to a former, *old*, condition.

EPISTEMOLOGICAL PREMISES

IDEOLOGY & POLITCS	CONSTRUCTS OF AN OBJECTIVE WORLD	SHAPED BY ARCHITECTURE
	REPRESENTING THE STATE	

INTER-DEPENDEND

ARCHITECTURE & THE CITY — SOCIALLY DETERMINED RECONSTRUCTIONS & LANGUAGES

PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE & URBAN SPACE = IDEOLOGICAL STATE APPARATUS

INNER STRUCTURE & LANGUAGE DECIPHERED THROUGH A MODEL

SPACE TIME FORM STYLE TECHNOLOGY

Fig. 1.1. *Diagram of epistemological premises* (source: author)

Theoretical Premises

The research on architecture's ideological and political function is related to architectural theory and criticism, while it is largely influenced by studies from the history of architecture. Therefore, this thesis deals with terms such as history, theory, critique and critical theory, as conceived and utilized within the architectural discipline. Generally, this discourse is placed in a modernist (and postmodernist) context and refers to the theories of the Frankfurt School, particularly the legacy of Walter Benjamin and Theodor Adorno (Wallenstein, 2016). It also denotes a philosophical tradition beginning with Kant, continuing with Hegel and Marx, with Argan, Cacciari, Tafuri, Benevolo, Giedion and others, and recently with Karatani, Žižek and their contemporaries. Within this discourse we have a co-existence at the same level of the three key terms of this thesis, both in theory (i.e., "the generality of concepts") and practice (i.e., "the particularity of practices"): architecture, ideology, politics. And, in order for this co-existence to be understood, we cannot refer exclusively to buildings, but we must include large-scale urban structures, socio-spatial contexts and explore spatial signifying practices in general (Wallenstein, 2016).

For reference, both Leonardo Benevolo and Manfredo Tafuri have argued that there is a strong relationship between the practice of architecture and urbanism with that of ideology and politics. One of the fundamental thesis of Benevolo, introduced in his well-known work "*The Origins of Modern Town Planning*", emphasizes the fact that the history of modern town planning should strengthen the relation between the practice of urbanism and politics (Benevolo, 1963/1971), in order for their co-existence to be productive. Therefore, it is important that reforms in city planning should be realized alongside general political and social reforms (Benevolo, 1963/1971). From Benevolo, we understand that even the most technical attempts for improving the methods of modern city planning, bear an ideological charge, as they do not simply correspond with the beginnings of modern socialism, but they mirror modern socialist ideology (Benevolo, 1963/1971).

Tafuri on the other side, by criticizing architecture's alliance with politics, particularly with capitalism, emphasizes the relation between the two practices. What unites his thought is the topic of crisis: "*crisis of the architectural object, of the subject-architect, of ideology, of history, of critique, and of language*" (Hays, 1998). Following Tafuri, we understand that changes in ideological and political systems are evident through the urban form itself (for urban form being something architectural). For instance, in Italy, with the fall of the grand narratives of socialism, the image of the city that was previously represented through minimal and uniform housing unit distributed in space in a serial order, is dissolved into smaller, decentralized units (i.e. urban plates). Differently put, the modern image is replaced by a postmodern one. Furthermore, Manfredo Tafuri's work on architecture and modernism enfolds a Marxists discourse by making architecture – "*when it is most itself, most pure, most rational, most attendant to its own techniques – the most efficient ideological agent of capitalist planification*", both in terms of politics and economy (Hays, 1998, p. xii).
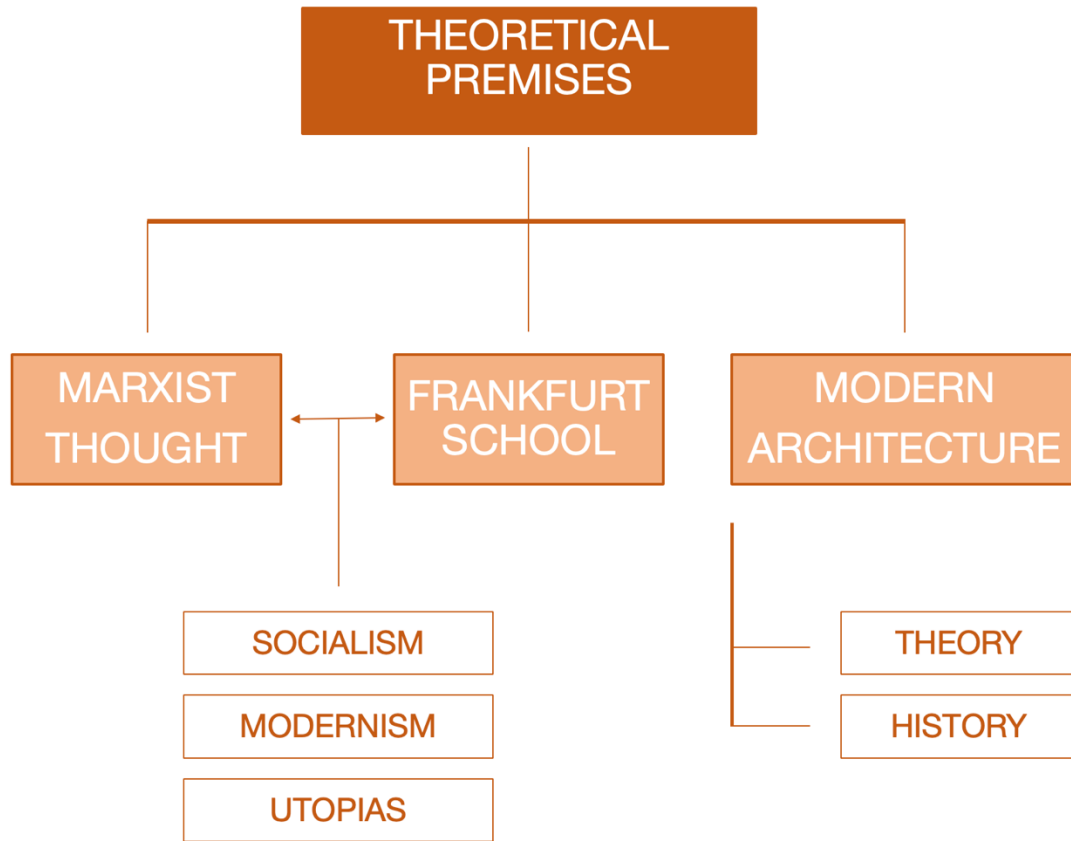
Fig. 1.2. *Diagram of theoretical premises* (source: author)
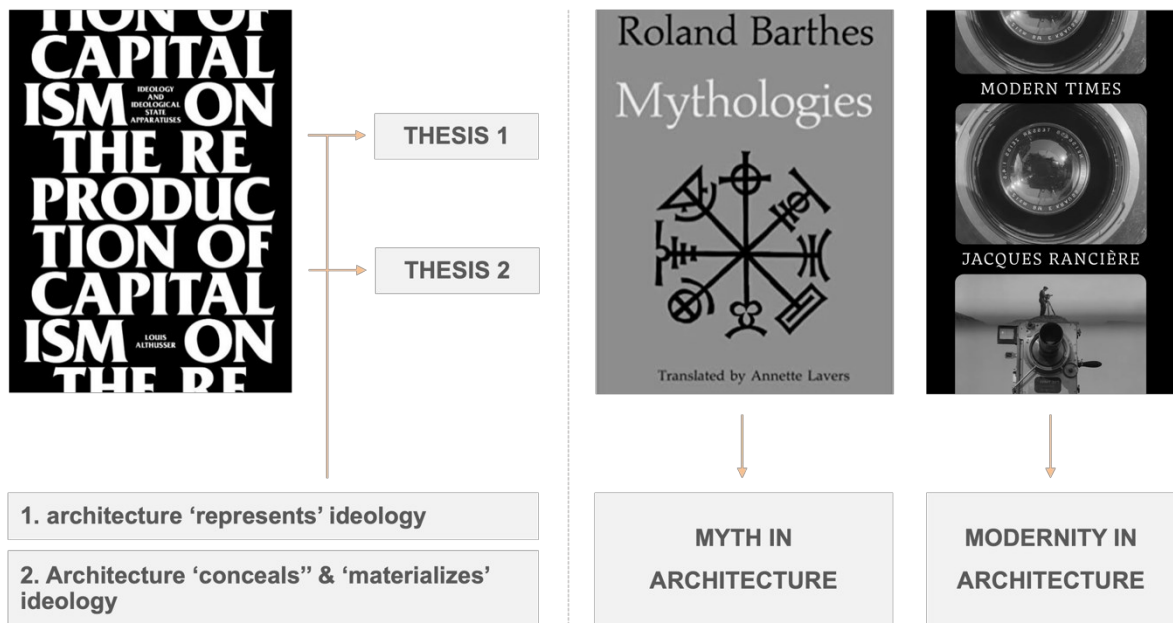
Fig. 1.3. *Contextualization of theoretical premises* (source: author)

1.2. METHODOLOGY OF ENQURIY

The study and interpretation of architecture's interplay with ideology and politics in this thesis is based on a complex methodological approach, including a group of methods to be followed and a model particularly designed to comprehend such an interplay [**Fig. 1.3**]. The structure of the methodological design consists of two general plans. The first plan explains the ways (i.e. methods) through which the relation between architecture, city planning, ideology and politics will be studied and interpreted. While the second plan contains the proposed model through which the key aspects of this thesis will be contextualized and concretized. The proposed model includes a detailed explanation of the variables through which it will be operationalized, and the proxies through which architectural works will be interpreted.

Through a mixed methodological design, the findings from this research will be utilized in the case of Prishtina, the capital city of the nascent state of Kosovo. Although a case-study research is an approach which promotes in-depth analysis of a limited range of research materials, it has been criticized as providing an inadequate base for generalizations, as granting a central role to the researcher and being difficult to replicate and time consuming (Yin, 2003; Yin, 2018). To mitigate these limitations, this thesis shall provide a comparative perspective to the research findings.

To avoid the narrow base of case-study research from its inception, in the course of its development, different study cases will be used for comparative purposes. These cases are not selected to compare the city of Prishtina in terms of temporal changes and impacts, but rather, based on the typology and morphology of the architectural and urban product. To set the conceptual framework and generally interpret the interplay of architecture, ideology and politics, the cases of Parthenon from Classical Athens and the 1791 urban plan of Washington, D.C., designed by L'Enfant, will be used. On the other hand, to contextualize this framework, the architectural and urban phenomena within the city of Prishtina, will be compared to other former socialist capitals in former Yugoslavia and South-Eastern Europe, and capitals whose urban fabric has undergone radical transformations pushed by political regimes.

1.2.1. Methods

The methodology that is used in this thesis, is formed by a combination of several research methods, such as literature review, text and discourse analysis, archival research, field work, morphological and typological analysis, iconology and case-study research**.** The mixed-methodology is considered probably the most complete research design because the strength of each design will complement each other, while the weaknesses of each design will be substantially offset (Groat & Wang, 2013). Furthermore, the combination of such methods is necessitated by the interdisciplinary dimension of this research and the tools that are used in architectural studies in general.

Literature Review & Text and Discourse Analysis

Initially, in order to study ideology and politics, literature review and text and discourse analysis are utilized. This method is important for developing a way of thinking and the means for writing and interpreting, based on the works of other scholars (Efron & Ravid, 2019; Feak & Swales, 2009; Locke, 2004; Weiss & Wodak, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 1999). The way in which the treatment of literature review in this thesis can be seen, is divided in three main aspects: a) literature as a foundation – which has helped in the construction of the whole research work; b) literature as a demonstration – which has helped in the presentation of similar examples; c) literature as a voice – which shows the impact on the presented research work.

In his book "Architecture and Its Interpretation: A Study of Expressive Systems in Architecture", Juan Pablo Bonta highlights the study of texts and documents as a way of recording people's reaction to architecture and art, including journalists, critics, historians, etc. (Bonta, 1979). Similar to the empirical approach, when the researchers conduct textual analysis, they have an external source of data (Bonta, 1979). Bonta continues by indicating how this method is used in architectural research: "*This method has been far less used that field studies for instance. It has been employed only occasionally in Europe, where studies of meaning in architecture have been generally associated with historical scholarship*" (Bonta, 1979, p. 66).

Archival Research

Except from literature review and text and discourse analysis, archival research is another method used in the study of architecture and city planning, as well as for finding relevant documents related to important political events and decisions (Frisch, Harris & Kelly, 2012; Gilliland, McKemmish & Lau, 2016; Groat & Wang, 2013; Niezabitowska, 2018; Olin, 2000). Using this method, this thesis will document existing public buildings through plans, elevations, sections, drawings and photographs. Regarding the study of ideology and politics, the necessity of doing archival research relies on the fact that archives contain the kind of behind-the-scenes data and analysis, and planning and strategy documents that shed light on how real-life political actors perceive complex and uncertain contexts, and make decisions and choices of action in light of those perceptions (Frisch, Harris & Kelly, 2012). In this way we will be able to understand the ideologico-political or institutional conditions as the set of contradictory and collaborative contextual factors.

The content of archival records – letters, financial reports, oral histories, photographs and videos, maps, blueprints, etc. (Gilliland, McKemmish & Lau, 2016, p. 561) – must be understood and interpreted. Therefore, it is important to have information about the politico-economic and socio-cultural context of these records. For instance, while studying the blueprints of the National Library in Prishtina (1971-82), it is necessary to analyze its central position in the University of Prishtina Campus, as well as its relation to the Orthodox Church (1995) constructed within the Campus[1].

This analysis includes a discussion regarding the form, height, style, etc., of the two buildings and the urban plot in which they are located, and the political conditions during the time of their construction. Besides this, it would be relevant to bring into discussion the reaction of Bashkim Fehmiu[2] (the architect and urban planner who designed the plan of the University Center in Prishtina) towards the construction of the Orthodox Church which did not correspond to his design, together with the political statements issued by Prishtina (capital city of Kosovo) and Belgrade (capital city of former Yugoslavia).

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[1] Both of these buildings, the National and University Library of Kosovo and the Serbian Orthodox Church, are among the case-studies from the city of Prishtina, which will be analyzed and interpreted in detail in Part 2, Chapter 6, Section 6.1.

[2] Bashkim Fehmiu was the first graduated Kosovar Albanian architect, after the Second World War. He was the founder of the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Prishtina, and a Professor at the Department of Urbanism. Fehmiu was also director of the Institute of Urbanism and Design in Prishtina.

The materials searched in archives include [**Table 1.1**]:

1) Urban plans: a) Development Plans, b) General Urban Plans, c) Regulatory Plans; planning normativities and the legal framework. These three types of planning documents, with interest to this research, belong to the time period between late 1950s and 2000s, respectively to the year 1953, the late 1960s, early 1980s, 2004 and 2014.

2) Architectural plans, drawings or blueprints: ground/floor plans, sections, elevations, details and 3-dimensional models; belonging to the late 1920s, late 1950s, 1968, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, 2004, 2008, 2014, 2019.

3) Date of construction, inauguration, or restauration, including the periods when the buildings were closed to the public, date of re-inauguration or re-functionalization (Years: 1880s, late 1920s, late 1950s, 1968, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, 2004, 2008, 2014, 2019).

4) Important events and politicians' visits that occurred in these buildings, including politicians' speeches related to the buildings that will be studied (at the moment of their inauguration or before/after that), in order to understand their intention and the identity they wanted to give to these buildings. (Years: late 1950s, 1968, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, 2004, 2008, 2014, 2019);

5) Relevant articles published on journals, daily newspapers, and TV and radio records, such as: materials related to political and social-cultural events that occurred in the city of Prishtina during the identified study periods; materials that inform us about the relationship of these buildings and the politico-economic and socio-cultural actuality; materials related to the architecture of the buildings, architects' intentions, period of construction, inauguration, reconstruction or restauration (Years: late 1950s, 1968, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, 2004, 2008, 2014, 2019);

6) Financial reports and relevant documents, to analyze the finances and the cost of construction. (Years: late 1950s, 1968, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, 2004, 2008, 2014, 2019).

The relevant institutions in Prishtina (Kosovo) where the above-mentioned archival materials/records are found [**Table 1.1**]:

1) The State Archive of the Republic of Kosovo;

2) The Archive of the Municipality of Prishtina;

3) The former private library and archive of architect Bashkim Fehmiu, that is now part of the Library of the Faculty of Architecture, University of Prishtina;

4) The Archive of the National and University Library of Kosovo;

5) The Archive of Kosovo Institute for the Protection of Monuments;

6) The Archive of the former publishing house "Rilindja";

7) The Archive of Kosovo Institute of History;

8) The Library of the Academy of Science and Arts of the Republic of Kosovo;

9) The Archives of former Radio and Television of Prishtina, and Radio and Television of Kosovo;

10) The Archive of the Youth and Sports Center in Prishtina
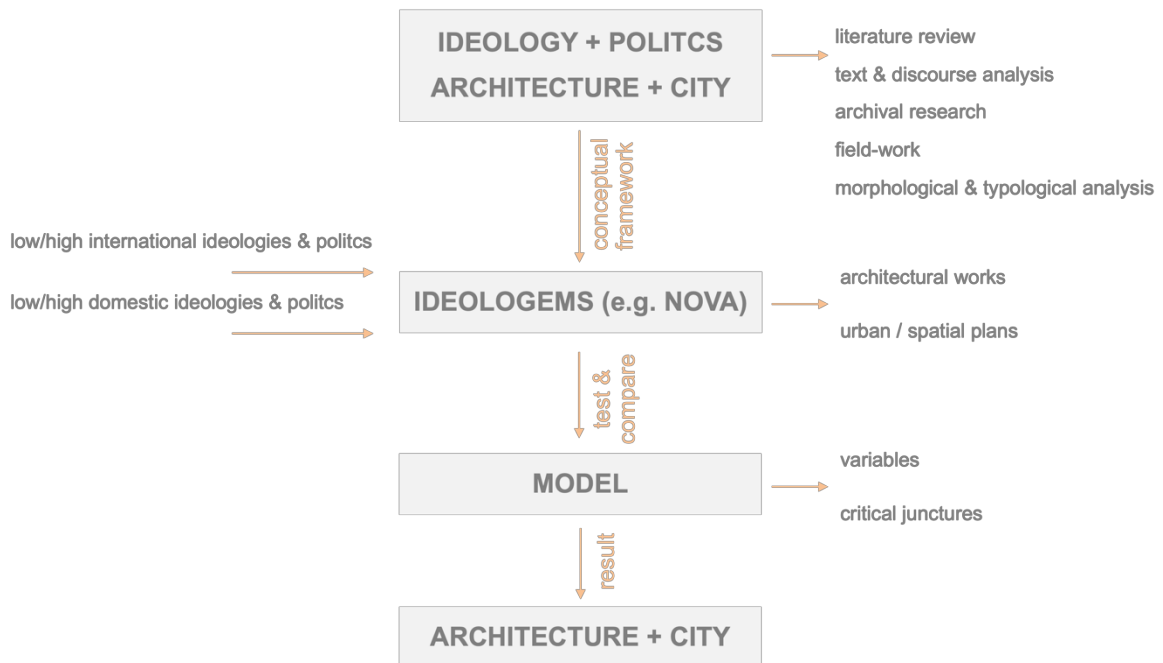
Fig. 1.4. *Diagram of proposed methodology* (source: author)

INSTITUTION	MATERIALS
The State Archive of the Republic of Kosovo	1. Urban Plans; General Urban Plans; Regulatory Plans; Development Plans 2. Architectural drawings, plans & blueprints 3. Documents: Constitution; Normativities; etc. 4. Relevant dates; political decisions; events; speeches; declarations; etc. 3. Photographs
The Archive of the Municipality of Prishtina	1. Urban Plans; General Urban Plans; Regulatory Plans; Development Plans 2. Architectural drawings, plans & blueprints 3. Photographs
The former private library and archive of architect Bashkim Fehmiu, that is now part of the Library of the Faculty of Architecture, University of Prishtina	1. Urban Plans; General Urban Plans; Regulatory Plans; Development Plans 2. Architectural drawings, plans & blueprints 3. Letters 4. Photographs
The Archive of the National and University Library of Kosovo	1. Texts & descriptions 2. Relevant publications 3. Daily press
The Archive of Kosovo Institute for the Protection of Monuments	1. Architectural drawings, plans & blueprints 2. Photographs
The Archive of the former publishing house "Rilindja"	1. Daily press
The Archive of Kosovo Institute of History	1. Historical documents 2. Publications
The Archives of former Radio and Television of Prishtina, and Radio and Television of Kosovo	1. Photographs and records 2. Inauguration events, speeches, etc.
The Archive of the Youth and Sports Center in Prishtina	1. Architectural drawings, plans & blueprints 2. Photographs

Table. 1.1. *List of documents from archives and archival institutions in Prishtina*
(source: author)

Field Work & Morphological and Typological Analysis

Field-work research is also a useful method for the documentation of existing public buildings and their urban settings. In field-work, the studied buildings are documented thorough measuring, photographing, examining their conditions and searching for possible interventions, extensions or restorations. Their graphical representation is made through photography and the drawings of plans, elevations and sections, drawings. Except from focusing on the building itself, its façade, interior and structure, this research analyses how the internal communicates with the external, and how the buildings communicate with their surroundings and the city.

Part of field-work activities are also morphological and typological analyses. Thus, "*studies that incorporate analyses of multiple and complex variables should be included*", in order to "*illuminate broad categories of spatial relationship and formal attributes*" from the scale of the city to urban assemblages, to buildings and building interiors (Groat & Wang, 2013, p. 300). An effective method for this purpose, is Kevin Lynch's method of mapping the city, using the five general categories of urban features: path, edge, node, landmark, and district (Lynch, 1960). In this case, it will be helpful to visually identify and interpret the ideologico-political "sites" developed from the combination of each study period and study sample.

Iconology

In order to combine and interpret the findings from the research on ideology, politics, architecture and city planning, in the process of developing the research model, an iconological approach will be used. As iconology is concerned with the meaning and interpretation of objects/images and their 'symbolical' values (Panofsky, 1995), it is used as a method while investigating the significance of the architectural works (buildings and urban blocks) which are selected as study samples within this thesis. Being concerned with related philosophical or political ideas, and the correlation between intelligible concepts and the visible form (Panofsky, 1995), iconology corresponds to the interpretation of the case-study and comparative cases used in this thesis.

1.2.2. Model and its Operationalization

The second aspect of this thesis' methodological design consists in a model which will be utilized in order to discuss the ways in which the practice of architecture and city planning is interrelated with ideology and politics. Architecture in the interplay between power, order, agency and imagination has been treated in several discourses dealing with different times from antiquity to the present day (cf. Benevolo 1963/1971; Tafuri 1973/1976; Lane 1986; Engh 2009; Ring, Steiner & Veel 2018; Heynen & Loosen 2019; Smart, 2020). In spite of this, it seems that nobody has hitherto identified the concrete ways in which architecture emerges as a field of contending or collaborating forces in relation to domestic and international ideologies and politics. We are therefore in need to design a conceptual model by which we can apprehend how the mix of domestic and international political pressures and ideological constructs impacts architecture and city planning across times.

Model and Variables

Arguing about the centrality of the dynamic interaction – collaboration and/or contradiction – between high and low domestic and international ideologies and politics as power forces impacting (and impacted by) architecture and city planning, this research will use a two-by-two matrix model [**Fig.1.4**]. The model will test how these interactions reflect on particular changes in the architecture of the city, said otherwise, on the (re)creation of the city itself. In view of the thesis' aim, this research identifies two sets of variables through which the model will be operationalized and tested in time and space:

> *Independent Variables:*
>
> 1) Domestic ideological and political constructs
>
> 2) International ideological and political constructs
>
> *Dependent Variables:*
>
> 1) Architecture (public buildings)
>
> 2) City Planning (urban plans and urban blocks)

This research does not represent architecture as a practice predominantly dependent by ideology or politics, but there are specific moments when the creative activity, aesthetical values and technological progress is impacted by ideological premises and political events. Thus, architecture, city planning, ideology and politics are structured with each other: if we assume that there are changes in ideological and political constructs within specific moment of history – which will be further identified as *critical junctures* (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.3),

– then, there will probably be changes in architecture and city planning. Such changes, for instance, are related to formal or aesthetical transformations within the city, or the restoration or demolition of specific buildings. Ideology and politics in this case are the premises. We do not expect for the domestic and international constructs to work simultaneously, therefore, it cannot be both high and low international or domestic politics, they are either high or either low. We expect that the inflection in specific ideological and political events (*critical junctures*), is the moment of a specific architectural and urban development [**Fig. 1.5**].

By way of abstraction from the comparative study cases, it is expected to be identified and interpreted how the architectural and urban form, operates ideologically. In this context, this research aspires to give answers to what happens to public architecture and city planning where there is a combination of:

1) high domestic and low international ideological and political pressures;
2) high domestic and high international ideological and political pressures;
3) low domestic and low international ideological and political pressures;
4) low domestic and high international ideological and political pressures.
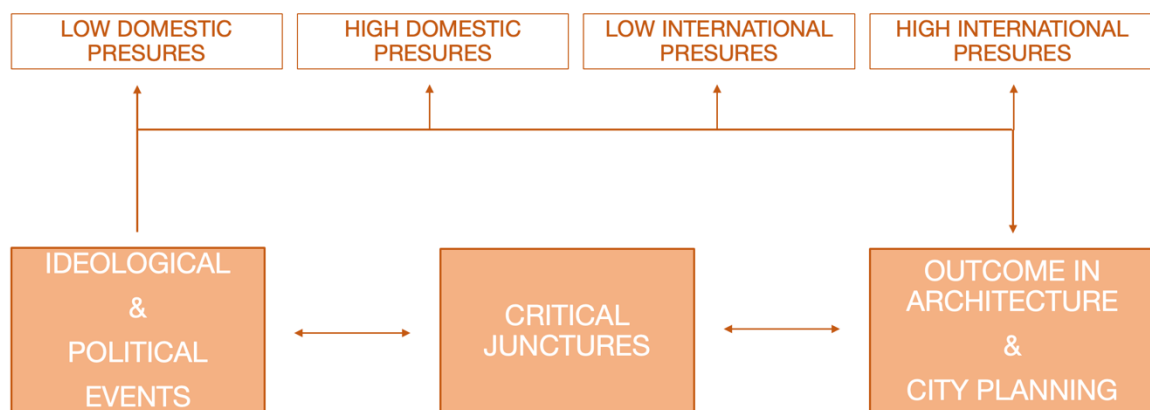
Fig. 1.5. *Diagram of Critical Junctures* (source: author)

Proxies: Centrality and Perceptibility

In order to analyze architecture (public architecture) and city planning subjects within the model, proxies – defined as *centrality* and *perceptibility* – are identified. These two terms are introduced by Robert Hayden in the book "*Post-Ottoman Coexistence. Sharing Space in the Shadow of Conflict*" edited by P. Bryant (2016). Hayden uses the term "religiospace" to discuss a space characterized by the physical manifestation of religion and society that is identified with it, thus, constituting a space marked by physical objects and social relations and behaviors (Hayden, 2016, p. 71). Going further in his analysis, Hayden is interested in the cases in which two social groups of different religions share the same physical territory. He discusses the concept of *Antagonist Tolerance* as a model where "tolerance" exists as long as one religious group is "dominant over others", a dominance that is indicated by the control on religious sites, i.e. physical space (Hayden, 2016, p. 67), represented by two features of the site: *centrality* and *perceptibility*:

> "*Centrality refers to location within a settlement, or perhaps proximity to locations of important economic and political activities. Perceptibility refers to features of a structure that make it more perceptible: height, mass, color, projections of sound are examples. In all cases, the greater the indicator, the higher the assertion of dominance*" (Hayden, 2016, p. 72).

In this thesis, *centrality* and *perceptibility* are utilized to apprehend the visible outcome in the architecture of the city, produced by the dominance of international or domestic ideological and political constructs at a given moment, in a specific spatial context. *Centrality* now refers to the location of a specific architectural work (study sample) within the city; the formal configurations that this architecture (re)creates within that location and the relation of that specific location with other locations in the city; the ideological and political influences; and the economic aspect which includes cost and finances of a building or urban plan. *Perceptibility* on the other hand, it refers to features of an architectural work related to its formal, aesthetical and technical aspects: morphology, typology, style, size and scale, height, influences, extensions of a building, expansion or contraction of an urban plan and extensions of existing cities.

The designed model will be utilized through the case-study of Prishtina, in order to record how architecture and city planning function as ideological and political practices, thereby addressing the research questions and some global conceptual problems in the field of inquiry. Through the case of Prishtina, this research shall create an approach for studying

the (re)creation of the capital cities of newly formed states, which will be further extrapolated in other cases to check its applicability.

Model Operationalization

Whereas architecture signifies a process of creation – based on the personal ideas of the creator, the architect – it must be so that it can be driven by a specific ideology. For, as the tradition of Freud-Lacanian psychoanalysis predicates, "personal ideas" are never merely personal (Althusser, 1971/2014, p. 17); they are always affected by political, social, economic or cultural circumstances. By extension, a building is not merely a reflection of its architect's creativity, but also an embodiment of politics and power, for whose interpretation one has to look at political configurations formed out of international and domestic ideologies and politics.

This research does not represent architecture as a practice dominated by ideology and politics. However, there are specific moments when the creative activity, morphological characteristics, aesthetical and linguistic attributes, and technological progress, are impacted by ideological premises and political events. Thus, architecture, city planning, ideology and politics are structured alongside each other. Hence, although not all changes in architecture and city planning can be exclusively attributed to ideological and political changes, changes in ideological and political constructs within specific moments of history – to be later termed as *critical junctures* – are always somehow reflected in changes in architecture and city planning. Such changes, for instance, are related to formal or aesthetical transformations within the city, the restoration or demolition of specific buildings.

Ideology and politics in this case are the premises. We expect for domestic and international constructs to work simultaneously, but with different intensity. Said otherwise, domestic and international pressures are measured to have a particular intensity: they are either high or low. What this thesis aims to demonstrate is that a specific ideological and political event (observed during *critical junctures*) is the moment of a specific relevant architectural and urban development.

By way of abstraction from the comparative study cases (Parthenon and Washington D.C., chapter 2) and the main case-study (the city of Prishtina, chapters 4, 5 and 6), this research aspires to give answers to what happens to public architecture and city planning when there is a combination of: 1) high domestic and low international ideological and political pressures; 2) high domestic and high international ideological and political pressures; 3) low domestic and low international ideological and political pressures; 4) low

domestic and high international ideological and political pressures. It is in this context, that we anticipate identifying and interpreting how the architectural and urban form, operates ideologically.

International ideological and political constructs / pressures

International constructs/pressures are defined in this thesis as external power forces – states and relevant international organizations – intervening in domestic affairs. On one hand, they are considered to be high when they work as a "lobby actor" constraining the choices of local actors (Kalemaj, 2014, p. 76). By that means, international constructs function by imposing the ideological background of the intervening state or organization and attempt to influence government action in the realms of architecture and city planning. On the other hand, when international power forces are indifferent to domestic politics, at least as far as architecture and city planning are concerned, or as weak as to be unable to lobby efficiently, their pressures are defined to be low.

Domestic ideological and political constructs / pressures

Domestic constructs/pressures on the other hand, are defined as the power exerted by domestic elites. Such pressures are termed to be high, when diverse clashing political elites engage in a struggle to overbid or outperform each other for political gains, often sliding towards populism or even nationalism, operating primarily when international pressures are low (Kalemaj, 2014, p. 78). Domestic pressures are considered to be high when elite struggle exists, or, there are ideological and political clashes between different powerful domestic actors (position, opposition and individuals/groups aspiring political power who may exercise political influence). On the other hand, low domestic pressures are termed to be those conditions in domestic ideologies and politics, where there is wide consensus or at least no strong opposition to the power force. In this case, the interest is to analyse the elite struggle in those relevant domestic events with high or low international interest, in order to understand their outcome in urban architecture, architectural works and the image of the city.
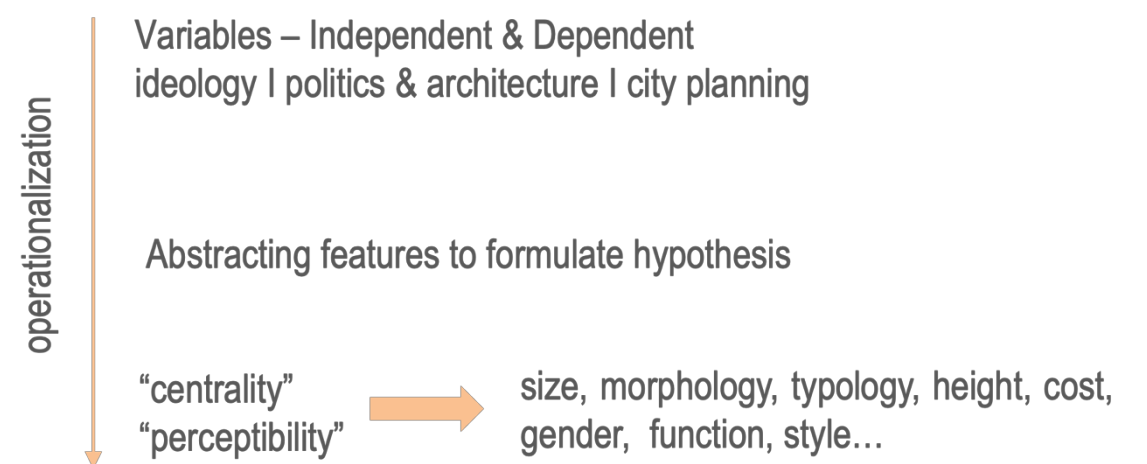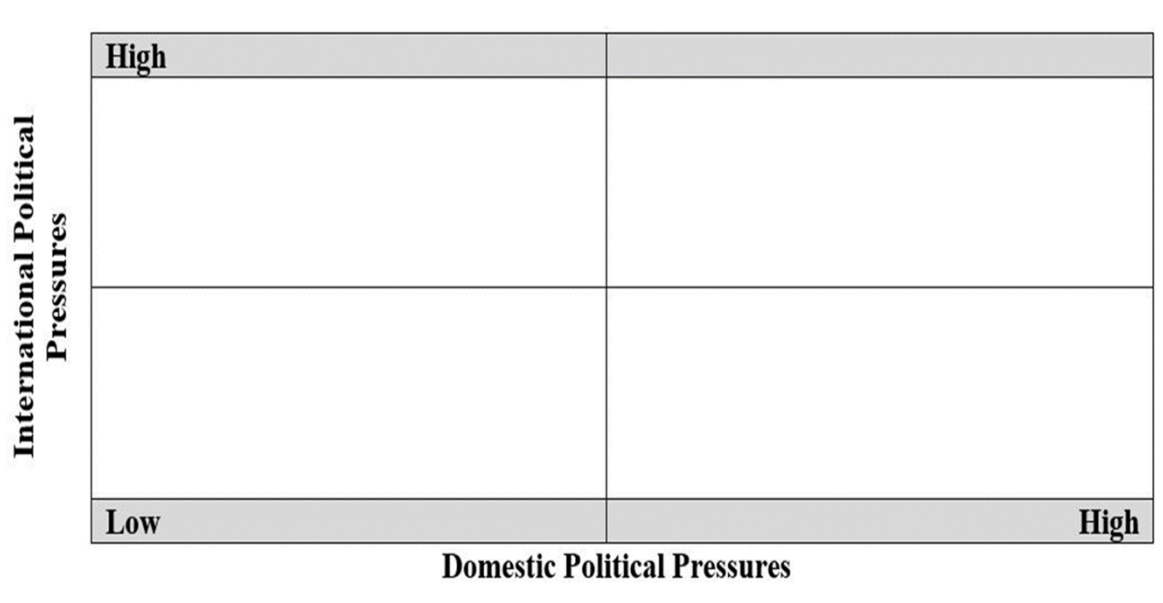
Fig. 1.6. *Model of measuring the impact of domestic and international ideological and political pressures in architecture and the city* (source: author)

1.2.3. Case Study Selection and its Rationale: The City of Prishtina

This research will focus on the context of post-socialist states in the Balkans, looking at architecture, *extensions* to the cities, as well as *new* cities within the critical political junctures, focusing on the city of Prishtina. Prishtina's modern architecture and city planning – involving the context of former Yugoslavian cities – is a particular case that will interpret the process of modernization in these two practices, parallel to that of ideology and politics. The city of Prishtina is the main case-study, through which the research questions and concerns of this thesis will be addressed and examined accordingly, and also used as the discussion ground for the current and proposed future concept of the city.

Case Study

Prishtina is used as a case study on account of its particular history in the course of the twentieth and twenty-first century. It is the capital city of a post-socialist country that developed in the aftermath of four wars (Balkan Wars and WWI – WWII – Kosova War), and it experienced a radical shift in ideological and political systems (from Austro-Hungarian imperial policies and Serbian nationalism to the Yugoslav federal socialism, back to Serbian nationalism until its independence in 2008). The city is characterized by a complex architecture and city planning practices, it is layered in different time periods encompassing contemporary pre-modern, modern and postmodern features.

As Prishtina transformed from a big city to a provincial capital and from there to the capital city of the nascent state of Kosovo, it is arguably a good case whereby, on account of its major political changes, architecture has been used as an ideological and political metaphor and instrument on (re)creating the *new* city and state. Prishtina is justified as an in-depth case selection on account of the absence of systematic analysis in conceptualizing public architecture and urban planning shifts and their relevance to current ideologies and politics to the present day. This research deals with the public architecture of Prishtina, i.e. with edifices built for an explicit public use through state funds (for example the National and University Library, the Parliament Building, the Youth and Sports Center, etc.), or private funds and limited – if any – state funding (for example mosques or churches), and it is confined to an urban and not a rural setting, which was deemed necessary to tame an otherwise vast research material.

Comparative Case Studies

As discussed above, the methodological design in general and the two-by-two matrix model in particular will be developed by testing them in temporal (critical junctures) and spatial (study samples) terms, in the case of (post-)modern Prishtina. Yet, in order to validate the outcome of this research and to design a model which is globally applicable, a comparative approach it is followed in addition to a case-study research. Therefore, the model will be tested in two different contexts, before applying it to the city of Prishtina. The first comparative case-study is the Parthenon Building, while the second case is the urban plan of Washington D.C. by L'Enfant, which is analyzed in conjunction with Manfredo Tafuri's *ideology of the plan*.

The rationale behind the selection of these two cases lies in the fact that they are both well-known works, *signifiers* of the architecture's interplay with ideology and politics as power forces, starting from classicism to the present day. The hypothesis abstracted from these cases will be tested in the case of Prishtina. Both the case of Parthenon and Washington D.C are developed as separate research papers which are part of the research work on this thesis and the results will be presented here. In the course of developing and testing the model and hypotheses, other comparative case-studies – capital cities in the Balkans and former Yugoslavia, such as Tirana, Skopje, Belgrade and Sarajevo – will be introduced.

Periodization

In order to test the aforementioned two-by-two matrix model against a case study – the city of Prishtina – one has to look at all the ideological and political configurations formed out of domestic and international ideological and political forces. These configurations will be studied within a framework of specific *moments* related to relevant historical events that had an impact in architecture and its urban setting. These *moments* are defined as the *critical junctures* of Prishtina's modern history, and will be presented in detail in second part of this thesis (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.3). Within these *critical junctures*, under the pressure of ideological and political power forces, different urban plans and architectural works will be analyzed and interpreted, in order to comprehend the concrete ways in which architecture operates ideologically and politically.

Critical junctures are essentially historical and temporal. They emerge from the combination of a group of ideological, political, economic, social and cultural developments from previous periods and have an impact on future events. Therefore, in this section is important to define which are the indicative periods for defining Prishtina's *critical*

junctures. As this thesis is concerned with the modern history of Prishtina, this periodization presents a time frame including the initial stages of modern architecture and city planning in the region, continuing with socialist modernism, the emergence of postmodernism in the international discourse, and the post-socialist and contemporary times. Although the focus of this research is on the period between 1945 and 2000 which corresponds to the history of Prishtina within Socialist Yugoslavia, the other periods are used to understand the beginnings of socialism and modernism, and the transition to the current state. Such periods are [**Table. 1.2**]:

1. The period after the Balkan Wars (1912)

After the fall of the Ottoman rule, Albania declared its independence and with this act Kosovo was separated from the Albanian territory. Kosovo became part of the "Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" (1918-1929), which was transformed into the "Kingdom of Yugoslavia" in 1929, until 1945 when the "Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia" was created. Kosovo was separated from Albania, together with considerable parts of territory, which is today inside the official geographical borders of Greece, North Macedonia and Montenegro. This period is not known for distinct urban development and architectural works in the city of Prishtina, expect from three or four public buildings characterized by a modernist architectural style developed under Austro-Hungarian influences, and a very small number of private houses reflecting the beginning of the utilization of modern architecture in the housing sector.

2. Socialist Yugoslavia 1945 – the post- Second World War period

The moment of transformation of Yugoslavia in a socialist federation is a moment of fundamental political, social and cultural changes. After 1945 Prishtina was recognized as the capital city of Kosovo. This period is characterized with destruction – construction activities in the name of creating a *Yugoslavian Identity* based on the principles of socialism and modernism. Architecture was an important tool for reflecting the socialist ideology, considered as a language of communication between politics and society. The city became an area of constructing political ideologies and promoting architectural values by building and planning on the premises of modernist architecture and urbanism.

3. Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo (1968) 1974 – 1989

Even though after the Second World War (1945), Kosovo – and therefore, Prishtina – experienced an economic, political, social, urban and architectural development, the most important period starts from 1968. The changes in the political discourse within Yugoslavia starting from this year, led to the recognition of Kosovo as a Socialist Autonomous Province,

with an almost equal status to other Yugoslavian states. The period between 1970s and 1980s is known for numerous investments in public, educational, cultural and industrial areas. For Prishtina this is an important period for politics, city planning and architecture: it was the beginning of constructing public/state buildings, reflecting the development of political and social domains. From this period a number of buildings characterized by modernist architecture, have been preserved as architectural heritage. Architectural languages such as Regionalism, Brutalism and Metabolism, became very popular in Prishtina and among other Yugoslavian cities.

4. The Breakup of Yugoslavia and the Kosovo War (1990 – 2000)

With the revocation of Kosovo's autonomy in 1989 and the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1992 (Hetemi, 2020), Kosovo lost its autonomy and became a province of the "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" (renamed in 2003 as the "State Union of Serbia and Montenegro"), as a province within Serbia. These events initiated the independence movement, which was later to lead to the creation of the state of Kosovo (2008). These political changes were accompanied with tensions between Kosovo and Serbia, culminating with the Kosovo War during 1998-1999. At this time, all state institutions were controlled by Serbian authorities, while all political, social, economic and cultural activities of Kosovo Albanians, moved from the state building positioned in the city centre to Albanian citizens' private houses. Thus, the concept of the city and public space was transformed, as there was some sort of duality in the institutional and public life which included public buildings, as well as private houses. With the war of 1998 – 1999, the most important and developed cities of Kosovo were destroyed. This whole period is characterized with a serious lack of new interventions on urban scale. A distinguished building of the period is the unfinished Serbian Orthodox Church, which was built in the University of Prishtina Campus.

5. The aftermath of Socialism and the independence of Kosovo (2000-2008)

The city of Prishtina was faced with the need for general reconstructions as a consequence of the post-war condition. This period is characterized with unplanned urban growth, informal and illegal buildings, and transformations in architecture and public spaces. In the political aspect, this was the time when Kosovo was in a diplomatic war for independence from Serbia, which was finally achieved in 2008.

6. Postmodernism and the politics of today (2008 – ongoing)

This period addresses the emergence of new urban and spatial plans for the city of Prishtina, and the construction of new public and state buildings. It is an important moment to discuss the lessons learned from other critical junctures, in order to plan the future urban development.

In order to study the ideologies and politics of each critical juncture that will derive from these periods, literature review, archival research and field-work will be used, as well as text and critical discourse analysis. To classify them into high and low domestic and international ideological and political constructs, these terms will be operationalized by looking at how their combination is manifested through architecture – architectural and urban form. Specific buildings and urban blocks from the aforementioned periods will be used to develop a site, within which will be studied the architecture of Prishtina. Finally, the two-by-two matrix model will be filled with hypothesis related to how the different combination of the variables, impacts architecture and urban planning, in order to start operationalizing it.

NR.	NAME OF PERIOD	TIME - FRAME
1	1. The period after the Balkan Wars (1912)	1912 - 1945
2	2. Socialist Yugoslavia 1945 – the period after the Second World War	1945 - 1974
3	3. Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo (1968)	1974 - 1989
4	4. The Breakup of Yugoslavia and the Kosovo War	1989 - 1999
5	5. The aftermath of Socialism and the independence of Kosovo	2000 - 2008
6	6. Postmodernism and the politics of today	2008 – ongoing

Table. 1.2. *Diagram of research periods* (source: author)

CHAPTER 2.

THE TRIAD ARCHITECTURE – IDEOLOGY – POLITICS

After discussing the premises upon which architecture is presented as a practice with an ideological and political function, this chapter focuses on the principal theories from architecture, ideology and politics, as part of the literature review. First, the ideological context of architecture will be studied, by defining what is perceived as ideology in this thesis and how this definition applies to architecture. In this context, two concepts will be theorized: the 'architectural ideology' and the 'state ideology', through which politics as a third element (alongside architecture and ideology) will be analyzed. Furthermore, this chapter questions architecture's function as a tool for communicating between conflicting ideological and political discourses, by bringing into discussion its linguistic and semiotic aspects. At this point, the model presented in the methodology section (cf. Chapter 1), will be tested in two case-studies, that of Parthenon in Classical Athens and L'Enfant Plan for Washington, D.C.

2.1. IDEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF ARCHITECTURE

2.1.1. Defining Ideology: Meaning and Interpretations

As it is understood from the previous chapter, the fundamental premise on which this thesis is constructed, renders architecture as an ideological and political practice, while politics as well has an ideological function. Therefore, in order to discuss the ideological context of architecture and its function within specific political discourses, this section starts with an analysis regarding the concept and the definition of ideology itself. The term 'ideology' (ideo=ideas; logy=theory) emerged for the first time in the philosophy of the Enlightenment, as it was used by Antoine Destutt de Tracy, Pierre Jean Georges Cabanis and others, to refer to the theory of the genesis of ideas (Althusser, 1971/2014, p. 171). Since this thesis is focused on the modern and postmodern era, the discussion on the meaning of ideology is based on a Marxists view of the term, following the theories of Marx itself, Louis Althusser and Slavoj Žižek.

Essentially, ideology is a system of representations to describe reality. In this context, ideology can be conceived as a filed in which ideas, thoughts, values, beliefs, behaviors or expressions, signs and symbolic representations emerge (Šuvaković, 2014, p. 3). Such aspects are shared by "*members of a social class, political party, state institution or nation*" (Šuvaković, 2014, p. 3). Therefore, one would argue that ideology is so inherent to the individual and collective human existence, having the function of an identifying

representation. Throughout the history of philosophy, the concept of ideology takes different meanings, which appear in analogous and/or contradictory ways. On one side, ideology is an expression of false beliefs, illusions and misperceptions (Šuvaković, 2014, p. 5). It is an *illusory* or *imaginary* construction of social relations or of the actual, real world. On the other side, "*ideology is the set of meanings and representations, of forms of the production and reproduction of knowledge*", a hidden order which exists whether or not we acknowledge it as ideology (Šuvaković, 2014, p. 5). Thus, it is a determiner of the political, economic and cultural condition of a society.

In his early works, – such as the articles in the *Rheinisclze Zeitung* – Marx discussed ideology as a "*system of the ideas and representations which dominate the mind of an individual or a social group*" (Žižek, 1994, p. 120). It was the ideological and political struggle – the class struggle as Althusser would put it – that brought the discussion on the *reality* of ideology, leading Marx to the formulation of a "theory of ideology" presented in "*The German Ideology*". Following Althusser's interpretation of "*The German Ideology*", we understand that for Marx ideology has the theoretical status of a pure dream constructed by the "*day's residues as the only reality within it*" (Althusser, 1971/2014, p. 175). Therefore, ideology is an illusion, an imaginary assemblage, whose reality – constituted by the concrete history of concrete individuals – lies outside it. To this extent, according to Žižek, ideology as an illusion, is a fantasy which supports the reality itself, by structuring the real social relations while hiding some insupportable and impossible real aspects (Žižek, 1994, p. 323).

At this point, in order to apprehend the character and the function of ideology from the above-mentioned definitions of the term, it is with interest to emphasize Althusser's contribution on the interpretation of ideology as we use it today. His work aims to formulate a "general theory of ideology" and not simply a "theory of particular ideologies", such as religious, ethical, legal or political ideology. Following Marx, in the book "On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses", Althusser discusses a different meaning of ideology through two theses, where the first deals with the object "*represented in the imaginary form of ideology and the second outlines the materiality of ideology*" (Žižek, 1994, p. 323): 1) Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of the individuals to their real conditions of existence; 2) Ideology has a material existence (Althusser, 1971/2014).

What should be considered at the first thesis, is that in ideology the individuals represent their real conditions of existence in an imaginary form (Althusser, 1971/2014, p. 182). Thus,

ideology does not exist only at the level of distortion and/or misrepresentation of reality. In fact, reality remains what it is. When it is said that ideology is the "imaginary" relationship of the individual with reality, we must understand that the individual has an illusory relation to the real conditions of his/her existence, which are then constructed through architecture. Having an imaginary approach to objective/factual reality or real world, ideology mystifies the individual's approach to a social problem or phenomenon (e.g. as a result of an imaginary approach – which is always illusory and therefore mystifying – people tend to see the problem of poverty as a problem of charity, not as a problem of economic structures and relations which produce poverty as such).

The second thesis means that ideology has a practical character. Therefore, "*every practice is enabled by ideology and is manifested through ideology*" (Althusser, 1971/2014, p. 187): every practice is structured by a set of (real or imaginary) ideas, and the individual is capable to *create* and participate in them. At this point, Althusser argues that ideas have disappeared to the extent that "*their existence – which is material – is inscribed in the actions of practices which are regulated by rituals*" and in the last instance are defined by an ideological apparatus (Althusser, 1971/2014, p. 187). Thus, ideology does not exist in the spiritual world, it exists in institutions: the institutions Althusser is referring to appertain to what he terms as Ideological State Apparatus (whose meaning and function will be discussed later in this thesis).

The materiality of ideology relies on the fact that "*ideology exists from the subject and for the subject*: *the category of the subject is constitutive of all ideology only in so far all ideology has the function of 'constituting' concrete individuals as subjects*" (Žižek, 1994, p. 129). As Althusser would put it, ideology *interpellates* individuals as concrete subjects (Althusser, 1971/2014, pp. 188-194), meaning that ideology is accepted as it is obvious and natural, something so inherent to us that it is most efficient when it remains concealed.

The material existence of ideology is found in the *imaginary relation* itself. To return once again to Althusser, the imaginary distortion of the world depends on the individuals' imaginary relation to their conditions of existence; in other words, in the last instance, to the relations of production and to class relations: ideology = an imaginary relation to real relations (Žižek, 1994, p. 126). Thus, we can understand that every social formation is characterized by a dominant mode of production, and as Marx would put it: "*the ultimate condition of production is the reproduction of the conditions of production*" (Žižek, 1994, p. 126). To this extent, ideology regulates (if not constructs) the relationship between the society and its (produced) material structure.

2.1.2. Architecture as Ideology

As it is understood from the above, ideology is conceptualized not only as a structure of the individual's views and beliefs: ideology is and exists in political, social, cultural *and* architectural practices. Said otherwise, each practice is enabled by and manifested through ideology. As ideology is the system of *representations* to describe reality, then, we assume that architecture (i.e. the building and the city) has an ideological character in the sense that it is a *representation* of a political, social or cultural reality. As such, the function of architecture and the architect consists in giving physical (i.e. material) form to (real or imaginary) ideas which are created on certain ideological premises, structuring the architect's imaginary creation which is conceived and constructed as an architectural work.

Architecture is a materialized ideology, being a material process whose function depends on the context, users, historical conditions and methods of construction (Kurnicki, 2014). When Žižek said that ideology is not about "true" or "false", but rather about its functionality within existing power relations, we understand that the material construction is relevant when it supports functions which produce relations. In this line, is Althusser's notion of interpellation, by which ideology is best recognized in its concrete functions, in individuals and objects, not in space in general. In this context, the material existence of an architectural work is not ideology in itself, but it is within ideology that architecture is discussed in a totality of relations, representing, signifying and identifying specific conditions and events.

As an ideological practice architecture uses its strategies to participate in the organization of the society. The formal, technical, aesthetic and artistic categories of architecture, usually conceal its ideological character. Understanding from the interpretations of Althusser and Žižek, the practice of concealing is in principle an ideological practice. This positions architecture – in particular modern and postmodern architecture – as a "nonideological or post ideological state apparatus" (Šuvaković, 2014, p. 10). Thus, architecture (in this regard, architectural and urban form) operates ideologically. In this context, it is said that "*ideology regulates the relationship between the visible and non-visible, between imaginable and non-imaginable, as well as the changes in this relationship*" (Žižek, 1994, p. 1). This function of ideology is analogous to the function of architectural/urban plan: it is through the plan that architecture (re)creates a relationship between the physical environment (i.e. real world), which is the city as a creation of architectural practice, and the world of ideas (i.e. imaginary world) represented in the drawings of a plan.

Going back to Althusser's first theses, we come to the conclusion that the *real conditions of existence* are constructed through architecture and the *imaginary relationship* is mediated by architecture. In this context, there is an interesting convergence between the first thesis and the 'mapping' of the city space studied by Kevin Lynch in "The Image of the City", related to Jameson's cognitive mapping (Jameson, 1991). For Lynch, "*the alienated city is a space in which people are unable to map their own positions or the urban totality in which they find themselves, for instance grids such as those of Jersey City*" (Jameson, 1991, p. 51); contrary to the traditional city where mapping is enabled through "*traditional markers as, monuments, nodes, natural boundaries or built perspectives*" (Jameson, 1991, p. 51) [**Fig. 2.1**]. The mapping process is exactly a representation of the people's imaginary relationship to their real conditions of existence.

Both of Althusser's thesis could be interpreted through the "ideology of the plan", introduced by the Italian architectural historian and theoretician, Manfredo Tafuri, in his book "Architecture and Utopia" (1973/1976) and the texts published earlier in *Contropiano* (it must be noted that Tafuri's whole conceptual framework corresponds to the classical Marxist tradition). His writings deal with the architectural ideology and investigate the relation between both "architectural and capitalist ideology", or "between intellectual work and capitalist development", as for him "ideology is being produced by intellectual work" (Tafuri, 1973/1976; Hays 1998; Amhoff, 2012, p. 2).

Describing modern architecture as an ideological instrument of the capital, Tafuri identifies three stages: "1) the formation of urban ideology; 2) the transference of ideological projects to the architectural avant-gardes for their concrete realization; 3) the formation of architectural ideology as the ideology of the plan" (Tafuri, 1973/1976; Amhoff, 2012, p. 2). Considering these three stages, architecture, ideology and their interrelation, are always represented in the urban space and through the urban plan.

The plan – i.e. the urban plan – positions architecture as a determiner of the destiny of the city, being able to project the future from the present, through a traditional link with utopia (Tafuri, 1973/1976). But, with the development of capitalism and the emergence of new modes and relations of production, the urban plan as a determiner of the form of the city, became a plan for organizing the building production (Amhoff, 2012). The plan – in both cases elaborated here – is a representation of architects' imaginary relationship to their real conditions of existence, or of state's vision (i.e. imaginary vision) for the city and society.

The first notion, the urban (architectural) plan or the "plan for the reform of the city", represents the "drawing according to which a city should be built", being linked to a utopian tradition. This conception of the plan originates from Laugier's theories of the design of the city presented in "Observations sur l'architecture" in 1765, and was modelled on *Partie du plan general de Paris* by Pier Patte in the same year [**Fig. 2.2**]; the 1971 plan for Washington, D.C. by L'Enfant [**Fig. 2.3**]; the Napoleonic plan for Milan in 1807 [**Fig. 2.4**]; Le Corbusier's Plan Voisin for Paris in 1925 [**Fig. 2.5**]; Cornelis van Esteren's plan for Amsterdam in 1929 [**Fig. 2.6**]; and most prominently, on the "Obus Plan" for Algiers by Le Corbusier, in 1932 [**Fig. 2.7**] (Amhoff, 2012, p.3). The second notion, the "plan for the reorganization of the building production", is in fact a result of the lack of a plan as one of the characteristics of capitalism, as Ludwig Hilberseimer would suggest (Hilberseimer, 1927). In contrast to the modern socialist city, the capitalist city was chaotic and had to be organized according to a plan, through which the "*historical avant-gardes would develop techniques to control and direct the capitalist development*" (Amhoff, 2012). At this point, the architect as a designer of specific objects who was giving form to the architecture of the city, was transformed to the "organizer of the cycle of production within the city": the relation between plan and utopia was broken (Amhoff, 2012; Tafuri 1973/1976).

Even though at some point Tafuri states that architecture is "separated" from (or left without) ideology, as a consequence of its break with utopia, architecture – i.e. (post-) modern architecture – is a carrier of ideology, because buildings communicate messages, thereby being *signifiers* of politico-economic, socio-cultural and techno-scientific changes. On the other hand, architecture's materiality – achieved with the application of general knowledge through its techno-artistic and techno-aesthetic modalities – renders architecture as a "pure" formal, functional and visual practice. Thus, architectural form – a building and a city – operates as autonomous, only by hiding its ideological and political character, thus, being an ideology itself. For instance, according to Tafuri, Laugier's theory of the "city as a forest" was an attempt to "*hide rather than to emphasize the actual contradictions of the city*" (Amhoff, 2012, p.3).

With the first notion of the plan mentioned in the previous paragraph, comes also the first notion of ideology, an ideology concealed by the plan. Therefore, if Althusser discussed the "material existence" of ideology (Althusser, 1971/2014) and Tafuri positioned architecture within the organization of building (re)production (Tafuri, 1973/1976), then, architecture is a "*material practice which (re)produces the political, social and cultural*

within the process of constructing the visible" (Šuvakovic, 2014), through aesthetics and technics.
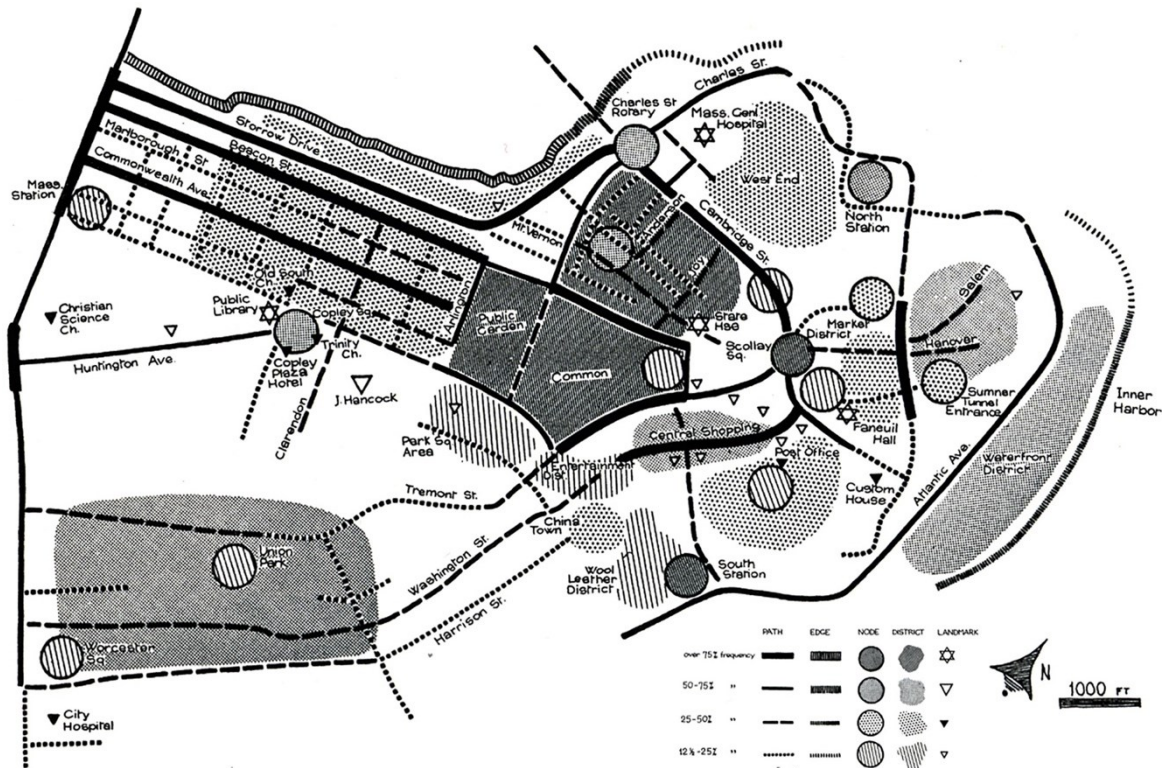
Fig. 2.1. Kevin Lynch, *Drawings of the cities. The case of Boston, Massachusetts,* 1960 (Lynch, 1960, p. 145).
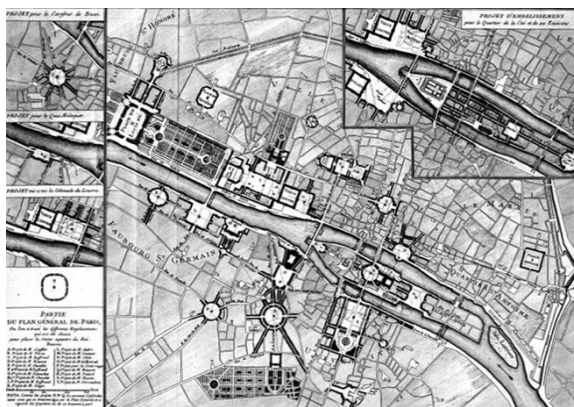
Fig. 2.2. Pier Patte, *Partie du plan general de Paris*, 1765 (source: https://journals. openedition.org/framespa/1842; **Fig. 2.3.** Pierre L'Enfant, *the Urban Plan of Washington, D.C.,* 1791 (source: https://www.wdgarch.com/perspectives/2016/01/19/the-impact-of-zoning-and-design/)
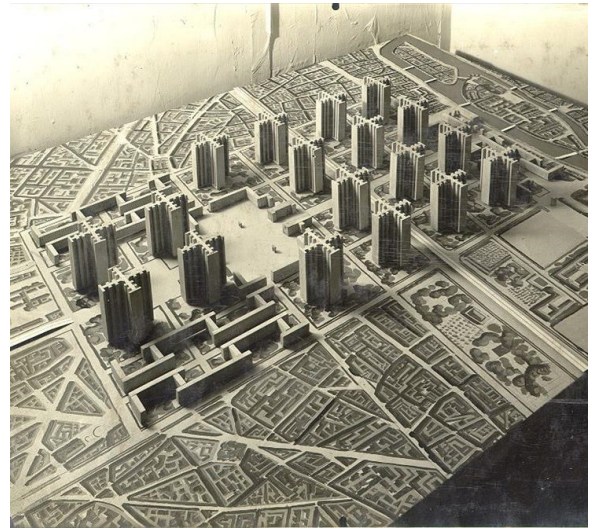
Fig. 2.4. *Napoleonic plan for Milan*, 1807 (source: https://www. crouchrare books.com/maps/a-map-of-napoleonic-milan) ; **Fig. 2.5**. Le Corbusier, *Plan Voisin for Paris*, 1925 (source: http://www. fondationlecorbusier.fr)
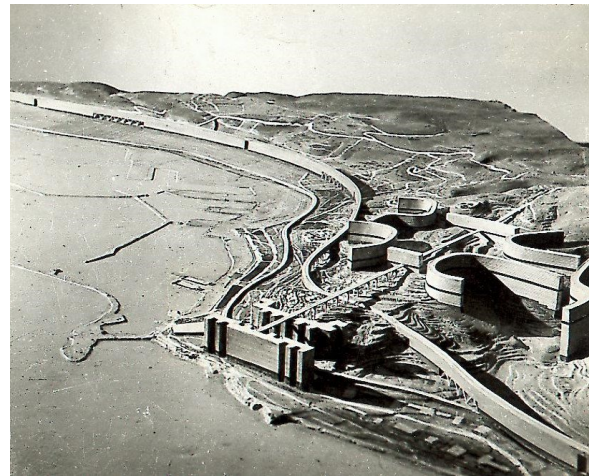
Fig. 2.6. Cornelis van Eesteren, *Plan for Amsterdam*, 1929 (source: https://www. researchgate.net/publication/336175207_CIAM_and_Its_Outcomes/figures?lo=1); **Fig. 2.7**. Le Corbusier, *Obus Plan for Algiers*, 1932 (source: http://www. fondationlecorbusier.fr)

2.1.3. Ideology of the State and Ideology of Architecture

Considering that architecture is a material (therefore ideological) practice that aims at the (re)production of the socio-cultural relations, then, is some last instance, architecture – as ideology – is a representation of the state, opening way to the discussion of architecture's political function. For Marx, "ideology was always of the state", as the state is the "first ideological force" (Žižek, 1994, p. 19). If we recall Althusser's argument that ideology exists

in practices and in "Ideological State Apparatuses" – which "*designate the material existence of ideology in ideological practices, rituals and institutions*" (Žižek, 1994, p. 12) –, we can assume that ideology comes into existence as far as the society is "regulated" by the state.

Defining the notion of 'the state' was critical to Althusser's interpretation of ideology itself. In the Marxists tradition, the state is a "*repressive apparatus in which the dominant classes ensure their domination over the working class*": this is what is called the *state apparatuses* (Althusser, 1971/2014, p. 70). Since the political class struggle occurs around the state, the state itself is a function of state power; and as Marxists classics informs us, the state apparatus continues to exist despite the changings in state power which are impacted by political events (Althusser, 1971/2014, p. 73). The State Apparatuses is constituted by state institutions – which are public institutions – such as the Government, the Administration, the Police, the Army, the Courts, etc.

To advance the theory of the State and ideology, Althusser introduced the "*Ideological State Apparatuses*"*,* which designates the "*concrete network of the material conditions of existence of an ideological construct*" (Žižek, 1994, p. 24). Contrary to the State Apparatuses, "Ideological State Apparatuses" is represented in the form of specialized institutions. Said otherwise, it represents the material existence of ideology, its manifestation in *practices* and not in the world of *ideas,* thus, corresponding to Althusser's second thesis on the interpretation of ideology. Such institutions functioning as Ideological State Apparatuses, include both public and private institutions such as the Church, school, family, the political system or political party, etc.

The function of several Ideological State Apparati is to realize different "*forms of ideology unified under the State Ideology*" (Althusser, 1971/2014, p. 177). Therefore, an Ideological State Apparatuses represents the state, by "hiding" the ideological character itself. An ideological state apparatus, for instance, is the temple – the Parthenon – as a public building formally outside state control, which, however, reflected its values and ideas, and maintained order in the society, thereby positioning architecture in an interplay with power.

Architecture and consequently the architect, exists within the framework of an ideology which also shapes the ontology of the state. Therefore, architecture itself is positioned as and Ideological State Apparatuses. For instance, the Guggenheim Museum [**Fig. 2.8**] in Bilbao and the National and University Library in Prishtina [**Fig. 2.9**], are Ideological State Apparati. What we should understand here, is that the two buildings (and the public architecture in general) were formally outside state control, but they did reflect the political,

economic, social and cultural program, and the *vision* of the state, including new technologies and new forms of (re)production that were used in (re)building programs.

In one hand, if we look at the work of Frank Gehry, we notice that at his Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao one cannot escape the doubt that the extravagant spaces create a new form of elitism, while simultaneously pretend to be open for the people (Hamza, 2020). By 'enclosing' a space, architecture determines the socio-cultural events occurring there. The Guggenheim Museum is a large-scale architectural project that intended to transform the post-industrial city of Bilbao: to 'recover' the economy and society. Thus, as an ideological and political practice, architecture uses its formal, technical, aesthetic and artistic features, to participate in the organization of individual and collective human life.

The integration of architectural ideology into state ideology, is a move from superstructure to base, deriving from a Marxist way of thinking. An example of this is the famous *Progetto 80*: "a report on the economic and urban situation in Italy, and on the possibilities of development by 1980, prepared by a team of economists and town planners in 1968-1969 for the Ministry of Development" (Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 174). The second notion of Tafuri's plan is ideological *and* political: the plan as specific form of representation – i.e. ideology, – organization and administration – i.e. politics (Amhoff, 2012). The understanding of the plan as a political institution and state as the planner, is central to the political discourse of "Italian Workerism" and their slogan "*contro il piano*" (Tafuri, 1973/1976). What was being institutionalized by the state as a plan for development, was that inherent utopia of the architectural project and urban plan, particularly their ability to "project the future from the present" (Tafuri, 1973/1976; Negri, 1968). Referring to Antonio Negri, the economic crisis of 1929 had "destroyed confidence and certainty in the future" (Negri, 1968, p. 12). At this point, the state had to take the role of the planner:

> "*And if the only way to do this is to project the future from within the present, to plan the future according to present expectations, then the state must extend its intervention to take up the role of the planner*" (Negri, 1968, p. 13).

The relation between architecture and the state (both being ideological) is moderated through the urban plan which "linked" them to the "destiny of the city". For instance, socialist states adopted modern principles of design and planning, and used for the city the analogy to the factory, where everything is planned and controlled. However, in capitalist states, the traditional urban plan as the means to determine the urban morphology was no longer sufficient to give form to the chaos of the city (Amhoff, 2012, p.5). This chaos necessitated

the organization of the building production through a 'plan for capital' realized by the 'state as the planner'. The architectural ideology thus became the ideology of the plan, referring not to the urban plan but to the economic plan. The city's form was now being determined by the control and organization of production by the plan (Amhoff, 2012; Tafuri, 1973/1976).
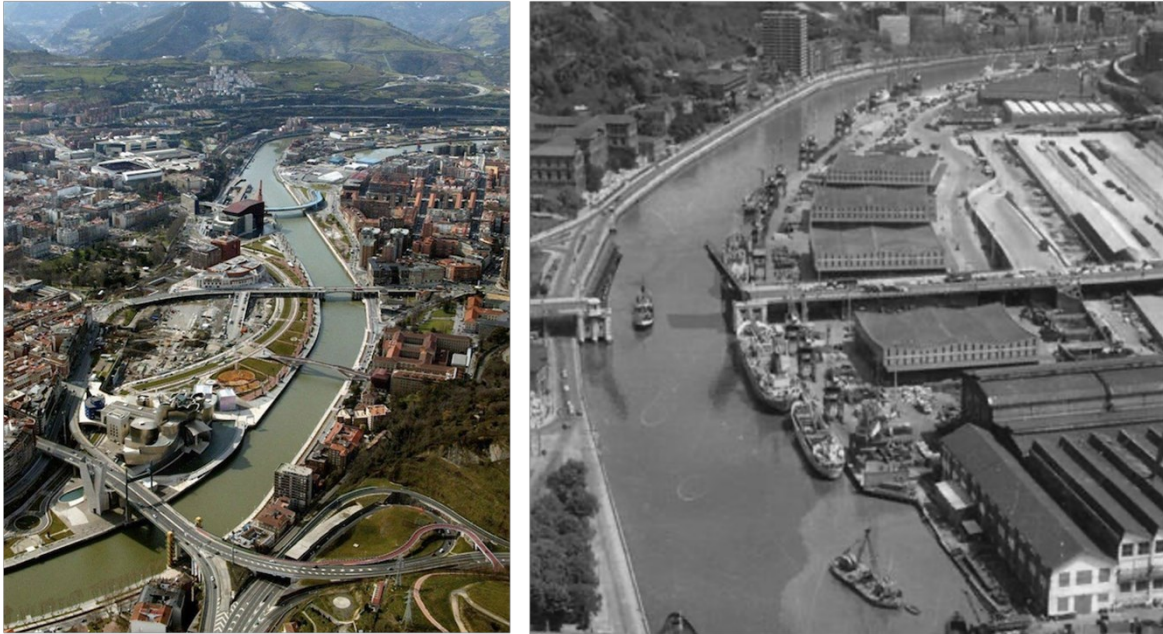
Fig. 2.8. Frank Gehry, *Guggenheim Museum and its urban setting (left) and the urban setting before 1997 (right)*, Bilbao, Spain, 1997 (source: https://www.guggenheim-bilbao.eus/en/the-building)

Fig. 2.9. Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo,* Prishtina, Kosovo, 1971-1982 (source: ©Samir Karahoda)

2.2. ARCHITECTURE AS LANGUAGE, POLITICS AND PRAGMATICS

"*Thus the political vocabulary of the bourgeoisie already postulates that the universal exists: for it, politics is already a representation, a fragment of ideology*".
(Barthes, 1957/1972, p. 138)

When we say that ideology exists in institutions – Ideological State Apparatuses – and their practices, and we position architecture within this *material existence*, which represents the presence of state, we cannot ignore the practice of politics. Therefore, here, architecture is conceptualized essentially as an ideological *and* political practice. Architecture is a *metaphor* for a *language* that facilitates communication between ideology and morphology, meaning and aesthetics, political power and the city. At this point, it should be emphasized that the study of the ideological and political character of architecture cannot be "restricted" to the study of "architecture's pragmatic functions" (Šuvakovic, 2014, p. 11).

In this context, it was Martin Heidegger who "de-ideologized and de-politicized" architecture by discussing a fundamental dimension of human existence, that of habitation (Šuvakovic, 2014, p. 11). Here, we can recall Laugier's concept of the *primitive hut* as the ideal architectural form of dwelling, pointing to architecture's principal destination and function: as a form of habitation and a mediator between man and nature. Yet, even as a form of habitation, architecture implies a (re)production process and represents the material conditions within that process, thus, "concealing" its ideological and political function. We can understand that the political – as well as the ideological – is not an imposed function on architecture: the ideological and the political are inherent to the very function of each architecture, in "*representing a symbolic and imaginary field of visibility of a society for itself and others*" (Šuvakovic, 2014, p. 12).

As an intellectual enterprise, architectural theory is in interplay with larger political, social, scientific, philosophical and cultural constructs of its time, thus, it cannot be understood out of the impact of these forces. Within this interplay, we apprehend a form of communication between architecture and other practices. Therefore, architecture is not an isolated discipline but is one of the innumerable "manifestations of the human mind which all follow the same laws". Architecture, in other words is a form of communication conditioned to take place within a network of other forces (ideology and politics in this thesis' case) in a material totally, that is, the city. Now, it would be important to return once again to Žižek and his interpretation of the functions of ideology:

"*Ideology is a systematically distorted communication: a text in which, under the influence of unavowed social interests, a gap separates its 'official', public meaning from its actual intention – that is to say, in which we are dealing with an unreflected tension between the explicit enunciated content of the text and its pragmatic presuppositions*" (Žižek, 1994, p. 10).

If we said that architecture is ideology, then, architecture is a *text* in which it has the function of a *language*. In his book *Architecture as Metaphor: Language, Number, Money* (1995), the Japanese literary critic and philosopher Kojin Karatani, uses architecture as a metaphor (i.e. a linguistic element) to describe some other material conditions. The utilization of the metaphor is based on Plato, who employed the architect as a metaphor in his attempt to define the philosopher. For Plato, architecture – more than any other practice – was an action which reconstructs all "becomings" as "makings". Here, Plato introduces the term *'poiesis'* – which means *creation*: a thing emerging from non-existence into existence (Karatani, 1995) – to imply an architectural work. According to Karatani, "*architecture is an event par excellence in the sense that it is a making that exceeds the maker's control*" (Karatani, 1995). What we should understand from this, is that no architecture is free from its context, meaning that it is related to the ideological and political constructs as power forces which impact the final result, while not being restricted to an act of free creativity.

Except from architecture's function as a metaphor, it is the architectural (and urban) form itself, that could be interpreted in terms of linguistics. Let us refer to the definition of language, introduced by Ferdinand de Saussure. For Saussure, language is a *form*, a system of relations which includes signs – the signifier is a form, and can be anything, including a speech, letters, signs, etc. (Karatani, 1995, p. 11). Signs are studied by semiology, which is then "a science of forms since it studies significations apart from their content" (Karatani, 1995). This formalist interpretation of language is parallel to architectural formalism, – structuralist architecture – which emerged within the modern movement. What is interesting here, is that the formal dimension is constitutive both for language and architecture. Thus, we assume that the signifier which is a form, can be a building (or a city plan), and architecture is the language.

Frederic Jameson – another literary critic and philosopher, whose work "Postmodernism or the Cultural Production of Late Capitalism" is one of the central references of this thesis – implies the linguistic dimension in architecture through his interpretation of postmodernism. For him, the architectural debates are those who have the merit of addressing and making detectable both the political and aesthetic issues of postmodernism

as a style (Jameson, 1991, p. 55). Thus, architecture enables the communication between the society and the postmodern political and cultural reality:

> "*Architecture therefore remains…the privileged aesthetic language; and the distorting and fragmenting reflections of one enormous glass surface to the other can be taken as paradigmatic of the central role of process and reproduction in postmodern culture*" (Jameson, 1991, p. 37).

If architecture is a language and buildings are signifiers, then, the collective representations (representation=ideology) which are communicated through architecture in the city space are sign systems. However, this thesis is not simply dealing with a "theoretical mode of representation", but, with particular architectures and urbanities (image, object, etc.) which are given for particular significations. A part of language, that can have the same function as architecture, is myth. The analogy between myth and architecture contributes to the positioning of both terms within the ideological discourse and the understanding of the linguistic character of the latter. As Roland Barthes suggests, mythology "*is a part both of semiology inasmuch as it is a formal science, and of ideology inasmuch as it is an historical science: it studies ideas-in-form*" (Barthes, 1957/1972, p. 111).

Both myth and architecture, are languages of signs and parts of semiology as Saussure postulated, and systems of communications. They are types of speech and speech of this kind is a "message", and is not "confined to oral speech". According to Barthes, "*it can consist of modes of writing or of representations; not only written discourse, but also photography, cinema, reporting, sport, shows, publicity, all these can serve as a support to mythical speech*" (Barthes, 1957/1972, p. 108). Although myth cannot be an object as architecture is, it can "transform a meaning into form" (Barthes, 1957/1972, p, 131). Myth is a form and a mode of signification similar to architecture (and the introduction of Barthes' theories on myth in this section, is made for comparative reasons with architecture).

Three terms that are "purely formal" in Barthes' writing and can be given different contents, are "the signifier, the signified and the sign" (Barthes, 1957/1972). According to Saussure, in language, "*the signified is the concept, the signifier is the acoustic image (which is mental) and the relation between concept and image is the sign*" (Barthes, 1957/1972, p. 112). In myth, the sign becomes a signifier: "*the materials of mythical speech (the language itself, photography, painting, posters, rituals, objects, etc.), however different at the start, are reduced to a pure signifying function as soon as they are caught by myth*" (Barthes, 1957/1972, p. 113). If on the plane of language the signifier is called "meaning", on the plane of myth is called "form". While for the signified remains the name *concept*. In myth, "*the*

signifier is formed by the signs – as the correlation of the first two terms in the linguistic system – of the language", thus the "sign" is replaced by "signification" (Barthes, 1957/1972, p. 115). What is interesting to understand from the discussion on mythologies, is this analogy: language as a prey of myth and architecture as a prey of ideology. Following Barthes, "nothing can be safe from myth", but the difference is that not all languages resist equally to it (Barthes, 1957/1972, pp. 131-133). For instance, in the case of mathematical language, "*its very resistance makes it an ideal prey for myth: the apparent lack of order of signs, is captured by myth and transformed into an empty signifier*" (Barthes, 1957/1972, pp. 131-133).

Within this discourse, an architecture is no prey to myth as it cannot be transformed into an empty signifier, and it cannot simply signify the discipline of architecture itself (as we will see in the case studies presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). However, the same does not apply to ideology. Architecture is a prey of ideology. Although architecture can resist and conceal ideology through its formal, techno-artistic and techno-aesthetic modalities, it is still ideological in essence. What should be questioned here, is how architecture operates ideologically and how it resists ideology. To illustrate all of this, let's use as an example the famous "Barcelona Pavilion" designed by Mies van der Rohe in 1928-1929, for the German representation at the 1929 International Exposition in Barcelona [**Fig. 2.10**]. It is interesting to refer particularly to Mies' speech regarding how the Pavilion was commissioned, at a meeting of the Architectural Association in London where he was a special guest of honor after receiving the RIBA medal in 1959:

> "*One day I received a call from the German Government. I was told that the French and the British would have a pavilion too. I said: "what is a pavilion? I have not the slightest ideas". I was told: "We need a pavilion. Design it, and not too much class!'…If the British and the French had not had a pavilion, there would have been no pavilion in Barcelona erected by German (cited, by Cadbury-Brown, 1959*" (Bonta, 1979, p. 151).

The message that the German Pavilion would deliver was essentially political. Although the International Exposition in Barcelona was originally meant to be an exhibition on the 19th Century tradition of industries (Bonta, 1979, p. 155), it ended up being an exhibition of nations. The German Pavilion thus represents the political positioning of Germany on a peaceful competition of nations, and was its first entry into an international affair since the First World War, symbolizing Germany's "appeasement in the post-war years" (Bonta, 1979;

Neumann, 2020). Architecture was thus called to communicate this – visually, physically and spatially.

The very first public interpretation of the pavilion came from the German *Kommissar*, Dr. von Schnitzler, who transmitted the intention of the state: "*We have wanted to show here what we can do, what we are and how we feel today. We do not want anything more than clarity, simplicity and integrity*" (Bonta, 1979, p. 156; Neumann, 2020). Being qualified to produce or to validate an interpretation, von Schnitzler's made an *authoritative* interpretation. According to Juan Pablo Bonta, such interpretations can be made by individuals, groups or institutions, those who commissioned the building, the designer, the board of experts, a jury, an academy (Bonta, 1979, p. 154).

Clarity, *simplicity* and *integrity* (or *sachlichkeit,* to use the parlance of architectural circles) in this case are means of the architectural concept conveying the political statement proclaimed by the Pavilion (Bonta, 1979). Here, architecture conceals nothing, everything is open both in terms of form, aesthetics and meaning, directly reflecting von Schnitzler's speech [**Fig. 2.11**]. That is, the architecture of the German Pavilion operates ideologically, by not resisting ideology at all. Mies agreed with the fact that architecture was supposed to represent the ideology of the German state. But he resisted a closer identification of the Pavilion with the *Nation* by refusing the official request to have a Republican Eagle attached to the marble wall on the right from the stairs (Bonta, 1979). The only national element, were the two flags in front of the Pavilion (Bonta, 1979, p. 155). This resistance was probably related to Mies' own modernist and internationalist beliefs.

Fig.2.10. Mies van der Rohe, *The German Pavilion*, Barcelona, 1929 (source: https://miesbcn.com/the-pavilion/).
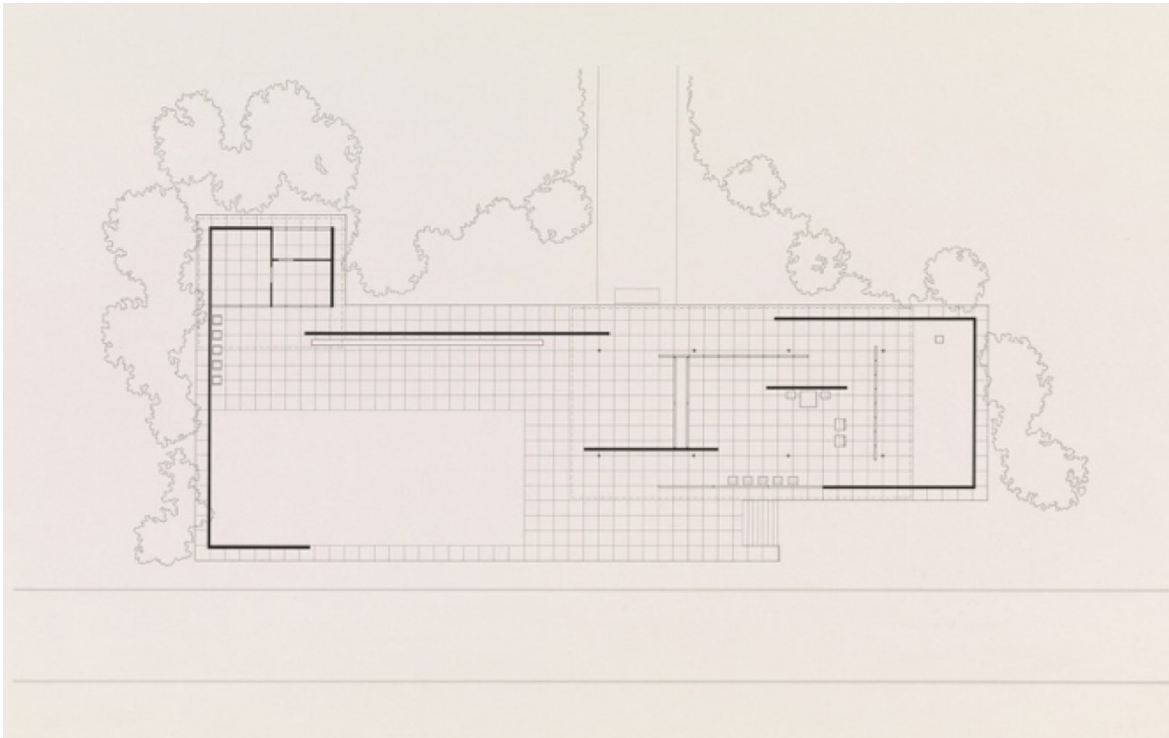
Fig. 2.11. Mies van der Rohe, *The German Pavilion*, *Ground Floor,* Barcelona, 1929 (source: https://miesbcn.com/the-pavilion/).

2.2.1. Architectural Languages in the City

What we can understand from the analogy between architecture and language (i.e. aesthetic language), is that architecture is not only an instrument of representation, but it becomes a means of communication between the building environment and political discourses. In this context, architecture is both concrete and visionary. On one hand, the political (executive) character of architecture lies on the function of performing a specific task, i.e. constructing the visible and the material. On the other hand, the ideological (representative) character is understood in rendering architecture as a practice through which we can decipher our own reality and history, and envision future conditions and relations, by creating enduring values at the same time.

The relation between architecture and politics (both being ideological practices) emerges as "*politics has the task of developing the society*", while "*architecture makes important contribution towards the social (re)construction*" (Swedish Association of Architects, 2009). In this context, architectural theory has consistently brought into question the impact of architecture on the creation, construction and functionalization of the state

(Tafuri, 1973/1976; Benevolo, 1963/1971). On one hand, architecture, more than any other art, relates to politics and power, as architects wants to build as "great" as possible and therefore stay on the side of power (Biermann, Klein, Evers, Freigang & Thoenes, 2015). On the other hand, through (re)building programs, architecture was used by the state as the most efficient agent of communicating its political power and its vision for the society.

For instance, the Parthenon in Classical Athens and the whole rebuilding program for the Acropolis characterized with a classical architectural style, visualized the power of Athens by communicating it to the masses. The utilization of the classical style, except that represented the ideological and political program of Athens' leader Pericles, it contributed to the (re)creation of Athens' identity as a democratic power force. While in another historical context, in the eighteenth-century Washington, D.C., the emerging American nation, gave concrete form to its representative democracy through the use of neoclassical architecture and urban planning premises. Therefore, we can consider that specific architectural languages (i.e. styles) are adapted to specific conditions in order to address specific political programs. We can notice the same function of architecture in Haussmann's neoclassical reconstruction of Paris (1852-1870), the "*Grandes Opérations d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme*" carried out by François Mitterrand (1981-1998), the modernist rebuilding program in former Yugoslavia (1968-1989), Mussolini's projects in Rome (1920-1940), or Skopje's neoclassical transformation (2014), which will be elaborated in the next chapter (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.1) [**Fig. 2.12**].

Through all these cases we see that, as it is stated in the beginning of this chapter, the city is the spatial context that mediates the relation between architecture, ideology and political power. The city is the field where architectural objects emerge as *signs* and *significations*. All elements of language, equivalent to elements of architecture, are to be found in the city space. In this context, to illustrate how the city is perceived through signs, let us refer to another of Barthes' examples, this time from the cinema:

> "*In Mankiewicz's Julius Caesar, all the characters are wearing fringes…Romans are Romans thanks to the most legible of signs: hair on the forehead…The frontal lock overwhelms one with evidence, no one can doubt that he is in Ancient Rome*" (Barthes, 1957/1972, p.24).

If buildings are considered signs, the style or the architectural language that characterizes them, impacts our reading of the city space and the politics behind those buildings. For instance, the political tensions resulting from the arrival of the Nazi to power, created a new

environment in which modern architecture and architects could not survive[3]. This fact was taken as a demonstration as absurdum that modern architecture was appropriate to the Republican climate, while the new fascist regime would choose Neoclassicism as their formal aesthetic language (Bonta, 1979).

Fig. 2.12. a) Haussmann, *Image of the urban transformation of Paris*, 1853-1870 (source: https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/mar/31/story-cities-12-paris-baron-haussmann-france-urban-planner-napoleon) ; b) North Macedonian Government, Skopje 2014 Plan, 2014-ongoing (source: https://www.archdaily.com/802489/skpoje-2014-is-a-controversial-project-aimed-at-remodeling-the-european-city)

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[3] We can refer here to Mies van der Rohe's flight from the country and Bauhaus' distancing from the new neoclassical style imposed by fascist ideology. See: Bonta, J.P. (1979). *Architecture and its interpretations. A Study of Expressive Systems in Architecture*. P.158. New York: Rizzoli.

2.2.2.Communicating Between Architectural Works and Political Discourses

There are many examples in the modern history in which architecture gave concrete form to the political ideologies, and many countries that have a tradition in developing action programs for architecture simultaneously with the development of new political agendas (i.e. Sweden, Soviet Union, Socialist Yugoslavia, etc.). National programs for architecture, form and design, were adopted in line with the political ideology of the state (Swedish Association of Architects, 2009). For instance, in the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Joseph Stalin, architecture was used as a political tool to represent the idea of the transformation of the state into an "industrial and military superpower" (Levine, 2018, p.14). Such a transformation needed radical interventions, which were summarized in the famous Five-Year Plans.

Structuralism and Soviet Realism were the architectural languages, expressions of modernism, adopted to materialize the socialist politico-ideological program of the state. Modernist architecture was used as an instrument, as it did reflect the idea of improving the conditions of the working class, achieving social equality, etc., through the uniform buildings within regular grids, characterized with minimal utilization of space. However, as Stalin was transforming the Soviet Union into a totalitarian state, Constructivism's inherent proletarian and rational spirit – "*an architecture made by the people and for the people*" – was to be replaced by Social Realism, as an "*architecture of myth and autocracy*" (Levine, 2018, p. 17). Soviet realism was the architectural agent of Stalinism and was used as an instrument of propaganda, aiming to the construction of a "national form of architecture". This case, best illustrates the hypothesis of this research, according to which when there are changes in ideologies and politics, there are changings in architecture too.

In many countries politicians reacted to modern architecture and city planning, embracing them as instruments to promote a progressive thought (Levine, 2018). Modernism – put into motion by an intellectual movement that called for a break with the traditional forms of social organization (Levine, 2018, p. 3) – addressed the need for a reformation of the conditions of the society and its material existence represented through architecture (the building and city). Architecture – respectively, modern architecture – is rendered as reproduction or innovation of the society's existing physical space: i.e. the city (Kurnicki, 2014). The architectural historian H.J. Henket emphasized that "*modern architects shared a strong sense of social responsibility, in that architecture should raise the living conditions of the masses*" (Levine, 2018, p. 5). The modern buildings (residential, public, etc.) and the modern urban space, had the potential to "improve the life of the modern man". Therefore,

architecture is a determinant factor in the social relations within an urban condition, and the individual's relation to her/his spatial (thus, architectural) dimension; said otherwise, modern architecture was conceived as a determinant factor in the *recreation* of the society itself, aiming to improve and reshape it.

For illustration, in the beginning of the twentieth century, Sweden was facing a crisis posed by the economic collapse, underdevelopment, natural causes, etc. (Levine, 2018). Within these challenges emerged a new political program, which aimed at *recreating* Sweden as an industrial and economic power, and was being represented through the experimental concept of *folkhemmet* (folk=people; hemmet=home). This concept represented "*the use of the home and family as a model for the society and the state*" (Levine, 2018, p. 6). To materialize and give form to this political concept, a new type of architecture was needed. Therefore, Functionalism as a modern architectural *language* was used (Levine, 2018). The emergence of Functionalism took place with the Stockholm Exhibition of 1930, and was reported from the local newspaper *Dagbladet* as a "*poetry of democracy…which consists of the everyday life, becoming more beautiful and comfortable*" (Tostrup, 1999, p. 68).

The style, the function and the position of a building within the urban setting, are features through architecture represents the political power and dominant ideologies in a given context. Usually, for this architecture to communicate power, it is necessary to be public, i.e. commissioned by state authorities. There are cases when it is private, but even then, the political climate and the ideological context are those that determine such a thing. For instance, in the mid-nineteenth century Brussels, the Royal Palace was larger than the Parliament opposite it, but the Palace of Justice was larger (Therborn, 2017, p. 20) [**Fig. 2.13**]. The main state building (whatever it is) is usually not competed by other constructions, by various rules of permissible height (e.g. in Washington, D.C.) and distance (Therborn, 2017, p. 20). If some cities, as it is the case with Paris, have no central representative governmental buildings, the previous line applies to other relevant public institutions [**Fig. 2.14**]. And finally there are examples in which governmental buildings are overshadowed by corporate towers, as in Tokyo (Therborn, 2017, p. 20) [**Fig. 2.15**]. In this case, to return once again to Jameson, we understand that architecture as the *privileged aesthetical language* is an instrument to communicate between the postmodern society and culture, and the capitalist system.

According to Goran Therborn (2017), architecture has two dimensions, one aesthetic and the other political. The first is expressed through style, which is loaded with meaning,

and this meaning is ideologically, politically and historically dependent. For instance, the Gothic style of the Westminster Parliament in London is that of the "*free-born Englishman*" [**Fig. 2.16**], while "*neoclassicism is republican in Washington, D.C., and imperial in Paris and Saint Petersburg*" [**Fig. 2.17**] (Therborn, 2017, p. 20). The second dimension considers forms and styles as expressions of power and political language. In this context, the Norwegian architectural theorist Thomas Thiis-Evensen, introduces six "building variables" and their "power implications" (Therborn, 2017), which are very similar to what is identified as *proxies* in the previous chapter of this thesis (cf. Chapter 1, Section 1.2.2):

> "*1) Closure – the more closed, the more inaccessible; 2) Weight – the heavier; 3) Size – the larger; 4) Distance – the more distant from its immediate environment; 5) Symmetry – the more symmetrical; 6) Verticality – the taller the building, the concentrated and more authoritarian the power of the builder*"
> (Therborn, 2017, pp. 20-21).

The intersection of the political and aesthetic dimensions is represented in many cities through the use of a particular architectural style/language by a particular political system to communicate its ideology. For instance, *Red Vienna* between 1920-1934, is an example in which left-social democratic policies determined the urban and architectural form. Central to the *Red Vienna* are the social housing complexes, consisting of mid-rise super-blocks with courtyards and monumental entrances open to the street, and other services such as: health centers, schools, shops, social services, etc. (Therborn, 2017, p. 151). The flagship of Red Viennese housing was Karl-Marx-Hof, of 1,400 apartments with 5,000 inhabitants, and a pre-existing courtyard the size of a public square (Therborn, 2017, p.151) [**Fig. 2.18**]. Apart from the housing, another political dependent urban feature representing the labor movement, was the *Ringstrasse* (the ring of working-class settlements around the outer edge of the centre) which was counter-positioned to the great imperial bourgeoise architectural works of late nineteenth-century (Therborn, 2017, p.151) [**Fig. 2.19**].

Contrary to Vienna, the labour movement never found a significant spatial archetype in London, Paris, Rome, and Berlin[4]. Mussolini's Rome and Hitler's Berlin were the most important fascist capitals; therefore they could not be interpretations of left ideologies. In

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[4] Except for the cemeteries and some monuments dedicated to Karl Marx, e.g. the Highgate Cemetery in London where Karl Marx is remembered and Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris, where the militants of the Paris Commune and many figures of the left were buried. A same situation was in the capitalist Berlin, where the most distinguished is the grave monument in honor of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, in East Berlin, designed by Mies van der Rohe in 1920 (destroyed by the Nazis and reconstructed after the Second World War. See: Therborn, G. (2017). *Cities of Power. The Urban, the National, the Popular, the Global*. pp. 150-160. London: Verso.

both cases architecture was the most efficient instrument of the state propaganda. Since 1924, Mussolini identified two categories for Rome: *necessity* – housing and communications – and *grandezza* – the creation of the monumental Rome of the twentieth century (Therborn, 2017, p 185). While Hitler's vision for the future of Nazi Germany was embodied in the famous *Welthauptstadt Germania*, a project for the renewal of Berlin directed by the architect Albert Speer.

The aesthetic differences between both capitals sharing the same fascist ideological and political system, were fundamental: city planning and architecture in Mussolini's Rome was dominated by the "*Italian Rationalism*" movement containing premises of modernism, while in Hitler's Berlin the dominant language was Neoclassicism. While Albert Speer was the key figure during Hitler's regime, Mussolini was opened to several architects with modernist inclinations such as Marcelo Piacentini, Giuseppe Terragni and Giovanni Guerrini (Therborn, 2017, p. 185). Architectural representations of Mussolini's power were the famous Palace of the Italian Civilization at the Esposizione Universale Roma (EUR), Palazzo Littorio [**Fig. 2.20**], and Casa del Fascio in Como [**Fig. 2.21**]. The style and location of these buildings communicate the urbanistic aim of (re)creating the eternal city by resurrecting and reconnecting to the ancient might of Imperial Rome, by constructing some modern grandeurs without replicating nor competing the classical ones (Therborn, 2017, pp. 185-186). In Berlin, the central buildings of power were transformed by the political regime. Here we have the case of renovated buildings, such as the Palazzo Venezia, or extended-renovated, such as the new Reichskanzlei (Therborn, 2017, p. 193) [**Fig. 2.22**].

In the scale of the urban plan on the other side, we can refer to the cases of Frankfurt planned by Ernst May, Berlin administered by Martin Wagner, the Hamburg of Fritz Schumacher, and the Amsterdam of Cor van Eesteren (Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 109). According to Tafuri, these are the "*most important chapters in the history of the social-democratic administration of the city: the experience of the social-democratic architects of the Central Europe, was based on the unification of administrative power and intellectual proposals*" (Tafuri, 1973/1976, pp. 109-112). In this way, May, Wagner, or Taut had political appointments in the administration of social-democratic cities (Tafuri, 1979, pp. 109-112).

Fig. 2.13. Joseph Poelaert, *Palace of Justice*, Brussels, 1883 (source: https://heritagedays.urban.brussels/en/programme/brussels/palace-of-justice/)

Fig. 2.14. *Paris City Center*, Paris (source: https://www.theguardian.com/world)

Fig. 2.15. Kenzo Tange, *Government Building*, Tokyo, 1988 (source: https://www.gettyimages.com/photos/tokyo-metropolitan-government-building

Fig. 2.16. Charles Barry and Augustus Pugin, *Westminster Palace*, London, 1060/1870 (source: https://www.gettyimages.com/photos/uk-parliament-building
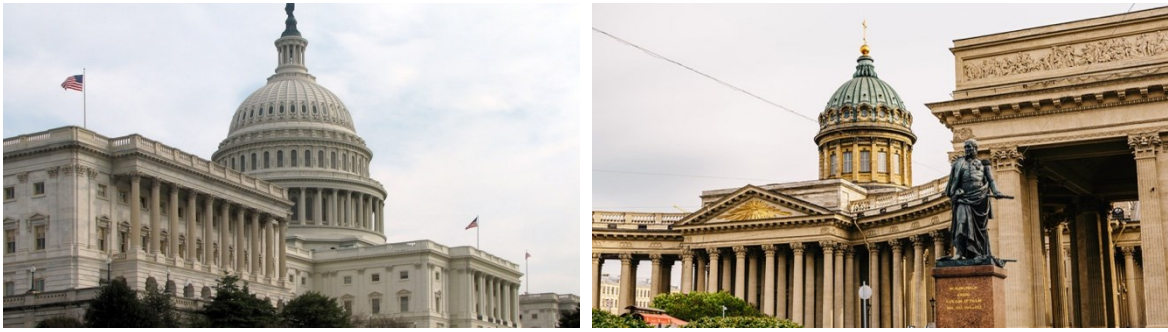
Fig. 2.17. a) Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Stephen T. Ayers, et al., *The United States Capitol*, Washington D.C, 1793-1800 (source: https://washington.org/DC-faqs-for-visitors/how-can-i-tour-capitol-how-can-i-see-congress-session) ;

b) Andrey Voronikhin, *Kazan Cathedral*, Saint Petersburg, Russia, 1811 (source: https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2018/06/01/a-short-history-of-st-petersburg-a61807)

Fig. 2.18. Karl Ehn, *Karl Marx Hof*, Wien, 1930 (source: https://architectuul.com/architecture/karl-marx-hof); **Fig. 2.19.** Gottfried Semper, et al., *Ringstrasse*, Vienna, 1865 (https://www.wien.info/en/sightseeing/ringstrasse)

Fig. 2.22. Karl Friedrich Richter, *Neue Reichskanzlei*, Berlin, 1939 (source: https://www.zukunft-braucht-erinnerung.de/die-neue-reichskanzlei/)

Fig. 2. 20. a) Ernesto B. L. Padula, Giovanni Guerrini and Mario Romano, *Palace of the Italian Civilization,* EUR, Roma, 1943 (source: https://www.walksinrome.com/eur-rome.html); b) Raffaello Maestrelli, *Palazzo Littorio,* Rome, 1937-1939 (source: http://www.artefascista.it/montevarchi__arte__italiana__del1.htm).

Fig. 2. 21. Giuseppe Terragni, *Casa del Fascio,* Como, Italy, 1932-1936 (source: http://www.archdaily.com/312877/ad-classics-casa-del-fascio-giuseppe-terragni).

2.3. ARCHITECTURE AS A DOMAIN OF VISUALIZATION OF CONFLICTING IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL DISCOURSES

Since architecture signifies a process of creation, and creation is based on the personal ideas of the creator, the architect, then it can certainly derive from a specific ideology. But, as the tradition of Freud-Lacanian psychoanalysis predicates, "personal ideas" are never merely personal (Althusser 1971/2014); they are always affected by political, social, economic or cultural circumstances. A building is not simply a reflection of architect's creativity, it is also an embodiment of politics and power, and one has to look at political configurations formed out of international and domestic politics and ideologies. Conflicting interpretations in architecture result from placing the work of architecture within a context of different expressive systems, which is not only of a "system of forms and meanings, but also a system of correlations", determining how meaning and forms can be associated and related to one another (Bonta, 1979, pp. 91-122). In a hypothetical form, this research, states that the combination of high (or low) domestic ideological and political pressures with low (or high) international constructs, at a given time, produces a distinct outcome in architecture and city planning. The cases of Parthenon (as an architectural work) and that of Washington, D.C. (as a large-scale urban work) are used in this section to analyze, interpret and compare the architectural and urban outcome of ideological discourses and political events.

2.3.1. Parthenon, Politics and Pragmatics in Classical Athens

The objective of this analysis is to apprehend the impact of the mix of international and domestic ideological and political constructs in the practice of architecture. Therefore, through the Parthenon, it is discussed how architecture represents the ideological shifts in domestic and international politics, in an attempt to understand how this occurs in different combinations of high and low domestic and international political constructs. In this context, it will be addressed the function of architecture as a representation of fifth-century B.C.E Athenian hegemony; the position of Athens within Greece and its political relations with other Greek cities; and the political vision of Athens' leader, translated through the Parthenon building.

In the case of Classical Greece, domestic and international pressures were formed out of ideological and political forces, representing Greek city-states. Each city-state (such as Athens, Sparta, Corinth, Delphi, etc.) had its own identity, cultural peculiarities and form of governance based on representative political systems such as republic, oligarchy or

monarchy. There was a distribution of power, which during the fifth century (B.C.E) was controlled by Athens and constantly opposed by Sparta.

The Athenian hegemony and the conflict with Sparta, historically begins with the Persian Wars. The Persian threat to the Greek territory ended with the battle of Plataea in 479 B.C.E with a defeat of Persian army from an alliance of Greek forces (Low, 2008, p. 3). This alliance – called the Delian League, after the official meeting place in Delos – was an association of Greek city-states led by the two most powerful: Athens and Sparta. Since the leadership passed to Athens (478 B.C.E.), the way was open to create an imperialist organization from a multilateral alliance (Low, 2008, p. 4). This would be considered as the beginning of the Athenian Empire – which was pretty much concerned with fostering its power and glory – as the dominant political, economic and military force of the Greek world at the time.

Athens' leader, Pericles, "*played an integral role in the Athenian imperialism and the democratic revolution of Athens, weakening the more restrictive bodies of government and giving greater political power to the masses, while increasing his own dominance*" (Smart, 2020, p. 257; Rhodes, 1993). Thucydides tells us that Pericles had low domestic opposition and was dominating the Athenian political world (Thucydides, 2009). This domination reflected not simply his "*own ambition, but the wider ambitions of the people of Athens and the empire they claim as their own*" (Smart, 2020, p. 263), represented through the (re)building programme for the Athenian Acropolis and the Parthenon.

The reconstruction of Athens' public outlook through an ambitious plan of state-sponsored constructions was eventually funded by the taxes paid by Athens' allies in order to maintain a mighty army force to be used in a potential war against Persia. As Plutarch demonstrates, the work on the Parthenon and other temples was financed from the tribute to a significant extent (Rhodes, 1993). Thus, Pericles was using or abusing the Delian League treasury, which moved to Athens during his leadership.

As the dominant force, Athens' challenges in international politics after the Persian conflict, were to maintain its hegemony, control its empire, and react to political pressures from those rejecting Athenian politics. In international affairs Athens was leading by the example of *realpolitik*, represented with the *Melian Dialogue* (Thucydides, 2009). Melos, a city-state member of the Delian League, rejected to contribute to the alliance and were interested in breaking it. In opposition thereof, Athens used its power and threatened to destroy the Melians if they discontinued their participation in the alliance. In this context the pressures coming from city-states members and non-members of the Delian League – thus

the Athenian Empire –, are identified in this paper as *international ideologico-political pressures/constructs*, whereas those of Athens as *domestic ideologico-political pressures/constructs*. As the pressures from other city-states such as Melos, were low and domestic clashes were high, Athens would maintain its hegemony and Pericles would pursue the programme he had in mind to pursuit: the extravagant (re)building programme of Athens, particularly the Parthenon, as a representation of Athens' power and wealth.

The architecture of the Parthenon and the entire complex of which it was part, are representations of social and religious life, power and politico-ideological approaches, constructing and expressing the narrative of the Athenian hegemony. From the aesthetical perspective it is a communication between two classical orders: Doric and Ionian. It is a peripteral type of building [**Fig. 2.23**] with the Doric colonnade and Ionian continuous frieze in the outside, and a combination of Doric and Ionian columns (Ionian columns inside the opisthodomos) in the interior [**Fig. 2.24**].

In this context, Vitruvius genders temple orders arguing that the Doric order is masculine (Spivey, 1996). Thus, through the Parthenon's architecture we can gender the Athenian hegemony, identifying masculinities in the *realpolitik* of the Athenians against their allies. While the Parthenon's gendered combined features are a statement of Power, declaring Athens hegemony over the Greek territory. As an international power, Athens expressed it imperialist ambitions through architecture: as the Doric order emerged in the Greek mainland, while the centre of the Ionian order was in the Ionian region in Asia Minor (both being outside Athens), through the Parthenon they come together under Athens' control.

Parthenon's architects Ictinus and Callicrates, and Pheidias, who was in charge of the sculptural programme, were concerned with proportion, symmetry and harmony in order to achieve a perfect shape. This is understood from the attempt to make the temple symmetrically beautiful, with the refinements made of the deviations from the straight, from the perpendicular, from the perfectly vertical and from the perfectly horizontal, in order to avoid optical illusions (Spivey, 1996, p. 141). Hence, the Parthenon ended up being a sculptural as much as architectural work.

The sculptural program also suited the politico-ideological context of the Parthenon. For instance, the mythical symbolism of the metopes – containing sequences from the battles with the Persians – exalted Greek, or better say, Athenian order, over those who would challenge it (Spivey, 1996, p. 141). The Parthenon's pediment shows the image of Athena contesting the possession of Attica with Poseidon (Spivey, 1996), representing the

domination of Athens within the Greek world. While the statue of Athena Parthenos inside the Parthenon, made of gold and ivory, holding an image of Nike, was a representation of a warrior (Spivey, 1996, p. 167): of the Athenian military power and predominance over Greece. Thus, there was a theme of victory, power and order, represented through architecture, while incorporating a detailed sculptural programme. Though a temple, the Parthenon is a signifier of Athens' ideological and political constructs: its position in domestic and international politics.

From what is written above, we understand that Parthenon (=P) is placed in the matrix-model within the combination of *low domestic* ideological and political pressures and *low international* ideological and political constrains. The Parthenon incorporates several statements of power represented by a number of proxies – defined above as 'centrality' and 'perceptibility' (cf. Chapter 1, Section 1.2.2). From these we can formulate a number of hypothesis to fill the model, as examples that can be developed further and are globally applicable:

HP 1: IF low domestic ideological and political pressure/constrains AND low international pressure/constrains, THEN, the cost of construction gets extravagantly high.

HP 2: IF low domestic ideological and political pressure/constrains AND low international pressure/constrains, THEN, the finances can be used (or abused) from those that have the power.

HP 3: IF low domestic ideological and political pressure/constrains AND low international pressure/constrains, THEN, architecture is a synthesis of different styles, thus gendered combined features of a building are a statement of power.

HP 4: IF low domestic ideological and political pressure/constrains AND low international pressures/constrains, THEN, the architectural morphology and typology gets complex and extravagantly grand and monumental.

The rationale behind these hypothesis is supported by the fact that as an executive power, Athens did not accept orders and controlled the opposition of other city-states. Thus, the Athenians represented their economic power through the cost of the Parthenon, while using the funds from their allies for the building. As an international power, they did incorporate the authentic styles of another city-state, thus, claiming them as their own. While the proportions, dimensions, elevation, refinements, and other element related to morphology and typology, represent not only Athens' imperialist ambitions, but also Pericles' ambition to (re)create Athens' image. The (re)building programme conceptualized by Pericles,

represented Athens' political dominance in Classical Greece, its military and economic power; and the vision of a leader for the future of his state and his people.
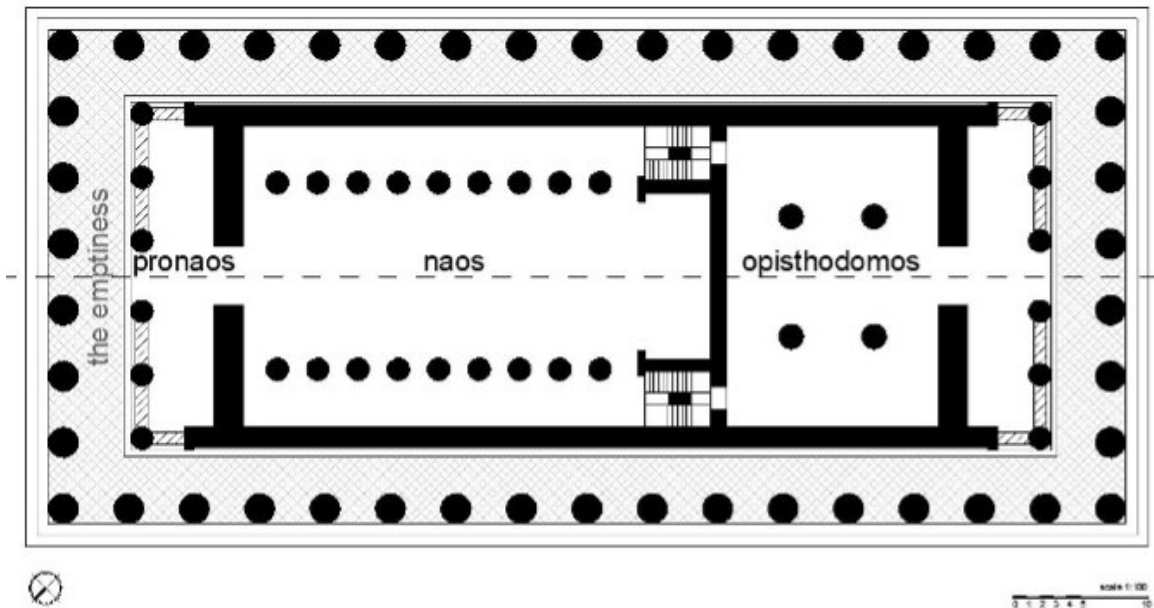
Fig. 2.23. Iktinos and Kallikrates, *Parthenon, Ground Plan*, Acropolis, Athens, Greece, 447-438 BCE (source: author)

Fig. 2.24. Iktinos and Kallikrates, *Parthenon, Perspective drawing*, Acropolis, Athens, Greece, 447-438 B.C.E (source: author)

2.3.2. Washington, D.C., Architecture, Politics and the Ideology of Plan

Referring to the case of Washington, D.C., at the time of its foundation as the *new* capital of the United States, the aim is to analyze and interpret the ideological and political conditions of the emerging US nation, in the late eighteenth century, represented in terms of architectural and city planning. In so doing, this part focuses on deciphering the principles of Baroque, Enlightenment and City Beautiful movements, poured in the urban plan designed by the French engineer Pierre L'Enfant in 1791 upon the request of George Washington, later renewed with the plan commissioned by McMillan in 1902.

The function of the architect as an "ideologist of society" is one of the main themes of the Enlightenment architecture's dialectic. With Laugier's "city as a park", where he calls for regularity and fantasy, "*order in the details and tumult in the whole*", the Enlightenment architectural theory reduced the city itself to a natural phenomenon (Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 4). There exists the same naturalistic ideology as in the baroque city. Yet, contrary the baroque layouts, the city does no longer consists of archetypal schemes of order. Thus, architecture's interplay with ideologies and politics is one of the main topics concerning the architectural theory since the modern period (Tafuri, 1973/1976; Benevolo, 1963/1971; Biermann, Klein, Evers, Freigang & Thoenes, 2015). This analysis goes further to discuss about the dynamic interaction – collaboration and/or conflict – between high and low domestic and international ideologies and politics as power forces impacting architecture and city planning, using the two-by-two matrix model informed by the interpretation of ideology and politics entangled with the plan of Washington, D.C., operationalized through the variables: 1) high and low domestic and international ideological and political pressures; 2) architecture and city planning.

With the emergence of the United States, as defined by the Constitution, Washington, D.C. was to be built as the new capital city. It must be noted that the American political system of that time was characterized by a single government which united all state members and was freely chosen by the people, constituting a representative democracy. "*The thirteen American rebel colonies seceding from the British Empire were divided into two economic and cultural blocs, North and South*" (Therborn, 2017, p. 65), therefore the discussion about the creation of a new capital city, was to be considered a domestic affair of the United States.

George Washington (the first US president) decided that the *new* city should be positioned in the site along the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers, "*after both Maryland and Virginia ceded land to this new 'district', to be distinct from the rest of the states*" (Therborn, 2017, p. 65). However, the site was a product of domestic political pressures and a

compromise between two different ideologies and political thoughts, represented by two of the most influential men active in the politics and government of the United States: Thomas Jefferson as first Secretary of State and Alexander Hamilton as first Secretary of Treasury (Cunningham, 2000). For Hamilton, the political vision for the state was an economic vision that had to pursue an accelerated development of the finical and industrial capital (Tafuri, 1973/1976). Jefferson on the other side, was "*faithful to a democracy elevated at the level of utopia*", characterized by his agrarian and anti-urban politics (Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 29). Significant for him was an agricultural economy as a principle of the democratic system, instead of an industrial economy accompanied by a form of the capitalist development.

In 1783, before the decision for the creation of a new capital city, the Congress proposed to have two capitals, one in south and the other in north (Therborn, 2017, p. 65). The following year, "*the Congress selected New York as its permanent site, but this decision was opposed by Southerners, including George Washington*" (Therborn, 2017, p. 65). A deal between Hamilton, Jefferson, James Madison and Robert Morris, "*for the handling of the national debt*", secured Northern support for moving the capital to South (Therborn, 2017; Kite, 1929). President Washington was authorized to select the area on the Potomac River, where the new 'Federal District' (to be opened by 1800) would be built: "*In September 1791 the commissioners decided that the district should be called Columbia – an oblique way of referring to the European background of the settlers, – while the city itself was to be called Washington*" (Therborn, 2017, p. 65).

In exchange, Hamilton would reorganize the federal government's finances by getting the southern states to indirectly pay off the war debts of the northern states (Kite, 1929). While Robert Morris negotiated that the capital would be in Philadelphia for ten years, until the new capital was to be built on the Potomac (Kite, 1929). As Hamilton's policies "encouraged the consolidation of economic power in the hands of bankers, financiers and merchants who predominated in the urban northeast, the political capital was to be in a more southerly and agricultural region apart from those economic elites", in accordance with Jefferson's vision of the state (Kite, 1929; Therborn, 2017).

To design the new capital city of the United States, George Washington appointed Pierre Charles L'Enfant, to create a "*magnificent city, worthy of the nation, free of its colonial origins and bold in its assertion of a new identity*" (Brown, 1909). L' Enfant plan for Washington, D.C. [**Fig. 2.3**] presented a new way of operating upon and controlling urban

form, inspired by Jefferson's theories of city planning and architecture[5], and using means that were new with respect to European models developed from Le Nôtre's French garden, Wren's plan of London and eighteenth-century Karlsruhe (Tafuri, 1973/1976). For Jefferson, classicism, Palladianism and English experimentalism (Brown, 1909), represented the fact that the "reason of the European Enlightenment" became the principle for the "construction of democracy" (Tafuri, 1979, 28).

Fig. 2.3. Pierre L'Enfant, *The Plan of Washington D.C.*, Washington D.C, US, 1971 (source: https://www.wdgarch.com/perspectives/2016/01/19/the-impact-of-zoning-and-design/)

L'Enfant proposed a grandiose Baroque plan: a grid with orthogonal and radial avenues and roundabouts with monumental landmarks (Therborn, 2017, p. 65). Thus, "*fifteen nodes of development are created by the fifteen public squares, allegories of the fifteen states of the Union*" (Tafuri, 1973/1976). His design focuses on vistas highlighting the federal structures and indicating the power of the national government, and visible open spaces which indicate the interaction of citizens in a democratic society (Worthington, 2005). The "L" structure of

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[5] To understand Jefferson's impact on the development of architectural and city planning, and the institutional value of architecture in the United States, see Tafuri, M. (1979). *Architecture and Utopia*. Massachusetts: MIT Press.

the two main axes leading out from the White House and the Capitol Building, intersecting at the Washington Memorial, is seen from Tafuri as an expression of the division between legislative and executive power (Tafuri, 1973/1976).

Typical of the Baroque style, the plan designed by L'Enfant uses the topography of the city to create a dramatic expression and movement typical for baroque city planning, by positioning the state buildings in strategic spots, in order to dominate the space around them. The Capitol, built in the Capitol Hill, is one of the dominant structures in Washington, D.C. which takes advantage from the topography. The building is a fine representation of classical architecture, following its principles and abstracting its formal and stylistic features. Emphasizing the massive dome and the neoclassical colonnade on the main (western) façade, the Capitol consists of the famous roman Pantheon [**Fig. 2.25**].

A major feature of L'Enfant's plan is the President's House (the White House), which represents layers of neoclassical architecture which form one of the most prominent landmarks of Washington, D.C. The architectural project for the White House was a work of the Irish-born architect James Hoban, who used as reference the Leinster House in Dublin (today the Irish Parliament) and the principles of Palladianism (Thoenes, 2015) [**Fig. 2.26**]. The classicism that informs the building is represented through its formal layout, and the rhythm and symmetry created by the distribution of pilasters and openings on its façades; while it is completed with the addition of two columned porticos (northern and southern) by Jefferson and his architect Henry Latrobe (Thoenes, 2005) [**Fig. 2.27**]. To create a relationship between the two aforementioned buildings and the public spaces around them, L'Enfant established a connection along Pennsylvania Avenue as well as the two grand axes of the Mall and the Ellipse connecting at the site of the Washington Monument (Tafuri, 1963/1976).

Understanding from the above, the emerging American nation by the end of the eighteenth century, was interpreting classical architecture in order to give rise to its own specific interpretation of "representative democracy". The spatial, formal and aesthetic importance of state buildings and public spaces in L'Enfant's plan, is a representation of the importance of the public within a political condition: the co-existence of the public and the government, illustrating through architectural form the democracy in the United States. Thus, the plan is a spatial conception rather than a physical entity (Worthington, 2005): it is a plan created to construct a nation. L'Enfant's plan gave "*concrete expression to the United States, creating a symbol par excellence of the will of the people that had given life to the Union*" (Tafuri, 1973/1976). Contrary to the academic architecture of Europe between 1920

and 1940, characterized with a mediated or compromised classicism (Tafuri, 1973/1976), the classism that informs the plan of Washington, D.C. and the structures within that plan, is complete.

The naturalistic ideology of Baroque, Enlightenment and City Beautiful movement, found its political field in the eighteenth-century America: the architectural ideology of L'Enfant's city planning, overlapped the agricultural ideology pushed forward by Jefferson. The creation of a new capital, translates into visual terms the "foundation of a new world", corresponding to a "*unitary decision and a free choice that no collective will in Europe had been able to put forward*" (Tafuri, 1973/1976). Such an ideological and architectural (formal, aesthetical and technical) compatibility was conditioned by the political system of the United States, which by the end of the eighteenth century was becoming a world political power. Therefore, L'Enfant was "*explicitly planning the 'Capital of a vast Empire', which took about a century to be realized, revived by a Senate Planning Commission of 1902*" (Therborn, 2017, p.66).

With no opposition from international forces towards United States' inter-state and domestic affairs, the creation of the "American Nation" represented through the creation of a new capital city, was to be considered only a compromise and/or conflict within the government, represented by the contradictions between Jefferson and Hamilton. Thus, one can assume that Washington, D.C., and the overall state buildings programme, was realized within the combination of low international and high domestic ideological and political constructs, as it is illustrated within the two-by-two matrix model.

In order to decipher the ideological and political statements behind the plan and the architecture of state buildings, the same methodology as in the case of the Parthenon is used. In the model designed in this thesis, the case of Washington, D.C., is placed in the matrix in the combination of *high domestic* ideological and political constructs and *low international* ideological and political constructs. In this case, we have the following hypotheses:

H1: If high domestic ideological and political constructs and low international constructs the cost of construction gets high.

H2: If high domestic ideological and political constructs and low international constructs the finances are used from those who are in power (the government in this case).

H3: If high domestic ideological and political constructs and low international constructs the used architectural style is extravagate and enriched with monumental elements.

H4: If high domestic ideological and political constructs and low international constructs the form of the urban plan is a sophisticated structure incorporating statements of power.

The rationale of these hypothesis is supported by the fact that United States had all the political and economic power to decide for the creation of its specific identity and the vision for its capital city. Politicians like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson in particular, invested in achieving what for them would be the perfect plan for the city. Thus, the grandeur of the urban and architectural form, combined with the classical expression of the structures, was pushed forward by domestic political forces.

Fig. 2.25. William Thornton, *The US Capitol,* 1800, Washington D.C, US.
(source: https://fineartamerica.com/art/drawings/us+capitol+building)

Fig. 2.26. James Hoban, *The White House,* 1800, Washington D.C, US.
(source: https://www.whitehousehistory.org/architecture-1790s-1840s)

Fig. 2.27. Henry Latrobe, *The White House,* 1824, Washington D.C, US.
(source: https://www.whitehousehistory.org/architecture-1970s-1840s)

CHAPTER 3.

IDEOLOGICAL AND FORMAL COMPATIBILITY: A METAPHOR FOR THE CITY

This chapter represents the intersection of the two previous chapters, aiming to analyze and interpret how architecture's interplay with ideology and politics is materialized and concretized spatially and socially, for the individuals to comprehend it. As the concluding chapter of the first part of this thesis, its objective is also to crate the transition to the chapters of the second part. Thus, this chapter operates as a mediation point between the theoretical framework and the case studies. At the center of this chapter is the city as a field of communication, the testing ground for previously defined theories, concepts and principles. The city will be used as a metaphor for the formal and spatial representation of architecture as ideology and politics. This chapter brings into discussion the compatibility of ideological and political discourses with architectural and urban features such a form, style and technology, in modernist and postmodernist contexts. These two periods are analyzed together, in order to trace in parallel the peculiarities of each of them and the main differences, expressed in and through architecture and the urban setting. Such analysis starts with the very concept of modernity, continuing with its contextualization in socialist states after 1945, and the emergence of postmodernism in western culture.

The well-known Marxian "architectural metaphor of structure/superstructure" (Mele, 2022), is the initial premise for the discussion of the modern and postmodern, or the (post-) modern city in this chapter. Cities are sites of political power, ideologies, and of course, architecture. More than that, cities can also be sites of political counter-power, of resistance, opposition movements, etc. (Therborn, 2017, p. 15). First, the architectural discourse has always impacted the form and aesthetic of the city. In the works of architectural theorists, as it the case with Aldo Rossi, the city was the testing ground of theories and ideas that have been formative for the construction of particular urbanities with which individuals identify themselves. Such urbanities are shaped by architecture and signify a historical or current ideological, political, economic and cultural condition with which the individual is associated.

Second, cities are shaped by power, by ideology and politics. In this context, the urban relations are structured in two ways: 1) "*through the formation of the city space, in terms of division and connection, of centre and periphery, of hierarchy and equality and of comfort, discomfort and misery*"; 2) "*through the opportunities and the limitations, the sense and the*

priorities of urban living, identities in the city, the meanings of the city's and the nation's past, present and aspired future" (Therborn, 2017, pp. 16-18). According to Anthony Giddens, "*with the advent of capitalism, the city is no longer the dominant spatiotemporal container or crucible of power; this role is assumed by the territoriality bounded nation-states*" (Mele, 2022, p. 2). But, as David Harvey argues, "*the fact that cities in the legal sense have lost political power and geopolitical influence, that urban economies now take the form of megacities…does not imply that they are no longer included in the urban process*" (Mele, 2022, p. 2)*.*

As we will understand from this chapter, even the most formal, aesthetic and technic developments in the city – particularly the modern city – , are related to power and politics. In fact, the city is a metaphor of modernity itself, representing all aspects of politics, economy and society. This is evident from the emergence of the first theories of the Frankfurt School, mostly in the works of George Simmel and Walter Benjamin. Both of them, use the concept of the *metropolis* to describe the large, modernist city. According to Vincenzo Mele (2022), this concept of the metropolis has two interpretations: 1) it is related to the historical experience of the great European cities at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century, such as Berlin, Paris and Vienna; 2) it is a *metaphor* for a social and cultural form whose significance extends beyond historically defined spatial and temporal borders (Mele, 2022, pp. 33-34).

Simmel's and Benjamin's *metropolis* represents the "general form of modernity" (Cacciari, 1993; Abruzzese, 2017). Through Paris and Berlin, they bring into discussion the technological and cultural changes that would constitute the elements of "modernist sensibility*"* (Mele, 2022, p. 302). The reasons why this thesis refers to the works of Simmel and Benjamin for the study the (post-)modern city, are based on the methodology that they use to decipher the city space:

> "*What Benjamin proposes (and what he puts into practice in his writings on Naples, Moscow, Berlin, and Paris) is therefore a fascinating and controversial 'aesthetic semantics of the urban text'. It is an 'aesthetic method of analysis of urban social reality', which proposes to read and interpret the city in its physical and material characters (architecture, spaces, etc.) as a 'dreamlike' text in which latent dreams and desires can be read*" (Mele, 2022, p. 302).

3.1. ARCHITECTURE AND THE CITY IN A MODERN CONDITION

"*Modernity may be used as a shorthand for a current or recent culture. In the arts it has come to designate the reign of a style or a stance, modernism. Into sociology it has been imported to label a (largely pre-defined) social process, modernization*"

(Therborn, 2017, p.25).

To understand the premises of modern architecture and city planning, and study their implication with ideology and politics, it is first important to go through the very meaning of "the modern" itself. The term, as it will be presented in this section, is an important theoretical contribution to the study of form in architecture. In this context, it is Walter Benjamin's work that is considered a central reference to the architectural theory in general and this thesis in particular. Following Benjamin's thinking of "the modern", one could understand that the term designates both a formal temporal structure and the diverse range of its historical instances, past and present, whose reinterpretation and critical reading can stimulate possible future scenarios for urban spaces, or the understanding of specific developments related to them (Benjamin, 1982; Male, 2022).

Walter Benjamin provided a theory of modernity related to time – a theory of the temporality of the modern – which could be interpreted in terms of the architectural and urban product. He developed a historical conception of time, which does not imply any distinction between past, present and future time, but is "*based on the temporal continuity of past, present and future, where different events are understood as connected*" (Osborne & Charles, 2021). In this line, in his recent work "Modern Times: Temporality in Art and Politics", Rancière introduces the thesis that "*there is no one modern time, only a plurality of them*" (2018/2022, p. 7).

Benjamin proposed an alternative image of modernity, which does not include a homogenous understanding of time (Mack, 2009). In *The Arcades Project* – the unfinished research on nineteenth century Paris – he interprets the architectures of modernity as "*images in the collective consciousness, in which the old and new interpenetrate*" (Benjamin & Rice, 2009). Modernity is rendered as a continuous, incomplete, process, that would not necessarily destroy the past which precedes the presence of the modern, neither it would be the temporal endpoint where history's long progress finds its culmination (Mack, 2009). Thus, we have a concept of history that is compatible with modernity.

Modernity has an architecture, in the sense that the elements of modernity have points of connection and coherence, and it is a genuine object of research which demands a necessary interdisciplinarity (Benjamin & Rice, 2009). The city was Benjamin's testing

ground: "*Modernized city, the city realized in the Paris of the Second empire and afterwards…the city as the nexus of modern circulation, perception, cognition, experience and shock*" (Sussman, 2009, pp. 9-38). In *The Arcades Project* we face the experience of the capitalist metropolis through the construction of relations between its elements "then" and "now". The two terms, capitalism and modernity, are inextricable for Benjamin in the context of 19th-and early 20th-century Europe (Benjamin & Rice, 2009). Benjamin's thought combined the experience of the capitalist metropolis, with some fundamental elements of Marxist socialism, and the Romantic idea of the reconciliation between man and nature (Markus, 2009). Thus, we are faced with a multiplicity of modernity related to either socialist or capitalist contexts. In this regard, modernity – being continuous and multiple – necessitates forms of interruption.

Benjamin's modernity is compatible both to the periodization of modern architecture introduced by Manfredo Tafuri, and the definition of Postmodernism by Friedrich Jameson. Tafuri formulates the "entire cycle of modernism as unitary development" (Hays, 1989), where changes occur in terms of socialist and capitalist ideological and political systems, or in the function of an architecture. While Jameson defines "postmodernism as a cultural production of late capitalism", emerging from the 1960s and onwards (Jameson, 1991). In this context, Benjamin's modernity "takes the form of a pre-history of both modern and postmodern" architecture and city planning (Male, 2022, p. 347). Benjamin, as well as George Simmel, used the concept of the "metropolis" as an "expressive platform of modernity" (Abruzzese & Mancini, 2011, p. 19), and also as a phenomenon through which we can understand the development of a postmodernity that is contemporary to us (Mele, 2022, p. 347). This understanding of modernity is precisely the rationale behind the selection of the term "(Post-)Modern" to be used in this thesis for referring to a modern discourse combined with elements of postmodernity, and a transitional condition between the two movements.

3.1.1. Theories and Principles

Manfredo Tafuri starts the discussion on modern architecture and city planning with Laugier's theories of urban design introduced in 1753, which have officially initiated Enlightenment architectural theory (Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 3). According to Tafuri, Laugier gives a summary of the formal reality of the eighteenth-century city, bringing out the problem of the "*interrelationship and opposition – at the level of formal research – between the architectural object and urban organization*" (Tafuri, 1973/1976):

> *"Whoever knows how to design a park well will have no difficulty in tracing the plan for the building of a city according to its given area and situation. There must be squares, crossroads, and streets. There must be regularity and fantasy, relationships and oppositions, and casual, unexpected elements that vary the scene; great order in the details, confusion, uproar, and tumult in the whole"*
>
> (Laugier, 1755, pp. 312-313).

In Laugier's theory, the "Reason and Nature had to be unified under the Enlightenment rationalism". The initial objective of Enlightment theories was to "destroy" the Baroque schemes of city planning, aiming at the development of new formal types that potentially would later be recognized as what today we refer to as modern (Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 8). Although they never encouraged or conditioned the "*formation of global models of development*", – as they did not have at their disposal the adequate techniques for the "*new conditions imposed by bourgeois ideology and economic liberalism*", – they did set the basic principles that would be followed during the period of modernism, or better said, they achieved to represent a contradiction to the *ancien régime* (Tafuri, 1973/1976, pp. 8-10). An interesting case that precedes the emergence of modernist city planning, being a "*tentative opening of Baroque culture to revolutionary ideologies*", is Piranesi's *Campo Marzio* [**Fig. 3.1**]. Here we are faced with the collapse of ancient values and order, and "*all forms of classical derivation are treated as fragments or deformed symbols, while it is in the city that such fragments are deprived of any autonomy*" (Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 18).

In this context, Laugier's description and the discourse of the Enlightenment in general, have been a theoretical reference for the discussion of the modern *metropolis*, and urban morphology and aesthetics, from George Simmel to Walter Benjamin, and modernist architects such as Le Corbusier, Scheffler, Hilberseimer and Tafuri. For instance, Le Corbusier was based precisely on Laugier's theory while delineating the theoretical principles of the famous modernist plan of *Ville Radieuse* (Le Corbusier, 1929/1972; Tafuri, 1973/1976) [**Fig. 3.2**]. Through this case, we can understand the *utopian* character of Le Corbusier's work, which according to Tafuri was so inherent to the modern architecture until the 1960 (Tafuri, 1973/1976) – a moment to which we will get back in the following sections of this chapter. Le Corbusier's architecture contained the level of social utopia[6] that could support the reformist ideas regarding the city planning. When such utopianism is present, the architect takes the role of the idealist and architecture takes the task of rendering its work

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[6] Here we are referring to the utopian trend in nineteenth century politics that had a relationship with the "ideas of the modern movement", including the "utopias of Fourier, Owen and Cabet, the theoretical models of Howard, Garnier and Le Corbusier" (Tafuri, 1963/1967).

political, aiming the "*continual invention of advanced solutions, at the most applicable level*" (Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 12).

The modern city is a product of the full development of industrial capitalism, and its urban cultural function fits the capitalist economic order that dominated all social institutions. An impacting factor on the organization of the city space, was the transition from rural agricultural economy to urban industrial economy (Caves, 2005). Further, modern architecture and city planning find their starting point with the discussions of general extension of working-class conditions in the urban structures, following the theories of Marx and Engels. The driving force behind all "avant-garde movements" (such as Constructivism, Cubism, futurism, Dada and all forms of the art of protest) culminating with the Bauhaus, was the industrial production, the essence of which was the continual technical and/or technological revolution (Tafuri, 1973/1976, pp. 84-86). From Le Corbusier's *Plan Voisin* (1925) and the transformation of the Bauhaus (1933), architecture was related to the reorganization of the city space. As Tafuri states:

> "*From the standardized element, to the cell, the single block, the housing project and finally the city: architecture between the two wars imposed this assembly line with an exceptional clarity and coherence. Each 'piece' on the line, being completely resolved in itself, tended to disappear or, better, to formally dissolve in the assemblage*" (Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 101).

In the first years of the 20th century, architecture represented the city as a productive organism and the planned organization of construction production (Caves, 2005). The massive construction of collective housing blocks became characteristic of city planning. This type expresses a rational solution in economic terms and reflects equality, as an element of a socialist ideology (Caves, 2005). This is also made evident by Hanno Walter Kruft in "A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present" (1994), where he writes that for Walter Gropius, "construction meant shaping of the life process". And according to him, most individuals or social groups have similar needs, so it is logical that these needs are uniformly satisfied.

In the modern city, from the 1920s to the beginning of the Second World War, the architectural proposal was interrelated with the "*urban model on which it was developed, and the economic and technological premises on which it was based, the public ownership of the city soil and industrialized building enterprises*" (Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 114). Architecture and city planning were thus integrated to an ideological and political level and can be interpreted as their maximum expression. Ernst May's proposal of urban settlements

and all his work in Frankfurt [**Fig. 3.3**] – for which "*Nazi propaganda would speak of as constructed socialism*" – can be taken as example (Buekschmitt, 1963; Lane, 1968). Although the new plans were focused on the organization of the large city, "*the settlement was an example of the alternative model of urban development proposed by working-class organizations*", a fragment that set the model of the "town" (Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 119). For illustration we can refer to the theoretical models of the Garden City, Soviet decentralization, Wright's Broadacre City and the regionalism of the Regional Planning Association of America, which were taken up again in Italy after 1945.

Following Le Corbusier, the modern architect was not simply a designer of objects but an organizer and a mediator between the intellectual initiative and the *civilisation machiniste*. His task should be the rendering of "the public as an active and participant consumer of the architectural product" (Tafuri, 1973/1976). In this context, it was the institution of CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne formed in 1928) that took, at a political level, the role of "*an authority capable of connecting the planning of building production and urbanism with the programs of civil organization*" (Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 126). CIAM was an international organization with an executive, national branches and a congress with delegates and individual members. Le Corbusier was its spiritual leader, but the organization was mainly run by Siegfried Giedion (secretary-general from 1928 to 1957), Cornelis van Eesteren (president from 1931 to 1947), Walter Gropius (vice-president in exile, since the Nazi takeover), and Josep Lluís Sert (president from 1947 to 1957), an exiled Catalan planner at Harvard (Therborn, 2017, p. 249).

Le Corbusier's early work until 1929 was related both to the *cell* and the *city*: "the Domino house, the Immeuble-Villa, the city of three million inhabitants and the Plan Voisin for Paris", represent his modernist approach on establishing different scales and types of intervention, and the total involvement upon the public (Tafuri, 1973/1976) [**Fig. 3.4**]. Between 1929 and 1931, "with the plans for Buenos Aires, San Paulo, Rio and particularly the one for Algiers" [**Fig. 3.5**], Le Corbusier "*formulated the most elevated theoretical hypothesis of modern urbanism*", which remains unsurpassed in terms of ideology and form, at least until the late 1960s (Tafuri, 1973/1976).

We can understand that Le Corbusier "takes account of the reality of class in the modern city" and thus integrates the public as "operators and active consumers in the urban mechanism", rendered by him as "human" (Tafuri, 1973/1976). But all of Le Corbusier's plans – and consequently his theory of modern planning – remained unrealized *utopias*. The reasons for this are that he worked strictly as an "intellectual" and was not associated with

local or state authorities, and his aim was to develop internationally applied models and methods, from the particular to the universal (Tafuri, 1973/1976). All of this is also evident on the plan Chandigarh [**Fig.3.6**], in which with the imposition of such "internationally applied" modernist urban model failed to relate to the general social and cultural context of the place.

There is a lot of contradiction in the discussions and interpretations of the modernist city. Often, its identity is related to the transformation of the historic urban fabric into a spatial archetype where the ideologies of Enlightment, socialism and so on, would be materialized. From the works of Walter Benjamin, later Manfredo Tafuri and most recently Jacques Rancière, we understand the modern urban processes as continual and not necessarily destroying the structures from the past. In this context, the multiplicity of modernity is related to different contexts and produces various types of urban products. Such contradictions can be seen as a result of political implications in the discipline of architecture.

For instance, in the 1930s, Stalinist "officials and architects discussed urban space as a tool that could be used to transform and inspire" the Soviet society (Zubovich, 2021). They "favored the city over the countryside", or differently put, the "large city" over the "town". In the scale of architecture, monumentalism was used as means through which power and ideology was conveyed, as was stated in 1935 by the state's primary architectural journal *Arhitektura SSSR*: "*the monumental architecture of the new Moscow will be majestic and simple. It will give birth to new joyful feelings between the individual and the collective*" (Zubovich, 2021, p. 49). The journal was published by the "USSR Union of Architects" since 1933 and was a source of information communicating domestic debates and the developments in the international scene.

The USSR Union of Architects was a political institution whose function – parallel to that of CIAM's – was to oversee urban and architectural developments in the country. With this, city planning was completely centralized and transformed to a tool in the control of the state (Zubovich, 2021), affirming Tafuri's hypothesis presented in the previous section (cf. Section 2.1.2.). This implication of politics was the central topic of the discussions on the premises of modern architecture and city planning within CIAM. In a letter to Le Corbusier in 1933, Giedion, who itself was a socialist and believed in the spirit of the Russian Revolution, presented to alternatives for the public stand of the CIAM:

> "*Technicians or politicians? 1. Technicians: the only possibility to have an international influence at the moment. But when the true social development becomes really effective, we will be turned out instantly, without a doubt. 2. Politicians: impossible for us to have an influence with anyone important at the moment. Only means to have influence is a socialist situation*" (Therborn, 2017, pp. 251-252).

Another modernist contradiction was regarding monumentality. On one side, monumentality was neglected and dismissed from the architectural discourse and urban space, by "modernist architectural and urbanist avant-garde" in the years between the First and second World War. On the other side, in 1943, Siegfried Giedion, Josep Lluís Sert and Fernand Léger, published the "Nine Points on Monumentality" as a request for the modernist reconsideration of the topic of monumentality (Therborn, 2017, pp. 21-22). In the following section, we will understand how all these theories, concepts, debated and contradictions accompanying the modern movement, are reflected in the architectural and urban form, and the aesthetics of the city.
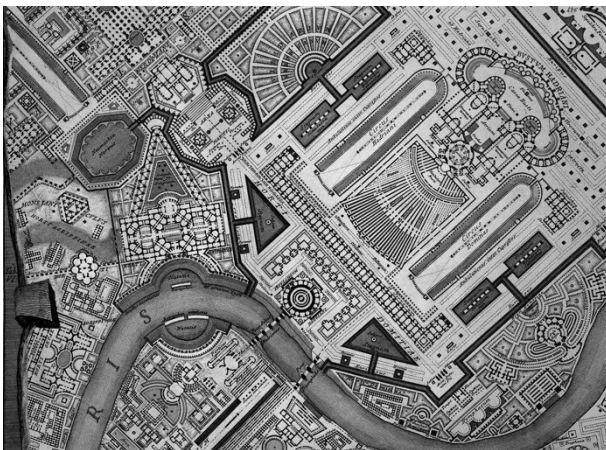
Fig. 3.1. Piranesi, *Campo Marzio*, Rome, 1762 (source: https://zero.eu/en/eventi/77647-il-campo-marzio-dellantica-roma,roma/)
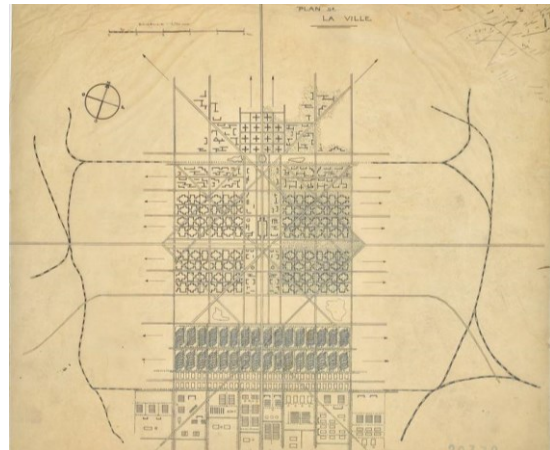
Fig. 3.2. Le Corbusier, *Ville Radieuse*, 1930 (source: http://www.fondationlecorbusier.fr)
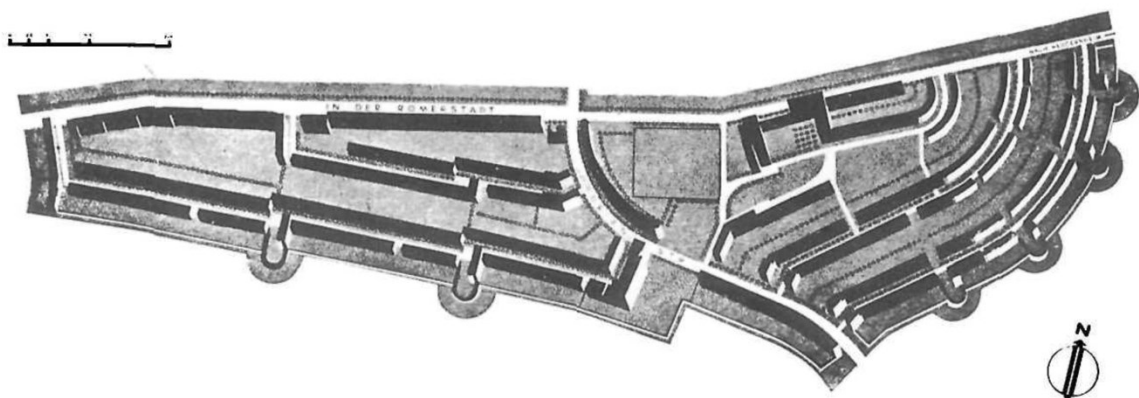
Fig. 3.3. a) Ernst May and colleagues, *Romerstadt settlement, Masterplan*, Frankfurt, 1928 (source: Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 118)
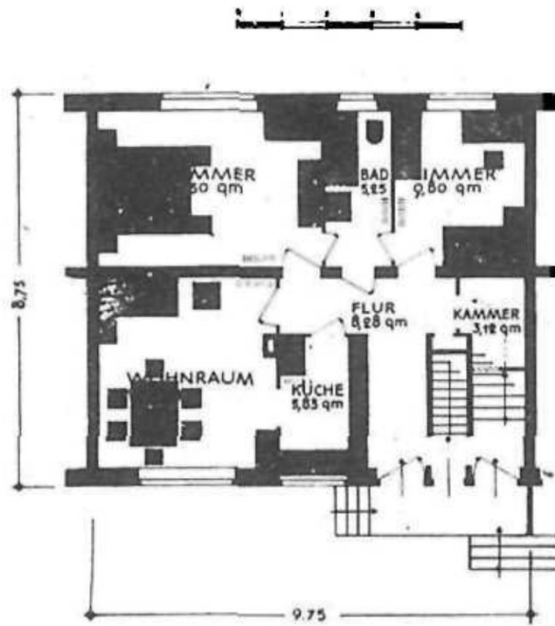
Fig. 3.3. b) Ernst May and colleagues, *Romerstadt settlement, House Unit*, Frankfurt, 1928 (source: Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 118)

Fig. 3.4. Le Corbusier, *Maison Dom-Ino*, 1914, (source: http://www.fondationlecorbusier.fr)
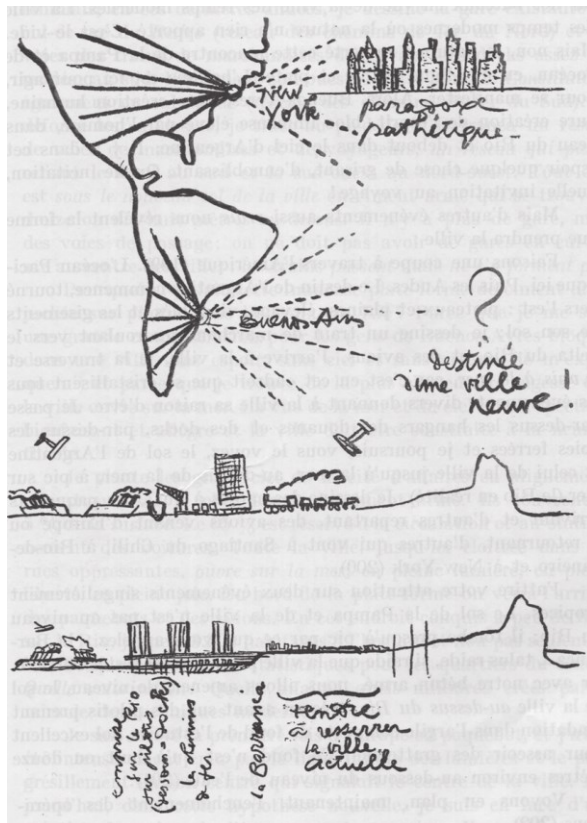
Fig. 3.5. Le Corbusier, *Plan for Buenos Aires*, 1937 (source: https://www.research gate.net/publication/304028824_Le_Corbusier%27s_plan_for_Buenos_Aires_Useful_expl anations_on_the_birth_of_the_cities).

Fig. 3.6. Le Corbusier, *Urban Plan for Chandigarh,* India, 1950s (source: http://www. fondationlecorbusier.fr).
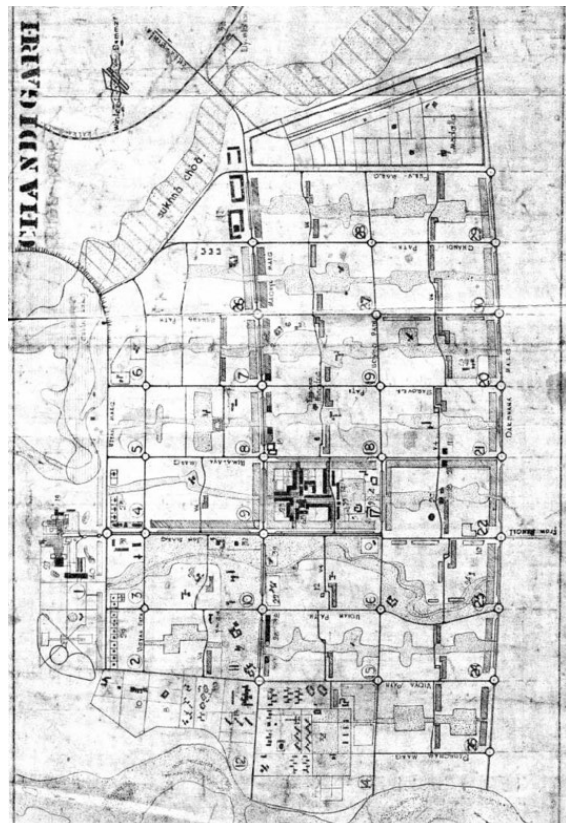
3.1.2. The Operation of Modern Architectural and Urban Form

One of the objectives that *new* modern forms and typologies aimed to achieve, was also the organization of collective life. This was represented for instance through Mies van der Rohe's open spaces or Gropius' integrated architecture (Tafuri, 1973/1976). It was at this point that architecture was strongly linked to the destiny of the modern city. If we refer to Hilberseimer's work in *Grossstadtarchitektur*, we understand that the modern city becomes a "social machine", in which unity is created from the relation of "the elementary cell and urban organism as a whole" (Hilberseimer, 1927). In order to address the objective of improving the conditions of the working class, the main sector that modernists aimed to develop, was that of housing. Thus, the reorganization of the city space would have to start with the housing unit: "*the single room was considered as the constituent element of habitation, the habitations in turn form blocks, and thus the room was a factor of urban configuration*" (Hilberseimer, 1927) [**Fig.3.7**]. Undoubtedly, all this can be seen as an analogy to the structure – superstructure relation and the cycle of the industrial production program in general.

Le Corbusier on the other side, did not define the minimal unit of production (i.e., the cell) in terms of standard functional elements. On the scale of the single unit, he took into account the continual technological revolution dictated by the rapid and dynamic expansion of capitalism: "*the residential cell, theoretically consumable in brief time, can be substituted at any change of individual necessity*" (Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 132). Within this process, the authorities, industrialists and the users of the city space, are involved by Le Corbusier in "*theoretically similar functions: from the reality of production to the image and the use of the image, the entire urban machine pushes the 'social' potential of the civilisation machiniste to the extreme of its possibilities*" (Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 133).

What is evident, is the modernist will to adapt architectural and urban forms to the new problems of modern society. Van der Rohe had stated that we should develop new forms deriving from the very nature of the new problems, with the methods of the time (Bonta, 1979, p. 22). At the Bauhaus, Gropius also taught that one must first study the nature of the object in order to design the object, and the form will evolve in relation to the modern production methods, constructions and materials (Bonta, 1979). As Le Corbusier, both Gropius and van der Rohe, believed on integrating social demand and technological possibilities to the discipline of architecture, i.e. to the models of building production and city planning. That such models would then have a global applicability, was clear on Le Corbusier's approach to realize his modernist principles in the Obus Plan for Algiers.

All of this led to the emergence of the International Style, which has its debut at the 1932 exhibition with the same name, organized by the New York Museum of Modern Art. This style was basically the European modernism of Bauhaus and Le Corbusier: "*non-ornamental, austerely streamlined, very different from the ebullient Art Deco high-rises of 1920s New York*" (Therborn, 2017, p. 249). High-rise buildings were first built by American capitalists, but soon became objects of study for European modernists. In Paris they were introduced by Le Corbusier and Auguste Perret in the Plan Voisin, while in Germany by van der Rohe.

In Europe, in terms of politics, the 1920s are characterized with the emergence of working-class housing in all state urban programmes, as it is the case of working-class city envisioned in Vienna or Amsterdam (Therborn, 2017, p. 251). The housing sector was at the focus of modernist architects, while bourgeois academicism and historicism were its main urbanistic enemies. This was evident from CIAM's first and second congresses, in which the changing the class structure of housing was a high-priority task, and the whole discussion was centered on the themes of low-cost housing for minimal existence, the minimal housing unit, social equality and uniformity (Therborn, 2017, pp. 251-252).

The 1933 CIAM congress in Athens marks another important moment on the history of the modern city. Its result was the initial drafting of the Charter of Athens (CIAM's most famous document that was to be officially published in 1943) as a blueprint for a social urbanism, which contained the principles of the *Functionalist City*. The functionalist city – resulting from the critique on the urban developments of the time – was a proposal for the model city of the future, that would have four main functions distributed through zoning: housing, recreation/leisure, work and communication/traffic (Caves, 2005). Of the four functions, the housing is prime (Therborn, 2017, p. 252). The form of the city consists of a large green area with high-rise buildings, at such distances that most of the city space would be free from construction, while the traffic would be moved from the fronts of the buildings to new roads (Caves, 2005). This model city aims to create a rational society reflecting a socialist ideology, through the means of urban design. This concept of the functionalist city was clearly preceded by Le Corbusier's plans similar to the *Ville Contemporaine.*

The drafting of other *General Plans*, especially in Russia, intended to guide architects and planners on the organization of new housing and expanded traffic, "*to give the city a sense of coherence and unity*" which would be achieved by a Communist state (Zubovich, 2021, p.50). By the early 1930s Moscow and Russia was the most relevant international pole of modernist architecture (Therborn, 2017). Le Corbusier was there on several visits, and the

fourth Congress of CIAM was planned for Moscow in 1932 and 1933 (Therborn, 2017, p.208). For the realization of modernist city models, the existing spatial structures had to be adapted to the "*new political and economic conditions*". In this context, "*the demolition of Moscow's largest Orthodox cathedral in 1931 was a powerful symbolic act*" that would open way to impose the Soviet power into the old urban space (Zubovich, 2021, p. 48).

However, soon (in the Stalinist era), the Soviet Socialist Realism would return to the valuing of the past and would rely on past building forms and types to propose "*solutions for the new socialist city*" (Zubovich, 2021, p. 54). This represented "*a break with the doctrine of modernism that was earlier very influential in Moscow's architectural discourse*"; in fact, Soviet Communist architects and authorities never really developed an elaborate conception of socialist urbanism (Therborn, 2017). In this context, at the 1937 CIAM Congress, Frank Lloyd Wright while addressing his criticisms of the 'left' and the 'right' wings of Soviet architecture, expressed his hope that the USSR, "liberated from private interests", would create "a new architecture as an example to the world", including the United States (Therborn, 2017, p. 209).

In Yugoslavia, in the period between the two World Wars, the discipline of architecture was characterized with its own internal modernization. In this context we can distinguish two expressions of modern architecture and planning. First, we have the realized projects: the interpolation of modern forms aesthetics in the city centers, and the introduction of progressive standards and residential practices through the construction of new avenues and neighborhoods. Secondly, a wide theoretical and conceptual discourse that shows the presence of modernist thought waiting for an opportunity to participate in the processes of urbanization, represented by "publications, exhibitions, ambitious and conceptually advanced competition projects and unbuilt proposals, and the work of architectural groups like the socially engaged Zagreb Working Group, the Yugoslav branch of CIAM (the Group of architects of modern orientation - Gamp in Belgrade) and the circle of architects around Edvard Ravnikar in Ljubljana" (Mrduljaś & Kulić, 2012, p. 9).

Beyond capitalist, communist and social-democratic systems, modern architecture has also defined the form of the fascist city. In Rome, modernism was expressed in the General Plan of 1931, and both in large-scale projects of public/state architecture and housing settlements. For instance, "Palazzo del Littorio" (1937-39) and "Palazzo della Civilta Italiana" (1938-1943), clearly represented the Italian Rationalism as "a relation of the technical, typological and aesthetic elements of European modernism", with regime's need for self-representation (Therborn, 2017). The former was placed in the new Foro Mussolini,

while the latter at the Esposizione Universale Roma (initiated in 1935 by Benito Mussolini for the planned 1942 world exhibition) [**Fig.3.8**]. If such projects aimed to develop modern architectural and urban models while respecting the traditional ones and not competing with the grandeur of the Classical Rome, other urban interventions were laid out on the basis of "devastating urban and archeological demolitions", such as the main road across archeological Rome (former Via dell'Impero, now Via dei Fori Imperiali), and the access to Vatican, the Via della Conciliazione (Therborn, 2017, p. 187). Esposizione Universale Roma on the other side, was constructed as a new center of Rome, an urban fragment on an unbuilt site, without being superimposed on an old, historic structure.

Generally, the movement of the "Italian Rationalism" was considered as an appeal to history that distinguished Italian architects of the regime from other European modernists, but nevertheless their buildings were similar: strict lines, simple forms, flat roofs and no decorations. For instance, Giuseppe Terragni followed the modern principles of transparency and open continuous spaces, with the intention to show through architecture that "*fascism is a glass house that everyone can look into*" [**Fig. 2.21**]. Terragni's works, as well as those of other figures of Italian rationalism, were largely influenced by foreign architects, most notably of Le Corbusier , Gropius and Mies van der Rohe.

Contrary to the "Italian Rationalism", modernism saw its influence and dominance diminished in the other fascist capital, Berlin. Once the center of the modern principles strongly transmitted by the Bauhaus, the German urban landscape was transformed into a field of neoclassical and eclectic architectural and urban models. In terms of politics and economy, the two fascist capitals – modern or not – promoted the models of public-private partnerships, and followed a capitalist distribution of city functions, reserving city spaces for private business buildings (Therborn, 2017). This approach was very different from the housing priorities in the modern city.

All of what is said above, sends us backs to the initial hypothesis of this research, according to which, changes in ideology and politics push for specific developments in the city's form and aesthetics. The modern city was no exception, in fact it is the best case to test all of the hypothesis raised here. The rapid industrial and technological evolution; the dominating socialist ideologies, and the formation of communist parties and state on one side, and the development of capitalism on the other – all were forces that impacted the great contradictions of the modernist city and society.
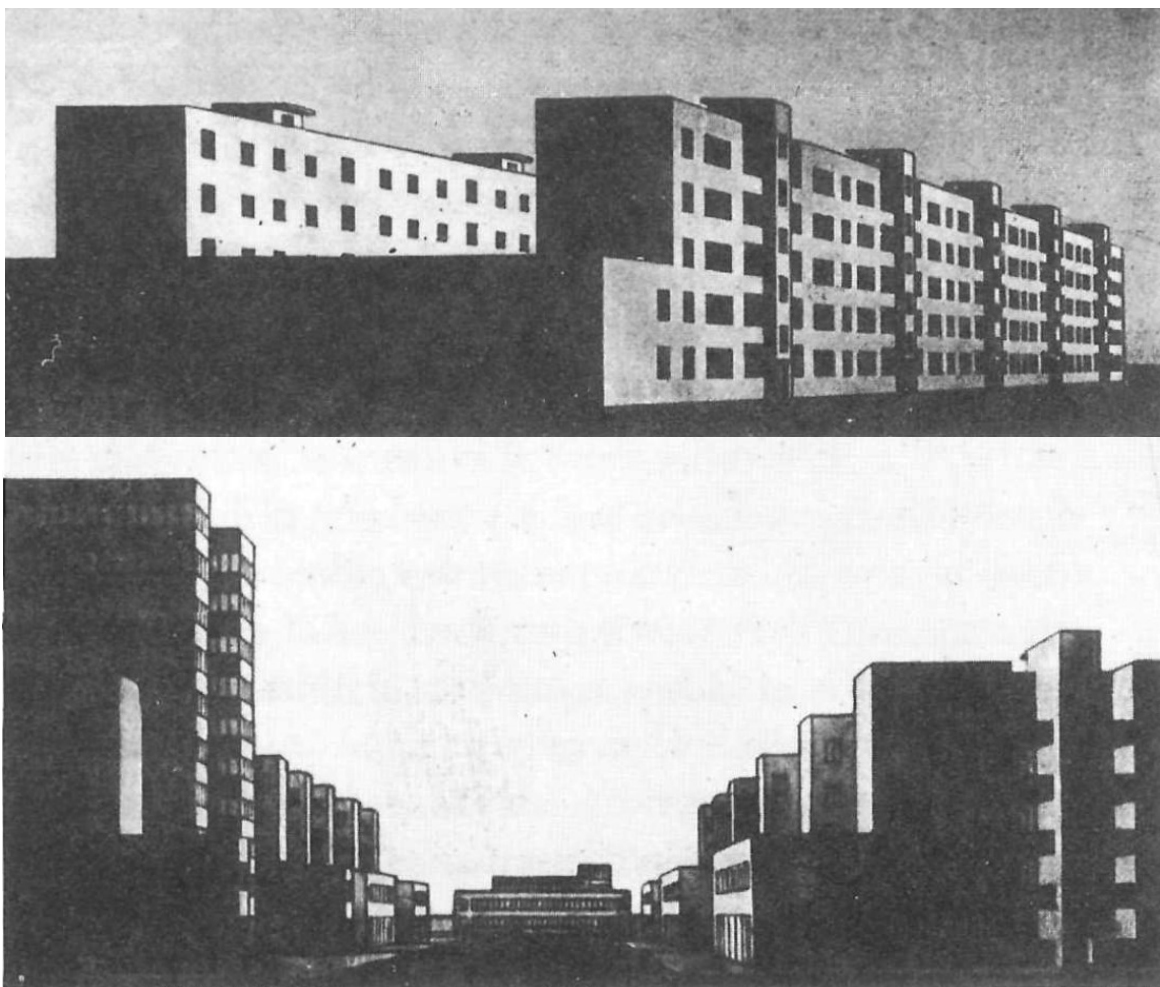
Fig. 3. 7. Ludwig Hilberseimer, *Illustrations from Grossstadtarchitektur*, Stuttgart, 1927 (source: Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 108)

Fig. 3.8. Giuseppe Terragni, Marcello Piacentini, et al., *EUR*, Rome, 1937 (source: https://www.lasinodoro.it/roma-e-il-moderno-alleur/)

3.2. POST – SECOND WORLD WAR IDEOLOGIES: CITY PLANNING FROM GLOBAL TO THE BALKAN CONTEXT

The end of the Second World War marks an important moment in the modern history, a new condition for the modern movement to realize its objectives regarding the formal and stylistic developments in architecture and city planning. In Europe, this was in part possible for two reasons: 1) due to the defeat of fascism and with that the abandonment of neoclassical and eclectic forms, the emergence of new socialist and capitalist states favoring the principles of modernist, and later postmodernist architecture; 2) the destruction of existing urban structures during the war, imposing the necessity of building new architectural works and carrying out new interventions within the city space. The first reason depends on the complexity of ideological and political situation, i.e., the formation of West Bloc and East Bloc, both directed towards modernist architecture and city planning premises, although expressed through different languages and phases of modernity as we will see in the following section.

After 1945, developments in architecture and city planning were interconnected with the ideological and political direction of the two dominant blocs, East and West. As this thesis takes into consideration architectural theories influenced by the left, and test them on the cases of modernist works (including their transition to postmodernism) in the city of Prishtina during the time of Socialist Yugoslavia, this and the following sections will focus more on the architecture of socialist states that followed the direction of the East Bloc, in the first years after the war.

3.2.1. Theory to Practice: A New Condition for the Modern Movement

With the emergence of socialist states which adapted the ideology of Marxism Leninism, the dimensions of Communism – its working-class identity, its idea of the importance of the nation, its rule of inherited underdevelopment and its centralized internal power structure – provided a framework for the architecture and urbanism of socialist states (Therborn, 2017, p. 212). However, it has to be noted that these dimensions took different expressions between the states, ruling parties and different periods. Changes in domestic politics of socialist states and their positioning in the international arena (e.g. the distancing from the Soviet Union of Socialist Yugoslavia and Albania, the formation of the "Non-Aligned Movement", etc.), impacted the architectural ideology and practice, opening way to the domination of different modernist expressions.

The housing sector remained one of the main objectives of the post-war modern architecture and urbanism. The most common typologies were the large-scale mass housing projects, made famous by the mid-1950s in both East and West. These types were usually built in the peripheries or around the center (as was the case of Paris) of capital cities and other large cities, however, both "*the stone cities of the West and often greener cities of the East succumbed to urbanization in the form of concrete slabs and tower blocks*" (Therborn, 2017, p. 265). In terms of function, the housing projects were utilitarian and had no specific representational aim (e.g. as landmark architectures, signifiers of power systems, etc.). They were focused on providing low-cost modern housing to meet the demands of a post-war society as fast as possible (Therborn, 2017, p. 256). Comparing this housing condition to the objectives of pre-war modernist architecture, we understand that in part, it was inspired by CIAM and the famous Charter of Athens (Therborn, 2017; Monclús & Medina, 2018). In the West, the housing solution represented pre-Second World War social ambitions and traditions, while in the East they were a reflection of the egalitarian victory led by Nikita Khrushchev over hierarchical Stalinist Realism (Therborn, pp. 256-257).

Apart from housing, all capital cities of socialist states were focused on "the process of industrialization" and the building of an industrial working-class. Large cities (parallel to Simmel's and Benjamin's *metropolis*) were workplace-centered rather than street and consumption-centered (Therborn, 2017, p. 237). Culture was given priority the newly established worker's clubs and Palaces of Cultures (e.g. the East German Palace of the Republic, the Korean Great Study Hall of the People, the Youth and Sports Center throughout Yugoslavia, etc.).

In the years before the Second World War, within the modern movement and particularly in the Charter of Athens, less attention was given to the identity of the city or to its central identification function (Therborn, 2017, p. 237). The CIAM leaders – Le Corbusier, Giedion and Sert –became aware of this lack, therefore, during and after the war they started discussing for a modern expression of "monumentality". An example is Le Corbusier's layout of the city of Chandigarh, designed in the 1950s [**Fig. 3.9**]. While an exception of all this, is made by the Eastern European Communist who learned from the pre-war Moscow programme the relevance of the city center (its function, style and form), and realized it in a political and social way (Therborn, 2017).

In the Soviet Union, the new guideline – socialist in content, national in form – was asserted between1949–50 (Therborn, 2017, p. 217). Monumentality was expressed through state-commissioned architectural and urbanistic programmes conveying the Soviet identity.

An example is the 1947 project "carried out by Soviet architects and engineers, for the transformation of Moscow's cityscape through the construction of eight skyscrapers" (which would serve as apartment complexes, the headquarters of Moscow State University, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, etc.). In her recent book "Moscow Monumental: Soviet Skyscrapers and Urban Life in Stalin's Capital" (2021), Katherine Zubovich writes:

> "*These buildings stood as monuments to Soviet victory in the Great Patriotic War, as pillars of Russian cultural achievement, and as evidence of the USSR's emergence as a world superpower in the postwar era. The skyscrapers were designed with the express purpose of transforming Moscow into a world-class capital city—as Stalin put it, 'the capital of all capitals'. Monumental by design, Moscow's skyscraper project had far-reaching consequences for the urban fabric of the Soviet capital and its inhabitants alike*" (Zubovich, 2021, p.17).

The skyscrapers project in Moscow, represents a change in the relationship between Soviet monumentalism and internationalism. In contrast to the never realized Palace of Soviets – which was to stand as a "monument to Lenin" and at the same time "a structure that would bring together the collective" – the post-war skyscrapers "transformed monumentalism from a socialist realist projection to a built reality" (Zubovich, 2021, p. 20) [**Fig. 3.10**]. Through their architecture, the skyscrapers signified "a shift in the way the Soviet Union positioned itself in the global scene" (Zubovich, 2021). In transforming the skyscraper from the image of capitalist triumph into a symbol of socialism, Moscow architects conveyed the message of the message of Soviet supremacy beyond socialist borders (Zubovich, 2021, p. 20). At this point, the Soviet Union was the center of all developments of socialist modernist architecture and city planning, producing formal and stylistic models that would influence the building programmes in other socialist states. In this context, Moscow became the center where architects from "*the expanding socialist world would go to study the capital city's new buildings*" (Zubovich, 2021, p. 20).

A particular modernist case in which the city operates as a metaphor of ideological and formal compatibility, is the post-Second World War Berlin, the hotspot of the Cold War. The city was first divided into four sectors under the joint administration of international powers, The United States of America, Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union. In 1948 the city was totally split in two, and with the creation of the two German states ("West German Federal Republic" and "East German Democratic Republic") in 1949, East Berlin became the capital city of East Germany. To Eastern European socialist states, East Berlin had a special significance as a 'front-line' city in the Cold War (Therborn, 2017, p.224).

By the early 1950s, in East Berlin was demolished the old City Palace with the intention of "erasing" a sign of "Prussian feudalism" [**Fig. 3.11**]. Two years later, started the construction of *Stalinalle* (now *Karl-Marx-Allee*), the Germany's first socialist street with socialist housing structures along it, as part of national building programme for Berlin [**Fig. 3.12**]. In West Berlin, a distinct modernist architecture was represented by the *Kongresshalle*, built during 1956-197 in the Tiergarten park [**Fig. 3.13**]. Considering the condition of the city, destructed by the war, there were some major restauration works, such as the Berlin Town Hall, the *Neue Wache*, or the Brandenburg Gate which was a joint project and would later serve as a symbol of unification.

Between the necessity to rebuild the "image of the great pre-war city" and the new modernist architectural and urban models influenced either by capitalist of socialist forces, probably the most significant construction of the period was the Berlin Wall (built in 1961 and demolished in 1989) [**Fig. 3.14**]. Writing on Berlin, Blanchot discusses the Wall as follows:

> "*The reality of the wall was destined to throw into abstraction the unity of the big city full of life, a city that was not and is not, in reality ... a single city, not two cities, not the capital of a country, not any important city, not the centre, nothing but this absent centre. In this way, the wall succeeded in concretizing abstractly the division, to render it visible and tangible, and thus to force us to think henceforth of Berlin, in the very unity of its name, no longer under the sign of a lost unity, but as the sociological reality constituted by two absolutely different cities*" (Blanchot, 1994/2018, p. 352).

From this passage, we understand that the division made possible by the wall would be the inscription of a complex space which characterizes the city within its stage of modernity (Benjamin, 2000, p. 141). In this case, architecture operates as a metaphor of creation, without using stylistic references or techno-aesthetic elements. Expect from signifying the physical and spatial division of the city of Berlin, architecture also divided Germany ideologically, politically and most importantly psychologically.

In the West, there was a completely different condition. Avant-garde international modernist architecture was overlapped with the urban structure of the American city, the state power and the capitalist forces. The United Nations Secretariat Building built between 1947 and 1952 on a land donated by Rockefeller, designed by Le Corbusier and Oscar Niemeyer, and supervised by Wallace Harrison, is an example (Therborn, 2017, p. 256) [**Fig. 3.15**]. This supports the widely recognized fact that modernist architecture is not homogenous in the sense of perceived architectural and ideological rationality and

functionality (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018). In this context, different political programmes –
based on the vision that different countries embraced after the Second World War – produced
various approaches and solutions regarding architectural and urban form and aesthetics
(Casciato, 2008, pp. xiii-xiv).

Fig. 3.9. Le Corbusier, *Chandigarh*, India, 1950s (source: http://fondationlecorbusier.fr)

Fig. 3.10. Vladimir Gelfreikh, Mikhail Posokhin, et al., *The Leningradskaya Hotel (one of Stalin's socialist skyscrapers)*, Moscow, 1953 (source: https://www.rferl.org/a/stalins-seven-sisters-the-skyscrapers-of-moscow/29496621.html)

Fig. 3.11. Andreas Schlüter, *The Berlin Palace, during its destruction in 1950*, Berlin, 1443-1918 (source: https://berliner-schloss.de/en/palace-history/war-destruction-and-demolition/)

Fig. 3.12. Hermann Henselmann, et al., *Stalinallee*, 1952-1960 (source: https://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/staedtebau/foerderprogramme/lebendige_zentren/de/gebiete/mit/karl_marx_allee/index.shtml)

Up-Left: **Fig. 3.13**. Hugh Stubbins, *Kongresshalle*, Berlin, 1957 (source: https://archiv.hkw.de/de/hkw/geschichte/erinnern/start.php); Below-Left: **Fig. 3.14.** *Berlin Wall in 1989,* Berlin, 1961 (source: https://www.britannica.com/topic/Berlin-Wall); Right: **Fig. 3.15.** Oscar Niemeyer and Le Corbusier, *Headquarters of the United Nations, Secretariat Building*, 1950s (source: https://www.phaidon.com/agenda/architecture/articles/2019/february/06/le-corbusiers-grand-designs-the-un-headquarters-new-york/)

3.2.2. Cities in the Balkans

With the end of the Second World War, East Europe had several strong Communist movements which initiated the formation of Socialist states, such as it was the case in Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. First conceived as "satellite states" of the Soviet Union, they all followed the Marxist-Leninist ideological direction adapted initially by the Soviets, and their popularity derived largely from the successful Red army resistance to Nazi Germany (Therborn, 2017). The whole urban and architectural project carried out in these states was not so much about socialism as it was about finding a modern national style (Therborn, 2017, p. 216). At least this was evident in the first post-war years. With the domestic and political events occurring in the following periods (until the 1990s), specific changes influenced the emergence of new architectural forms and

languages signifying several phases of modernity, very different from the Soviet Social Realism.

Architecture and City Planning

The architecture and the city in the context of these Balkan and Eastern European states had a strong influence of left-wing modernism as they have participated in the pre-war modernist movement represented by the institution of CIAM and the school of Bauhaus. As in East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Yugoslavia was also an example of this. Early post-war reconstructions often started following a modernist model, while later on, priority was also given to national historical reconstruction, as it was the case with "the rebuilding of the Old City of Warsaw and the historical *Unter den Linden* in East Berlin" (Therborn, 2017, p. 217).

Following the principles set up by Socialist Realism, the aim of new, monumental architecture, was the creation of a "national form". In Berlin and Budapest the "national form" was mostly related to neo-classical architecture and urbanism, in Warsaw and Prague to Renaissance, in Sofia and Bucharest to Byzantine elements (Therborn, 2017, p. 220). The states of the Western Balkans represented by the Federal Yugoslavia and Albania – in which the "national form" was influenced by Byzantine, Ottoman and partially Austro-Hungarian early modernist elements – were spared by the *pastiches*, as Fredric Jameson would put it (Jameson, 1991). This happened due to the "Tito-Stalin split" in 1948, Yugoslavia's positioning with the Non-Aligned Movement, and the distancing of Albania from the Eastern Bloc in early 1960s. Albania promoted the programme for an architecture "national in form and socialist in content", while in Yugoslavia the function of architecture was to create a "Yugoslav Identity".

Socialist modernization in Yugoslavia was built on "a utopian vision based mainly on the ideals of the working-class emancipation" (Mrduljaś & Kulić, 2012). Modern avant-garde architecture was instrumentalized to represent the avant-garde Yugoslav socialism, which, together with the country's "*intermediate position between the Eastern and Western Blocs, was conditioned by the need for symbolic differentiation from both state socialism and capitalism*" (Mrduljaś & Kulić, 2012, p. 6). Thus, in the post-war period, architecture and city planning signified a socialism "*oscillating tactically*" between East and West, with modernism and functionalism as the main *formal* and *linguistic* options that were never questioned (Mrduljaś & Kulić, 2012, p. 8). The pre-war modernism was a "solid base" for the realization of "large-scale mass urbanization", but it was necessary to put into practice

"new techniques of managing the urban development" and the organization of the building production (Mrduljaś & Kulić, 2012). This kind of urbanization had two main objectives: to build rapidly and pragmatically, with the long-term aim of creatin an ideal society and city. To this extent, "*a bit of utopia was built into every fragment of modernizing pragmatism put into practice*" (Mrduljaś & Kulić, 2012, p. 7).

A second phase of modernist urbanization for the cities in Kosovo, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Serbia, occurs between late 1960s and early 1980s. Examples of this, although partially realized, are the "expansion of Split" and the "reconstruction of Skopje after the earthquake of 1963" (Mrduljaś & Kulić, 2012). What was completed from these projects, remains and evidence of the ideal modernist city of the time, containing "all the advantages and failures" of the twentieth century architecture and urban planning. They have become "*an integral part of the urban identities which are no longer perceived through the frame of the socialist ideology, but rather through their functional and spatial qualities*", interrelating the urban environment of the region (Mrduljaś & Kulić, 2012, p. 8).

Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia, was occupied and severely damaged in both world wars (Therborn, 2017, p. 221-222). In the initial stages of post-Second World War period, Belgrade was still a Balkan city characterized by one-story traditional houses (today visible in the old city center). Without destroying the historical part, the center of the city was to be moved in a previously uninhabited area across the Sava river where a modern city, the 'New Belgrade' (*Novi Beograd*), would be built beginning from 1948 [**Fig. 3.16**]. The 'New Belgrade' was planned by following CIAM's Charter of Athens. It is important to emphasize that some Yugoslav architects have participated in the Congress of CIAM, in which the Charter of Athens was drafted (Therborn, 2017, p. 221-222). Considering the scale of construction and the overall post-war condition in Yugoslavia, the plans for the 'New Belgrade' were revised and postponed many time, but they modernism was never impacted by any Socialist Realist influence.

In Albania, there are two phases of modernization, both in terms of political and urban reforms. The first was undertaken between the 1920s and mid-1940s, while the second from the mid-1940s to the late 1990s (Dhamo, Thomai & Aliaj, 2016). At the end of the Second World War the capital, Tirana was a small town with around 60,000 inhabitants, characterized with Ottoman and modernist-Fascist formal and stylistic models (the former was represented through the housing typologies, while the latter through the public buildings and spaces). The center of the city has been laid out in the type of a boulevard, constructed

at the time of King Zog and extended during the Italian fascist occupation (Therborn, 2017, p. 223) [**Fig. 3.17**].

The modernity of Tirana is very complex, and the city cannot be easily shaped through plans: "*a blurred or fragmented situation created by the continuous interaction between spontaneous developments and planning decisions is typical in the city*" (Dhamo, Thomai & Aliaj, 2016). Reflecting on the modern architecture in post-war Albania, we can understand that there was an ambivalence between the institutional approach which constantly dictated the method of Socialist Realism, as well as some individual attempts to incorporate elements of modern architecture within the framework of Socialist Realism (Llubani, Thomai, Kaser, et.al, 2021). After the formation of the socialist state in the post-war period, the programme of national reformation included the *(re)creation* of a representative political-administrative center. Initially, influenced by the Soviet Social Realism, the central boulevard and the building along it, were kept. A large-scale urban project was the residential and administrative area known as 'the Bloc' (in Albanian '*Blloku*'). In the first post-war years, the political relations with the Soviet Union were influential in Gani Strazimiri's urban plan of 1953 for the capital Tirana: a proposal in the form of a perspective drawing, based on the formal and aesthetical principles of the 1935 Moscow's plan [**Fig. 3.18**].

In the following years (from the 1950s, to the 1960s and 1970s), in relation to the changes and developments in international politics of the state, the architectural expression and discourse changed a lot. For instance, the distancing of Albania from the Eastern Bloc in early 1960s, and the relations with China (represented by the case of the Taiwan Complex), influenced the developments in the discipline of architecture, imposing new formal and stylistic systems. Later on, the state promoted its own programme of Social Realism, for an architecture "national in form and socialist in content". New buildings of power were positioned along the boulevard, and monumental modernist buildings were erected at city center convening the Albanian modernism and nationalism, such as the National Historical Museum, the Palace of Culture, the Pyramid, etc. [**Fig. 3.19**].

In their book "*Socialist city: spatial structure and urban policy*", Hamilton and French (1979) have introduced a spatial formal model, through which we can develop further analysis regarding the modernist architecture and urbanism in Eastern European cities, particularly in the Balkans. Their model consist of eight zones in which socialist modernization is expressed: "*(1) the historic medieval or renaissance core; (2) inner commercial, housing, and industrial areas from the capitalist period; (3) a zone of socialist transition or renewal, where modern construction is partially and progressively replacing*

inherited urban or relict-village features; (4) socialist housing of the 1950s; (5) integrated socialist neighborhoods and residential districts of the 1960s and 1970s; (6) an open or planned 'isolation belt'; (7) industrial or related zones; and (8) open countryside, forest or hills, including touristic complexes" (French & Hamilton, 1979, p. 227; Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018).[7]

Fig. 3.16. Belgrade Institute of Urban Planning, Nikola Dobrović et al., *Conceptual Plan of New Belgrade*, Belgrade, 1948 (source: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/33128 8730_Historical_Enquiry_as_a_Critical_Method_in_Urban_Riverscape_Revisions_The_ Case_of_Belgrade%27s_Confluence/figures?lo=1)

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[7] French and Hamilton's model is particularly used in architectural and urban research, to study and interpret the socialist city, its commonalities and variations (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, pp. 55-74). For the application of the model in the case of Sofia and Prishtina, see: Hirt, S. (2012). *Iron curtains: Gates, suburbs and Privatization of Space in the Post-Socialist City* (p. 87). John Wiley & Sons Ltd. See also: Jerliu, F. & Navakazi, V. (2018). The Socialist Modernization of Prishtina: Interrogating Types of Urban and Architectural Contributions to the City. *Mesto a Dejiny 7*(2)*, 55-74.
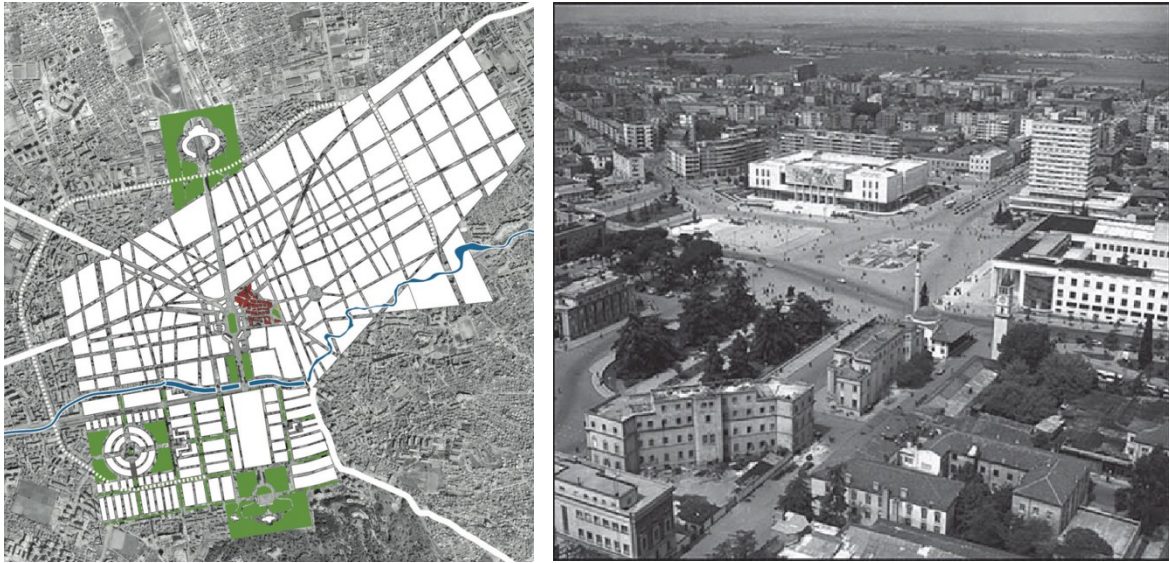
Fig. 3.17. Frashëri, Di Fausto and Kohler, *The 1929 Plan of Tirana* (source: Dhamo, Thomai &Aliaj, 2016, p.33)

Fig. 3.19. *Skanderbeg Square in Tirana and Socialist Landmarks*, Tirana, 1960s (source: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316313873_Place_Attachment_in_a_Tirana_Ne ighborhood_The_Influence_of_the_Rebirth_of_the_City_Project/figures?lo=1)
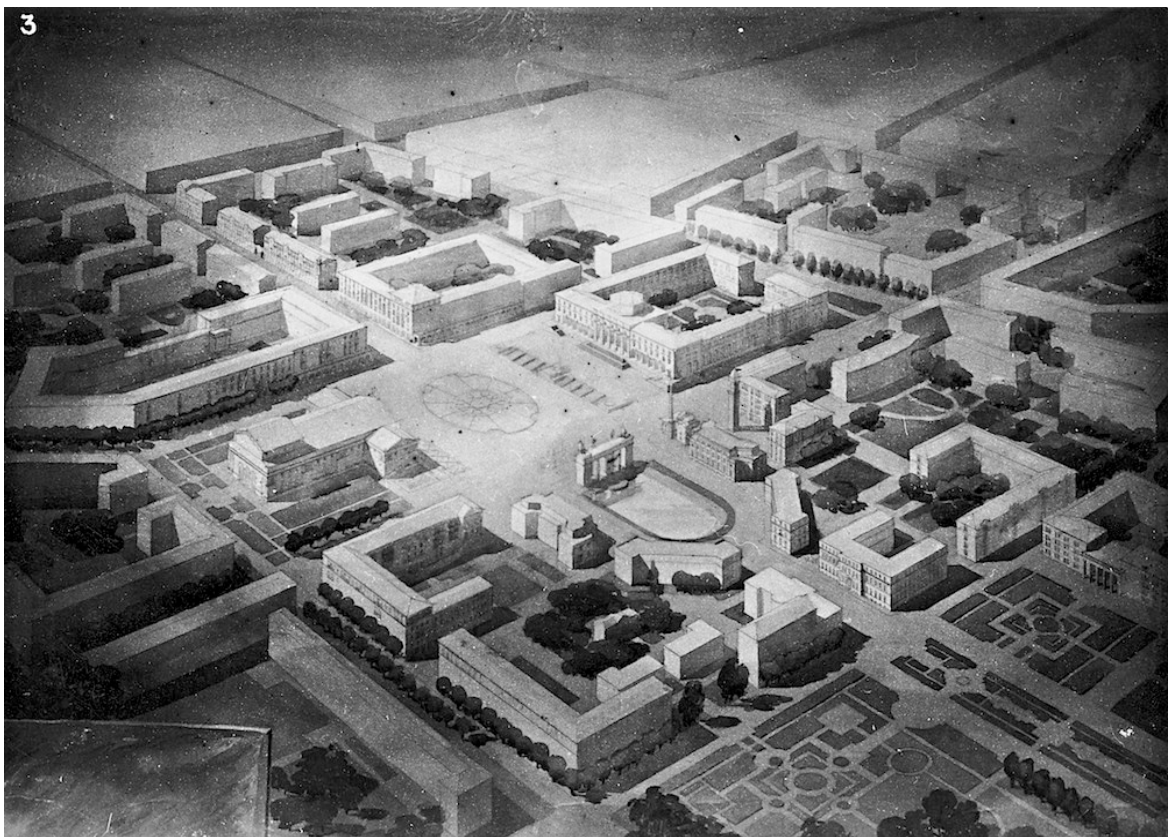
Fig. 3. 18. Gani Strazimiri, *Plan of Tirana's City Center*, 1953, Tirana, Albania (source: Albanian Central Archive).

3.2.3. Extensions and New Cities

Ideologems: "Nova"

In general, the objective of the modern movement was to abandon the use of established signs. Particularly, modernist architectural and urban projects carried out in the post-Second World War period, in order to maintain their 'modernity', had to prevent their forms and model from becoming conventionalized and contaminated by social usage, and to ensure that they be *new* (Bonta, 1979, p. 42). The inherited ideas and principles were no longer determining and influential in the new environment, therefore "*everything new has to wage an arduous campaign against entrenched tradition*" (Bonta, 1979, p. 42). According to Rowe: "*any repetition, any coping, any employment of a precedent was a failure of creative acuity*" (Bonta, 1979, p. 43). Thus, novelty became a necessity.

In terms of urbanization and building production, the concept of constructing *new* modern types, did not always compromise the historic city centers. Instead of this, city planning would be directed towards the creation of a new center with the intention of excluding the traditional core, as it was the case with the old bazaar in Skopje (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018). After the earthquake of 1963, Skopje's bazaar once again became "an integral part of the city's central area", demonstrating a greater sensitivity towards historical heritage (Krstikj, 2013, pp. 39-51).

Urban development schemes, mainly in capitals, introduced three models of intervention: 1) the physical and functional extensions of existing urban centers; 2) large-scale additions to formerly existing settlements; 3) the construction of a *new* city. However, there were cases when "general radical reconstructions" were carried out, resulting in the destruction of the historic center. *Novi Beograd*, *Novi Zagreb* and *Novo Sarajevo* are examples of the extension of existing urban center, while for additions we can refer to the cases of Podgorica (*Titograd*) and Velenje (French & Hamilton, 1979, p. 183) [**Fig. 3.20**]. The later approach was partially used also in the case of Prishtina, but more dominant was the type of a "general radical reconstruction", applied to the historic center inherited from the Ottoman period (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018). According to Fisher (1962), this approach was a socialist based theory made visible in spatial terms. Similar examples to the ones mentioned above, include "Nowa Huta and Nowe Tychy" in Poland, "Sztalinvaros" in Hungary, "Dimitrovgrad and resort cities along the Black Sea" in Bulgaria, and "Havirov and Nová Dubnica" in former Czechoslovakia (Fisher, 1962, pp. 251-256) [**Fig. 3.21**].

"New Belgrade" was planned as a *new* modern city that would be the center of Serbian and whole Yugoslavia. Indeed, in the course of the 1950s and 1960s it gradually emerged as

a city of modern appearance, "*although yet underdeveloped in quality and amenities*" (Therborn, 2017, p. 222). However, "New Belgrade" was never conceived as a whole *new* city. It was rather a "city within the city", an extension of the existing urban center of Belgrade, redefined as an important part of it. In a sense, "New Belgrade" was Yugoslavia's Ottawa or Canberra (Therborn, 2017, p. 222). It was a modernist residential area, but the plan was structured around a "powerful central axis", in which were placed also the federal government building, and the Party Central Committee building (Therborn, 2017) [**Fig. 3.22 & Fig. 3.23**]. While most of the capital functions remained across the river, along the *Bulevard Revolucije* in the old center (Therborn, 2017, p. 22).

In Croatia, between the 1950s and 1970s, "New Zagreb" was *a symbol* of architectural and economic development and a proving ground for modernist experiments (Kulić, 2012). Being a site of "*classic old Cold War rivalries*", it had a political and international importance (Kulić, 2012, p. 35). Its fame was marked by the Zagreb Fair, which was a type of "a permanent exhibition" that brought together architects from all Yugoslavia, and the East and West Blocs. However, "New Zagreb" never functioned as *new* city, nor it was integrated into urban tissue (Kulić, 2012, p. 35). Thus, it can be considered as an addition to the existing city.

An example of new interventions, conceptualized here as "*nova*", is Ljubljana. There were never plans for a "*new*" Ljubljana. The city expanded in clusters of new settlements, while in Slovenia, a number of important urbanization projects were carried out outside the capital (Mrduljaś & Kulić, 2012). "*Nova*" was applied in the case of the 1947 plan for "Nova Gorica", which was conceived a "new regional center" after what is today the "Italian Gorizia" was left out of the boarders of Yugoslavia (Mrduljaś & Kulić, 2012). In the same year was planned the construction of Strnišče (Kidričevo) as a new industrial city today Kidričevo), "*while with the growth of Velenje mine, a major project for the development of a new city centre was launched*" (Mrduljaś & Kulić, 2012). New industrial cities attached to smaller urban settlements were developed also in other regions of Yugoslavia (Mrduljaś & Kulić, 2012).

The "*nova*" concept[8] was part of the modernist thought expressed also in other contexts, and Brazil is an example. Brazilian architecture has embraced modernism since 1920, with the urban planner Lúcio Costa, an extra-curricular disciple of Le Corbusier and head of the Belas Artes School, as key figure. Architectural modernism became a national style, through

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[8] The term is being used in this study in a modernist context. However, we have to be aware that the "nova" is not a modernist context, but it is found throughout the history of architecture, particularly in the Italian Renaissance.

public commissions and political decisions (Therborn, 2017, p. 88). An example was the "Ministry of Education and Health" building, built in Rio de Janeiro in 1936. The building was designed by a team directed by Costa, including Oscar Niemeyer and the landscape architect Roberto Burle Marx. All of these names would be later active in the planning of Brasilia (Therborn, 2017, p. 88). Brasilia, the *new* capital city for Brazil, was created between 1956 and 1960 as part of the national modernization programme carried out by the President Juscelino Kubitschek. All aspects of planning and architectural design were directed by Niemeyer and Costa:

> "*The uniquely trusting relationship between the powerful Brazilian president in the midst of a large-scale national developmentalist decade (with 80 per cent growth from 1956–61) and the world's most creative architect at that time – who was basically given a blank cheque for deploying his extraordinary creativity – created Brasília, the city of twentieth-century modernism*" (Therborn, 2017, p.88).

As conceptualized by Costa in his '*Plan Piloto*', the formal layout of the city is defined by the intersection of a monumental east-west axis with a north-south axis [**Fig. 3.24**]. On the urban scale, the plan of Brasilia represents "*all the principles of the modern movement*", following the 1943 Charter of Athens (ICOMOS, 1986). The distribution of city functions; the networks of open and green spaces; the structure of the residential modular superblocks (*superquadras*) including commerce, education and health services; the architectural design of civic representative buildings, were all interconnected in the plan (Macedo & Ficher, 2013, pp. 13-15; Zevi, 1960, pp. 608-619) [**Fig. 3.25**]. The power message of Brasilia is that Brazil is a nation committed to radical social change and modernist techno-aesthetic development. Costa's sketch for the plan was basically conceptual. On the other side, Niemeyer's commitment to communism and democracy is manifested in the *Praça dos Três Poderes* as the spatial balance of the three powers: executive, legislative and judiciary (Therborn, 2017, p. 89).

In conclusion to this section, the example of François Mitterrand's Grands Projects is used with the aim of briefly presenting another case of "*nova*", only to understand that the term is not necessarily confined in large-scale urban projects, but it can be referred to the creation of the *new* city image developed on architectural fragments. Officially known as "*Grandes Opérations d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme*", the project consists of the construction of separate large-scale civic buildings between 1981-1998. Conveying the principles of French socialism at the time, the buildings create a network of ideologically

and politically charged modern architectures. This endeavor, part of the contemporary global moment, was largely successful. Mitterrand himself choose a remarkable global monument: the daring, non-national glass pyramid by I. M. Pei in the courtyard of the historical Louvre (Therborn, 2017, p. 257). While the arch of La Défense aimed at updating Paris's nineteenth-century standing as the world capital of western culture (Therborn, 2017, p. 275). Other buildings, part of the project, are "Musée d'Orsay", "Parc de la Villette", "Arab World Institute", "Opéra Bastille", "Ministry of the Economy and Finance" and the campus of the "Biblothèque nationale de France" [**Fig. 3.26**].

Fig. 3.20. Urbanisticki zavod grada Zagreba, *Novi Zagreb*, Zagreb, Croatia, 1950s (source: https://fotografijezagreba.hr/zagreb-iz-zraka-novi-zagreb-panoramski-pogled-na-kvartove-juzne-obale-rijeke-save/)

Fig. 3.21. *Nowa Huta*, Kraków, Poland, 1950s (source: https://culture.pl/en/article/nowa-huta-the-story-of-the-ideal-socialist-realist-city)

Fig. 3.22. *Residential Blocks in New Belgrade*, 1960s (source: https://videohive.net/item /belgrade-aerial-brutalist-architecture/23453287)

Fig. 3.23. Vladimir Potocnjak, Anton Urlih and Zlatko Nojman, *Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia*, 1947-1959 (source: https://architectuul.com/architecture/palace-of-serbia)

Fig. 3.24. Lúcio Costa, *Plan Piloto for Capital Brasilia*, Brazil, 1957 (source: https ://arquiscopio .com/archivo/2012/07/21/plan-piloto-de-brasilia/?lang=en)

Fig. 3.25. Oscar Niemeyer and Lúcio Costa, *View of Capital Brasilia*, 1960s (source: https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/28_1/brasilia.html)

Fig. 3.26. Dominique Perrault, Biblothèque Nationale de France, part of Mitterrand's Grands Projects, Paris, 1989 (source: https://passerelles.essentiels.bnf.fr/fr/chronologie/construction /5d23a393-fd1a-450d-8762-039ac955707e-bibliotheque-nationale-france)

3.3. THE CITY FROM MODERN TO A POSTMODERN CONDITION

After the mid-twentieth century, modernism was dominating the global discourse on architecture and urbanism. Architectural and urban images and models that were once projected as utopian, began to take form and fill real spaces (Karatani, 1995). Thus, the modernist utopia was realized, and this condition reached its maximum point by the 1960s. After the cultural revolutions of 1968 across the world, the discipline of architecture was faced with a "loss of the subjects" and the disappearance of the grand narrative (Karatani, 1995, p. xii). This marks the moment when modern architecture entered its crisis. According to Tafuri the crisis is related to the point when "*the plan came down from the utopian level and became an operant mechanism, and architecture as the ideology of the plan is swept away by the reality of the plan*" (Tafuri, 1973/1976, p. 137).

3.3.1. Defining Postmodernism

The social, political, economic and cultural context in which we live, is marked by an exteriorization (globalization) of knowledge, or a "radical exploitation of resources – technology and media above all" (Jameson, 1991). This context has already been defined as Postmodernism. As Fredric Jameson elaborated in his book "Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism" (1991), "Postmodernism" itself is a force-field of different instances, actions and events – politics, economy, society, culture, science, etc., – that if not always competitive with one another, are interrelated and impact each other (Jameson, 1991). All this discourse is tracked back by Jameson to the end of the 1950s or the early 1960s (Jameson, 1991, p. 15), and is placed within the context of western, capitalist societies.

At this point, the intention is to create an intersection of the history of (post-)modern architecture and the instances in the force-field which illustrates postmodernism (Jameson, 1991). Jameson deals with a conceptual problem, the meaning of Postmodernism, which for him is a result of wider impacts, including political, social and economic changes. For instance, starting with culture, Postmodernism can be defined as a force-filed of different cultural instances that continues to exist unless there is a dominant culture. In this way Postmodernism is not a stylistic definition, but rather, an event that is happening now and it started after the Second World War (1945).

The most distinguished of the "postmodern instances", is probably technology. Following Jameson (1991), technology has allowed for a kind of exteriorization of all information, accompanied by globalization as postmodern phenomenon. Technology is a practical discipline, the manifestation or application of scientific progress, and the

materialization of knowledge. For Marx, technology is related to the means of production and technical and politico-technical practices. As such it is a matter of political, social and economic organization, and it is interrelated with ideology. On the Marxist view, with a full development of capitalism, the "general knowledge" has become an immediate force of production, positioning the economic and the technical over the scientific (Forman, 20017, p. 16). In this context, "technology is a result of the development of the capital and not a determining instance in its own right" (Jameson, 1991). Thus, it is through new processes of production and reproduction, that technology is interrelated with social, political, cultural *and* architectural practices.

> "*The economic preparation of postmodernism or late capitalism began in the 1950s, after the wartime shortages of consumer goods and spare parts had been made up, and new products and new technologies (not least those of the media) could be pioneered*" (Jameson, 1991, p. 32).

Jameson's work is a form of critique on the postmodern society. According to him, the image in the postmodern world does not express anything, it does not communicate any message or feeling (Jameson, 1991). Here he tries to find the *representative* in order to create a common platform for describing the postmodern culture(s), and this is the moment when architecture comes into the scene. Jameson writes about a postwar generation of architects (from the early 1960s). Here we are faced with a break from modernist ideology and a tendency to re–define the concepts of modernism, by focusing in new theoretical and historical concepts from the discipline of architecture and planning. Such concepts presented the contemporary world as a continuity of history, not as rupture (c.f. Tafuri's analysis presented above). They kind of rejected the idea that architecture would be more sophisticated with the advancement of technology, and supported the idea that architecture will become more advanced if human experience returns to its origins. In this way it was constructed a new architectural phenomenology – putting into context the historical dimension.

What can be understood from Jameson's work on postmodernism – based on dialectical materialism as a theoretical approach and cognitive mapping as a methodology,[9] – is that architecture is brought as an evidence for cultural and societal changes. This contributes to

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[9] Jameson's methodology is very useful for this research, since by studying specific buildings, it can discuss social and political events in the city of Prishtina (case study of this research work) and creates an intersection of what happened there and in outside world during specific historical moments, in the context of architecture and urban/spatial planning.

the study of architecture's function as a language between the social context, ideological/political concepts and urban morphology. In this context, we are able to use images to explain the meaning of theories, by starting with a single object (building, painting, movie, etc.) and frame it in a specific context in order to discuss a particular phenomenon.

3.3.2. Modernism & Postmodernism: Critical Typological Differences

In his book "The Postmodern Condition" (1984), Lyotard describes Postmodernism as a state of crisis and relates it to a society of consumption, a capitalist society. He indicates that postmodernism is not a historical period that comes after modernism – as modernism does not have an end, – but it is a cyclical moment that appears in line with societal changes (Lyotard, 1984). Postmodernism is an innovative culture which is best transmitted through architecture as an innovative idea for the transformation of space and society (e.g. Le Corbusier, Wright, Gehry, etc.).

However, many innovative ideas are utopic concepts, as the change and transformation they aim to achieve, are never realized (Lyotard, 1984). Consequently, postmodernism appears as something analogues to modern and pre-modern periods. Lyotard describes postmodernism as the condition of the knowledge of high developed societies. As Jameson, he relates it to the radical changes from the nineteenth century and onwards, which are primarily impacted by technological developments, whereas technology is the force and knowledge of production and transformation (Lyotard, 1984). And, as modernism, postmodernism too is a meta narration.

In one hand, modernism "thought compulsively about the *new* and waited its coming into being" (Jameson, 1991, p. 205). Postmodernism on the other hand, looks for "breaks, for events rather than *new* worlds, for shifts and irrevocable changes in the representation of things and of the way they change" (Jameson, 1991, p. 205). Modernism still preserves some "residual zones" of "nature" and "being". Postmodernism emerges with the completion of the modernization process: "*it is a more fully human world than the older one, but one in which culture has become a veritable second nature*" (Jameson, 1991, p. 205).

As modernism is a new social order expressed through each human activity and professional discipline, "*postmodernism is not the cultural dominant of a wholly new social order*", but only a signifier of "*another systemic modification of capitalism itself*" (Jameson, 1991). If we translate this in architectural and urban terms, modernism and particularly high modernism, in some cases promoted "the destruction of the fabric of the traditional city and

its older neighborhood culture" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018; Jameson, 1991), in order to change the pre-existing social order radically and completely. Postmodernism on the other hand, brough back the stylistic reference, by promoting the re-use of historical architectural styles and urban typologies.

If the modern city is a compact structure created out of the repetition of the minimal housing unit within uniform blocks which are equally distributed throughout the city, whose central part was an open public space or was surrounded by state and public buildings; the postmodern city is a polycentric structure made of neighborhoods which have their own identity and differ from each other by their size, form, style, social structure, etc., while the center of city, rather than public, is more private and commercial.

As far as this thesis is concerned, it is Manfredo Tafuri, who positions architecture as interrelated and even impacted by all the changes in politics, world economy and general cultural production occurring from the sixties and onwards. If we follow Jameson's interpretation, definition and periodization of postmodernism, it is a postmodern condition framing Tafuri's discussion on architecture, even though he does not use the term "postmodern" (Hays, 1989; Tafuri 1973/1976). In this context, for Tafuri, there is a specific relation of "architecture as the ideology of the plan" and the capitalist production (i.e. capitalism as ideology), which is related to postmodern condition (Amhoff, 2012): "*It was architecture that aimed at the reorganization of production, distribution and consumption in the capitalist city*" (Tafuri 1973/1976; Amhoff, 2012).

The avant-gardes' "*vision of utopia come to be recognized as an idealization of capitalism, a transfiguration of the latter's rationality into the rationality of autonomous form – architecture's 'plan', its ideology*" (Hays, 1998, p. 19). As a result, utopia becomes a realizable ideology (Tafuri, 1973/1976); the state becomes the planner; "the architectural ideology" becomes "the ideology of the plan"; and the urban/spatial plan is institutionalized as the plan of development of the capitalist city, becoming a political instrument, representing the role of the state in the control of capital (Hays, 1989).

In "Postmodernism or the Cultural Production of Late Capitalism", Jameson "insists on seeing technology as a figure for a whole new economic world system" (1991, p. 37); and architecture – of all other arts – is considered the closet constitutively to the economics. For instance, John Portman's Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles [**Fig. 3.26**], together with other characteristic postmodern architectural works, such as the "Beaubourg" in Paris or the "Eaton Centre" in Toronto, "aspires to being a total space, a complete world, a kind of

miniature city" (Jameson, 1991, p. 117). Meanwhile, the building corresponds to "a new collective practice", a new mode in which individuals move and congregate:

> "*In this sense, then, ideally the minacity of Portman's Bonaventure ought not to have entrances at all, since the entryway is always the seam that links the building to the rest of the city that surrounds it, for it does not wish to be a part of the city but rather its equivalent and replacement or substitute*" (Jameson, 1991, p. 117).

Fig. 3.26. John Portman, *Westin Bonaventure Hotel*, Los Angeles, California, 1974-1976 (source: https://www.skyscrapercenter.com/building/westin-bonaventure-hotel/4800)

In order to give a concrete example of how postmodernism is interpreted through a specific building, one can refer to the works of the principal proponents of postmodern architecture, such as Robert Venturi, Charles Moore and Michael Graves. It is also Frank Gehry, as the most recent member of this group, who according to Jameson, "offers very striking lessons about the originality of postmodernist space" (Jameson, 1991, p. 38). Frank Gehry's house in Santa Monica, "the Gehry Residence", is a reference of a "full-blown postmodern building" (Jameson, 1991, p. 38) [**Fig. 3.27** & **Fig. 3.28**]. Analysing the building, we can understand that its elements are taken out of the context and are re-adapted in a whole. This building is postmodern-in-action where elements such as doors, floors, wardrobes, etc., are words that are combined in specific ways, thus creating a language. Thus, postmodernity is

expressed as a production of a consumer society which is open for change and a globalization of culture.

Fig. 3. 27. Frank Gehry, *Family House Project, 3D Model*, Santa Monica, California, 1977-1978 (source: https://www.moma.org/collection/works/1020).

Fig. 3. 28. Frank Gehry, Family House Project, View from entrance, Santa Monica, California, 1977-1978 (source: https://www.archdaily.com/67321/gehry-residence-frank-gehry).

PART 2.

IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF PRISHTINA'S ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN IDENTITY

In 1953, the first post-war official planning document for the city of Prishtina – the General Urban Plan, – was drafted. This marks the beginning of *planned* urban and architectural, as well as economic and social development of the city. Developing Prishtina, should have meant developing Kosovo, which at the time was part of the former Yugoslavian Federate and Prishtina was its capital city. More than a decade later, Prishtina started to saw the very first signs of such planned development, signified by the rising of large-scale architectural works as part of a general campaign for the modernization of former Yugoslav cities.

As it will be presented below, these events were deeply connected to the ideological and political condition of the time. More than simply being a product of political decisions, the architectures that emerged by these events, were used as instruments to signify ideology and at times to determine future politics. These ideologically and politically charged architectures of the city of Prishtina and their urban setting, are at the center of the research presented in this second part of the thesis.

To understand such relations, this part will focus on a historical analysis of Prishtina within Yugoslavia, by interpreting the ideological and political context starting with the end of the Second World War in 1945 and culminating with the Kosovo War (1998-1999) at the end of the 1990s. Relevant events within this period will be analyzed in the context of former Socialist Yugoslavia's internal organization, and compared to international affairs which influenced the course of domestic relations. Following the methodological design presented in the first part of this thesis, we will be able to distinguish between dominant ideological and political power forces emerging as high and low domestic and international pressures. Considering the impossibility to study every event signifying ideological and/or political circumstances, this thesis will define some *critical junctures* within which will be framed the study of ideology, politics, city planning and architecture in post-1945 Prishtina.

In order to decipher and interpret how architecture operates ideologically and politically in the context of Prishtina, in this part are identified three major contexts in the city's modern history: 1) Post- Second World War modernization tendencies 1945-1968: Planning the "New"; 2) The episteme of (modern) architecture 1968-1989; 3) The "parallel" city 1990-1999. Within these contexts, architecture, ideology and politics are studied by focusing in two plans characterized by specific ideological and political events occurring in Prishtina

within former Yugoslavia and after its breakup, whose outcome are several specific urb-architectural events. First, we have the political and economic plans which impacted the form of the city and its architectures, and produce an ideological condition within which planning becomes ideological. The second plan is the discipline of architecture, impacting the form and aesthetics of landmark buildings and the urban fragments they create, through the modern ideology and normativities. Thus we have three contexts, two plans emerging from them, and several events which are defined here as *critical junctures* and have a particular outcome in the practice of architecture and urban/spatial planning.
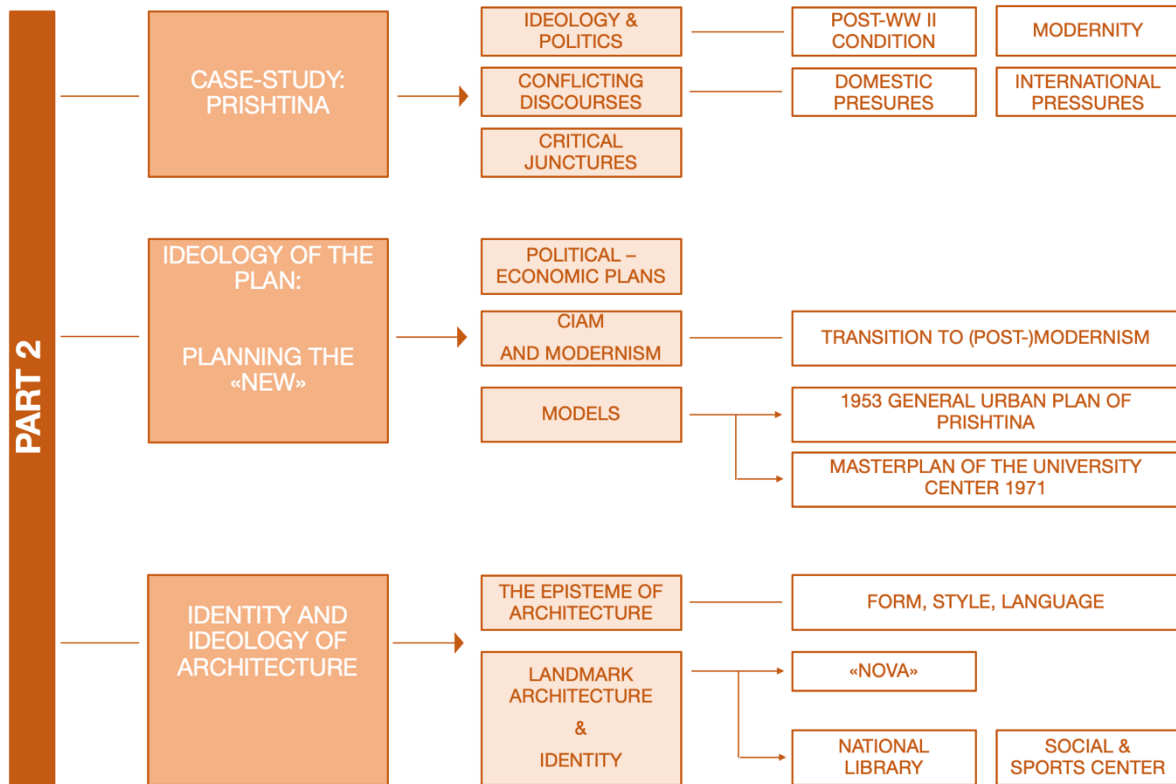

Fig. II. *The structure of the second part* (source: author)

CHAPTER 4.

IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS IN THE (POST-)MODERN PRISHTINA

In order to understand the operation of architecture and the urban form in interplay with ideology and politics, as interpreted and tested through the case of Prishtina, this chapter will present an overall analysis of the ideological and political conditions in the city, Kosovo and former Yugoslavia in general. This analysis is focused on the period between the end of the Second World War and the Kosovo War. This time frame includes more than fifty years of important events, rapid changes, domestic tensions, international relations and most importantly of significant developments, occurring from 1945 to 2000. After developing a historical framework through which we can understand the ideological and political conditions in Prishtina and its position within the former Yugoslavian federate, we will bring into discussion two issues: 1) Former Yugoslavia's domestic and international affairs, and worldwide events impacting the situation within Yugoslavia; 2) The actions and reactions of political elites in Prishtina and former Yugoslavia, as well as those of the international community, towards domestic issues. Finally, this chapter will define the critical junctures which are particularly related to significant historical events, resulting in the drafting and realization of relevant urban plans and architectural works. At the end, it will also identify within the critical junctures, the high and low domestic and international ideological and political pressures, and the case studies from the discipline of architecture and city planning.

4.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: IDEOLOGIES AND POLITICS IN THE CASE OF PRISHTINA (1945-2000)

4.1.1. General Background

Prishtina's history from 1945 until 2000, is linked to a long series of important events from the emergence of the "Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia" in the aftermath of the Second World War (1945-1963), to its transformation into the "Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" (1963-1992), its dissolution in 1992 succeeding with the creation of the "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" (1992-2003) and culminating with the Kosovo War in 1998-1999. In this context, it is relevant to emphasize that Prishtina's post-Second World War history was also predetermined from Kosovo's position in the Balkans before the war, starting from the Balkan Wars 1912-1923 to the creation of the "Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians" 1818-1929 and the "Kingdom of Yugoslavia" 1929-1941 (Malcolm, 1998; Perović, 1991). In line with these events, we can distinguish many influences from Ottoman and/or Austro-Hungarian policies, Italian fascism (at the time of the Italian occupation of

the region during the Second World War), socialism and modernism, Serbian nationalism and neoclassicism, and postmodernist tendencies.

As this thesis is concerned with Prishtina's modern history in the context of post-Second World War Kosovo, in the following text, it is used the term "Yugoslavia" to refer to all the names and phases that the federation went through from 1945 to the 2000s. Since 1945, Yugoslavia and Kosovo in particular, have been subjects to significant ideological, political, economic and social changes. These changes, together with challenges in domestic politics, international relations and the overall ideological background, were reflected in four constitutions which were amended by Yugoslavia during almost fifty years of its existence (Klasić, 2018).

The first two constitutions, those of 1946 and 1953 were more concerned with the new ideology of the federate, the political agenda, economic plans, and with the improvement of the general conditions in the first years after the Second World War (Klasić, 2018). The third one, approved in 1963, tried to address some of the issues facing the former federation by aiming to improve domestic relations between all Yugoslav entities and to direct domestic politics to a kind of decentralization. However, this aim was not completely achieved – even though some changes indeed happened, – and in 1968 massive student protests were organized in Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo and continued in other cities, including Prishtina, which demanded (among others) the realization of the process of decentralization and more autonomy for each entity (Klasić, 2018). The final Constitution was voted on February 21, 1974, and is considered to be the most complex project for the domestic politics in Yugoslavia (Klasić, 2018). These final changes had been impacted by years-long attempts for the establishment of a complete decentralized system, accompanied by numerous exchanges, mutual adjustments and negotiations.

After defeating the fascist forces in the Second World War, Yugoslavia remained faithful to Marxist Communism, "*although it did not follow the ideological and political line formulated mainly by the Soviet Union*" (Jović, 2006, p. 277), and adopted by other East European socialist countries since 1948 (Jović, 2006). The new post-war Yugoslav identity, was constructed on the critique of Soviet Marxism as "revisionism", by including features of "original Marxism" to replace it:

> "*As Tito explicitly said in 1953, there was no attempt to invent 'Titoism', but only an original, Yugoslav, interpretation of Marxism, which would then become a basis for a 'Yugoslav way to socialism'. In fact, the Yugoslav Communists claimed that they understood Marxism better than the Soviets, and of course, better than the East European countries too*" (Jović, 2006, pp. 277-302).

The "*orientation of the state-socialist model was codified in the 1946 Constitution*", defining the new Yugoslavia as "*a federation of nations united by their own free will in a common state*" (Beślin, 2017); whose equality was possible through what Edvard Kardelj (prime minister of Yugoslavia) would refer to as the "*sovereign right and statehoods of people's republics as constitutive elements of the federal state*" (Beślin, 2017). In this context, the dominant idea promoted by the state was that of "Brotherhood and Unity". The basic structure of the state represented "a federation of six republics" (Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia), being constitutive elements of the federation, and two autonomous units in Serbia, the "Autonomous Province of Vojvodina" and the "Autonomous Region of Kosovo and Metohija". Although never legally defined, the difference between a province (*prokrajina*) and a region (*oblast*) was that the former was of a higher order than the later (Malcolm, 1998).

Yugoslavia, in the initial stages of its existence, was formed on the idea of partisan *Yugoslavsim* and the power was absolutely centralized (Beślin, 2017). Although the republics had their own institutions, constitutions and emblems, they decisions had to be adjusted to the federal constitution and laws. This situation was not sustainable in a nationally plural state and the resistance to centralism started as early as in the 1950s (Beślin, 2017; Klasić, 2018). At this time, Vladimir Bakarić (the leader of Croatian communists) and Edvard Kardelj, strongly believed on the idea of economic and political decentralization (Klasić, 2018). In their discussions we can distinguish the first signs of a "*system of controlled decentralization to the level that lessens the strain of centralism but disables disintegration of the federation*" (Milosavljević, 1992, p. 369).

However, the centralized system of Yugoslavia managed to prevent the strengthening of this idea, at least until the 1960s. In 1962, at the meeting of the "Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia", Tito (the Yugoslav president) itself was still closer to the idea of centralism. Against the practice of decentralization was Aleksandar Ranković, Minister of the Interior of Yugoslavia and director of UDB (federal office of secret intelligence), who "*told the same meeting that everyone seems to care for his own interests only, for his own sector or republic*" (Zečević, 1998, p. 356), and criticized the transformation of the League of Communists into a "coalition of communists" (Beślin, 2017). Contrary to Ranković, Kardelj was warning against "*the actual hegemonism and abolishment of the principle of people's self-governance*" (Zečević, 1998, p. 192); saying that "*Yugoslavia could not make progress without unity, but the unity implying full respect for national policies and independent*

republics" (Zečević, 1998, p. 192). In conclusion, Tito made it clear that "*the party policy should be the one of Yugoslavsim with due respect for national specificities*" (Beślin, 2017).

It should be noted that the course towards "decentralization" had its initial stage with the Constitution of 1963, which defined Yugoslavia as "*federation of equal peoples united by their own free will*" and "*a community based on the rule of working people and self-governance*" (1963 Constitution, p. 52) . Article 2 outlined the character of each "federal unit" as "*state-socialist democratic communities based on the rule of working people and self-governance*" (1963 Constitution, p. 95). Other important events for the consolidation of the new political discourse were the Eight Congress of SKJ in 1964 and the Brioni Plenum in 1966 (in which Ranković was removed from office). By 1966, there were several prominent Yugoslav politicians who questioned the ideology of "homogenous Yugoslavsim" and advocated a greater national development. All of this culminated with the constitutional amendments of 1967 and 1968, the 1971 set of amendments, and the last constitution proclaimed in 1974 (Beślin, 2017).

The political discourse from 1963 and 1974 was accompanied with other economic and social crises. In one hand, following the economic reform in 1965 (Klasić, 2018), the economic crises started to shake the Yugoslav society and that is why at the top of the priority list was placed the solving of economic problems. On the other hand, another sign of the country's "*deep crisis*", was the "*wave of student protests over almost all Yugoslav universities*" in June 1989 (Klasić, 2018). Although the crisis was mainly perceived through its "*economic consequences*", it must be understood that "*economic crisis was in relation with deeper political problems*" (Klasić, 2018).

In the beginning of the 1980s, the socio-political condition in Yugoslavia was transforming, heading towards the breakup of Yugoslavia. After the death of Tito in May 1980, a new ideological direction was followed. There were "*efforts to restrengthen the powers of the federal state*" by re-centralizing them and "*returning to the relations prevailing before Ranković's removal*" (Ramet, 2002; Miletić, 2020). Such policies were followed mainly by Serbian politicians, in particular: "Dragoslav Draža Marković, Ivan Stambolić and Slobodan Milošević, as the most enthusiastic" (Miletić, 2020). In the beginning of 1980s, Yugoslavia "*was maintained within the framework of the system of complex federal institutions, based on the consensus principle between the representatives of the elements of the federation, in federal bodies*" (Miletić, 2020). In this context, "conflicting regional interests" and "short-term coalitions" occurred. The challenges were coming mainly from Serbian, Slovenian and Croatian party and state officials (Miletić,

2020). Slovenia and Croatia aimed towards a greater decentralization, while Serbia insisted on the re-centralization of federal institutions and the reduction of competencies of the autonomous provinces (Miletić, 2020).

If before the 1980s, the inter-ethnic relations and the idea of 'Brotherhood and Unity' were crucial for the functioning of the federate, in the years to come, the whole system turned into its opposite. In 1987, an open critic by Milošević transmitted the transition from leftist to nationalist ideas (Miletić, 2020). In the following decades, political, economic and social crisis, led to the point that the relations between federal units could not return to the state defined by the 1974 constitution.

In 1989, after Milošević consolidated his power, Serbian assembly suppressed the autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina. In 1990, at the "14th Congress of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia", the Slovenians and Croatians opposed Serbian hegemonism and left the Congress by dissolving the Communist party. In the same year, Slovenia and Croatia proposed to transform Yugoslavia into a confederation, but this proposal was rejected by Serbia. In 1991 both of the republics declared their independence from Yugoslavia. The event was followed by the Ten-Day War between the Yugoslav Army (controlled by Serbia) and Slovenia, and a four-year war (until 1995) with Croatia. Later that year, Macedonia also declared its independence, without any resistance from Serbia. In 1992 the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina was recognized by the United States and most European countries, while it was rejected by Serbia and the genocidal war there continued until 1995.

In April 1992, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was formed, with Serbia and Montenegro as the only federal units. In 1998-1999, in Kosovo started the last Yugoslavian war, which draw the attention of the international scene, including the involvement of UN, OSCE and especially the NATO intervention. In 2006 Montenegro became an independent state, followed by Kosovo in 2008. Thus, Yugoslavia was completely separated and any idea for centralization or homogenization pushed by Serbia was faded.

4.1.2. Kosovo & Prishtina in the Context of Socialist Yugoslavia

In the beginnings of Socialist Yugoslavia, Kosovo did not share an equal position to the other entities. The "dominance of Serbs and Montenegrins in the Party and State security apparatus", was a sign that Kosovo Albanians "still had a second-class position" (Malcolm, 1998, p. 327). Kosovo was incorporated into the federate as a constituent part of Serbia, because of its separation from Albania in 1912 and the Serbian invasion of the region, as well as due to Serbian influence in the political scene of Yugoslavia (Limani, 2017). In fact,

in March 1944 Tito had written that Kosovo and Vojvodina "*will obtain autonomy, and the question of which federal unit they are joined to will depend on the people themselves, through their representatives, when the issue is decided by a definitive ruling after the war*" (Malcolm, 1998, p. 328). At a meeting in Belgrade in the same year, Edvard Kardelj transmitted Tito's thoughts to Fadil Hoxha (leader of Kosovo at the time), that "*it was perhaps best to leave Kosovo as part of Serbian territory to appease the Serbs, whose insurgence at such a time would cause a great deal of trouble*" (Surroi, 2010, pp. 266-270). In 1945, Kardelj made an interesting qualification in a "Central Committee" meeting, stating that "*the best solution would be if Kosovo were to be united with Albania, but because neither foreign nor domestic factors favor this, it must remain a compact province within the framework of Serbia*" (Malcolm, 1998, p. 328).

In September 1945, the "*People's Assembly of Serbia established the 'Autonomous Region of Kosovo and Metohija' as a constituent part of Serbia*" (Malcolm, 1998, p. 329). The 1946 Constitution of socialist Yugoslavia confirmed this status for Kosovo. The year 1946 also marks the date when Prishtina, which by the time was recognized as an administrative center, was declared as the capital city of Kosovo (before the Second World War, the administrative center of Kosovo was the city of Prizren). In 1947, Serbia issued its own constitution which supplied more detail about the "autonomous rights of Kosovo", such as "*to direct its own economic and cultural development, prepare a plan for its own budget, protect the rights of its citizens, etc.*" (Malcolm, 1998, p. 329).

While the political power was being extended in Kosovo, in terms of ideological indoctrination of the local population, there were no visible efforts until 1947 (Limani, 2017). Among the local population who had not yet completely "surpassed feudalism", the Marxist-Leninist concepts were quite strange (Limani, 2017). Such concepts were being adopted faster by urban classes, because of "t*he economic and social differences existing between semi-urban and rural communities*" (Limani, 2017). Such situation was noticeable in the overall context of socialist Yugoslavia and continued even during the last decades of its existence (Ströhle, 2016).

After establishing the Socialist Yugoslavia and extending political control, the agenda of the Communist Party by 1947 was directed to put into motion the economic revolution and to change the former agrarian society into and industrial society (Limani, 2017). During 1950 and 1952, "modern agricultural technologies were introduced together with land production based on self-management" (Limani, 2017). However, the industrial development was slow, and the process was not completed until 1957 – when the formation

of cooperatives which eventually grew into small modern factories, finally occurred – due to backward and stagnant development (Limani, 2017). After 1957, Kosovo also started "to receive investments funds for industrialization from the federal budget", and by 1958 there were "49 industrial enterprises (for comparision, Slovenia had 465) in which 16,000 people were employed" (Malcolm, 1998, p. 337).

The economic challenges were accompanied by major social problems in the context of Kosovo. Although the ideology of "homogenous Yugoslavsim" was followed on governmental levels, it took different nuances in Kosovo (Limani, 2017), due to the fact that Kosovo always had a significant majority of non-Slavic, Albanian population. During the first two decades of socialist Yugoslavia, Aleksandar Ranković "played a key role in abusing with state mechanisms to suppress the Albanians and to force a local inter-ethnic tension" (Malcolm, 1998; Limani, 2017). He believed that the state apparatus was an instrument to destroy "internal and external" reactions, and Kosovar Albanians in this case, were considered "*foreign bodies within Yugoslavia who neither fitted naturally into a South Slavic state, nor made any significant attempts to adapt to it*" (Limani, 2017). Therefore, "*it is highly likely that ethnic stigmatization contributed to the status they earned as a reactionary force against communism and the state*" (Limani, 2017).

Ranković was following a pre-existing policy aiming at the complete removal of Albanians in Yugoslavia, forcing their emigration to Turkey. A leading figure in pushing forward such policies was the politician and historian Vaso Čubrilović, who promoted the "Mass Expulsion of Albanians from Yugoslavia," first in a lecture with the same title delivered to the Serbian Cultural Club in 1937. In 1944 he submitted a report to the central authorities, stating that "*the only solution of the question of minorities is emigration*" (Malcolm, 1998, p. 336). It is estimated that "*more than 80,000 people emigrated to Turkey between 1953 and 1966*" (Limani, 2017), among which were many Albanians and Turkish-speaking communities.

In the 1963 constitution of socialist Yugoslavia, among other changes, Kosovo's status within the federation was promoted to that of an 'Autonomous Province'. However, this constitution indicated that "*autonomous provinces could be formed by republics on their own initiative, meaning that the provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina had been created by the decision of the Serbian Assembly*" (Malcolm, 1998, p. 337). This was the first time that Kosovo's constitutional status at the federal level was completely removed, allowing to have competencies only within the Republic of Serbia and to be an internal arrangement of Serbia.

The year 1966 was a turning point for Kosovo's history within socialist Yugoslavia. Due to his anti-Albanian repressive policies, and with a great political pressure by Kosovo's political elite of the time, Ranković was fired at the Brioni Plenum (Malcom, 1998, p. 337). But we must be careful at this point because this was not the first and only reason. As we can understand from above (p. 5-6), Ranković has been opposing the abandoning of *centralism* and *Yugoslavsim* which would push forward the principle of decentralization and foster the self-direction of each republic (Malcolm, 1998, p. 338).

Indeed, after 1966 the principle of decentralization started to be extended to all republics and the autonomous provinces as well. As a supplement to the 1963 constitution, the amendments of 1967, 1968 and later those of 1971, aimed at strengthening the republic's statehood and promoted the two provinces as "*constitutive elements of the federation*" although they were part of the Republic of Serbia (Beślin, 2017). Alongside these changes, followed various concession to the Albanians. Tito itself visited Kosovo in March 1967, for the first time in sixteen years, and declared among others that "*one cannot talk about equal rights* [in Yugoslavia], *when Serbs are given preferences in the factories…*[and all other institutions] *and the Albanians "are rejected although they have the same or better qualifications*" (Malcolm, 1998, p. 338).

Fundamental and significant political changes occurring in the late 1960s were also marked by the student protests of 1968, culminating as "a result of the political and economic crisis". Yugoslav university students condemned "police brutality and university conditions, and criticized the self-managing socialism" (Fichter, 2016, pp. 99-121):

> "*The 'June events' show that the demonstrators were active participants in a global movement but also heavily influenced by local context, practices, and ideas. Whereas Yugoslav youth engaged with, drew from, and ignored the activities of other student movements, authorities reacted to youth rebellion by insisting that the majority of the protesters were showing support for state policies and that the most incorrigible were influenced by, or agents of, foreign entities*" (Fichter, 2016, pp. 99-121).

While the student protests that erupted in Yugoslavia and elsewhere in Europe (France, Czechoslovakia, Poland), were directed against the ruling oligarchies, the protests in Prishtina and other cities in Kosovo, in October and November of 1968, "were motivated by a slightly different agenda" (Limani, 2017). The Albanian protesters who were Albanian students, demanded "more autonomy for Kosovo within Serbia and Yugoslavia", the establishing of Kosovo as a Republic and an Albanian university (at the time, the University

of Prishtina was functioning as a branch of the University of Belgrade, with very few departments). The student protests in Yugoslavia got the attention of the entire domestic political scene and there was a need for a serious reaction from the state, to soften the tensions. In the same year, Tito itself gave his probably most important speech:

> "*The revolt that took place partially results from students seeing that I have often posed questions that still haven't been resolved. This time I promise the students that I will wholeheartedly work on resolving them and that I will have the students' help in this. Moreover, if I am incapable of resolving these questions, then shouldn't hold this position any longer. Josip Broz Tito*" (Fichter, 2016, pp. 99-121).

Following these events, with the amendments of 1968 approved by the "Federal Assembly" at a joint session of the "Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Nations", the provinces were turned into "*special self-governing sociopolitical communities entitled to independently decide on relations with the rest, determine sources of their income and decide on their organizational arrangements*" (Limani, 2017). They were also given *de facto* veto power in the Serbian and Yugoslav parliament (Limani, 2017). Both provinces were added the term "socialist" making them "equal to republics in this sense". In the case of Kosovo, the term "Metohija" – which was offensive to the Albanian population because of its meaning as "monastic estates" deriving from Greek language – was removed from the official name, and the province was named the "Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosovo" (Limani, 2017).

The eighteenth amendment of 1963 Constitution stated that: "*the Federation shall protect constitutionally recognized rights and duties of autonomous provinces*" (1963 Constitution, p. 178); while "*provincial and republican judiciaries were equalized so that the Supreme Court of the Province shall have the rights and duties of a republican supreme court in the territory of the province*" (1963 Constitution, p. 178). A Territorial unit was defined as:

> "*Socialist, democratic, sociopolitical community with specific ethnic structure and other specificities, wherein working people effectuate social self-governance, regulates social relations with provincial laws and other acts, ensures constitutionality and legality, direct economic development and the development of social services, organize organs of power and self-governance, ensures equality of peoples and national minorities, prepares and organizes defense of the country and protection of the constitutional order, and perform other duties of common interest to the province's political, economic and cultural life and development – except for the duties in the interest of the republic*

as a whole, as provided by the republican constitution" (1963 Constitution, p. 178-179).

All the political, economic and social reforms were developed under the pressure of the circumstances, particularly the pressure of the demands of unsatisfied Albanians (referring to the 1968 protests), or simply for pragmatic reasons that had nothing to do with the needs of Kosovo's society, but were part of an overall interest related to the maintenance of the Yugoslav image in general.

In the meantime, there were taken some progressive steps towards the improvement of the status of Kosovar Albanian within the Federation. The University of Prishtina, as an autonomous institution in Albanian language was established in 1970. In 1971 Albanian language was recognized as an official language (Limani, 2017). In 1972, in Tirana (Albania) was organized the "Congress for Unification of the Albanian Language", in which Kosovar Albanian delegates participated (Limani, 2017). In this Congress was decided for "the application of a standardized Albanian language that would be used in Albania and Kosovo" (Limani, 2017). The participation of Kosovar Albanians in this event, signified a "national unification" of Albanians, at least in linguistic terms (Limani, 2017).

In February 1974, with the adoption of the new Constitution of Yugoslavia, Kosovo indeed had gained the status of a "Socialist Autonomous Province within Serbia" and was given "far-reaching autonomy rights" (Limani, 2017). At this point Kosovo (as well as Vojvodina) had its own internal organization, being "an equal partner to other federal units in the procedure of issuing the federal constitution" (Pichler, Grandits & Fotiadis, 2021). Following this, the "Constitution of Kosovo" was approved by the "Assembly of Kosovo" and the federal Assembly, on 28 February 1974. In addition, Kosovo had its "own direct representation on the main federal bodies including the Presidency of Yugoslavia" (Malcolm, 1998, pp. 340-341). Other changes in the Constitution of 1974 among those that are listed above, were reflected as follows:

> "*Instead of the Federal Chamber all major powers were invested in the Chamber of Peoples, which further strengthened the position of constitutive elements of the federation, i.e. republics and provinces. Economic rights of the federation were also limited in line with basic principles of the economic reform. The state's strong interventionalism, still present, was moderated under amendment 3 providing that the federation may participate, with its own funds, only in financing the investments in special purposes as provided under the federal legislation*" (Limani, 2017).

The changes in the political organization were reflected also on the economy of the country. If the first years after the Second World War (putting aside the period of the Soviet blockade) are characterized by "significant growth and development for the developed republics", from the late 1960s to the late 1970s, the regional economic development was fairly balanced (Gligorov, 2017).

Kosovo maintained the status of 1974 until 1989, when under the presidency of Slobodan Milošević the achieved level of autonomy was revoked. However, the events of 1989 and onwards were preceded by the start of economic crisis, the rise of nationalist power forces within Yugoslavia following Tito's death in 1980, and the Serbian intention for the re-centralization of domestic politics, as described in the previous section (p.6). In Prishtina, on 11 March 1981, another student protest erupted. This time it started in the eating-hall of the University of Prishtina and ended up in the city's main street, where the students called for food and better conditions in the university. Some arrests were made, and the crowds were dispersed the next morning (Malcolm, 1998, p. 348). The protest continued some weeks later in Prishtina and was followed in all the cities in Kosovo. At this point, slogans such as "Kosovo Republic", "Unification with Albania", etc. were included, and the protests turned into a serious political problem. A "state of emergency" was declared in Kosovo and the special units of security police were brought in from the federal authorities (Malcolm, 1998, p. 348-349).

The stagnation of economic development, the accumulation of tensions between ethnic groups (Albanians and Serbs), and "the demand to elevate Kosovo to the status of a Republic", were the most relevant reasons for this protest (Limani, 2017). Economic stagnation was impacted by the rapid population growth, as Kosovo could not absorb the increased number of young people waiting to be employed in the socialist economy (Pichler et.al., 2021). By many, this was interpreted as "a political discrimination against Kosovar Albanians within Yugoslavia" (Mertus, 1999; Pula, 2004).

In fact, during the 1980s, "all socialist countries, including Yugoslavia, underwent economic stagnation and decelerated growth" (Gligorov, 2017). A similar situation prevailed in neighboring Bulgaria and Hungary (Gligorov, 2017). But the situation was not the same in Greece or Austria for instance, what tells us that "this stagnation was not a consequence of European, much less world, economic trends" (Gligorov, 2017). This economic stagnation is followed by the 1990s, which "brought a reduction of economic activity by about roughly a half" (Gligorov, 2017).

Following the political tensions after Tito's death, the distancing of Slovenia and Croatia from the Yugoslav Federate, Milošević's rise to power and the expansion of Serbian nationalism, the political, economic and social conditions of Kosovar Albanian were continuously declining. The level of unemployed people in Kosovo was the highest in the whole country (Malcolm, 1998). Out of a population of 1.5 million, 67,000 were officially registered as unemployed, but it was estimated by observers that the actual number was 250,000 (Malcolm, 1998, pp. 350-351).

The protests of 1981 were "*classified as revisionist and counterrevolutionary*", and they were "*violently put down with the approval of the federal and republican authorities*" (Petritsch, Pichler & Procházka, 2005, pp. 81-86). The "state of emergency" imposed on the cities of Kosovo continued and by the early 1980s the country had reached "*a state of permanent crisis and military occupation, and became the main focus for the revival of Serbian nationalism*" (Malcom, 1998). As early as in 1981, Mahmut Bakalli (President of the "League of Communists of Kosovo") resigned after disagreeing with the way the 1981 protests were classified. He was expelled from the League, while Xhavit Nimani (President of the "Provincial Presidency") was forced to resign.

In 1986 Milošević took over as the president of the "Serbian League of Communists" and was later named President of the "Presidency of Serbia" and President of the "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia". In the following years his power was consolidated in Serbia, Vojvodina Kosovo, and in Montenegro, by forcing the resignation of local leadership and replacing them with supporters of the new regime. From early 1980s to late 1990s, a series of protests were organized in Kosovo, in opposition to the Serbian tendency for control over Kosovo. It is important to highlight that in particular those occurring after the events of 1989, were in defense of the local leadership and were not organized from above (Malcolm, 1998, pp. 357-358). In November 1989 was organized the protest of the miners of Trepça who marched to Prishtina and were followed by factory workers and students. The Radio and Television of Belgrade reported that the number of protestors was around 100,000 (Malcolm, 1998, p. 358).

Early in 1989 the Serbian assembly prepared a number of new amendments to the republic's constitution, which would change Kosovo's 1974 constitutional status and "give Serbia control over Kosovo's police, courts and civil defense", as well as "power to develop social and economic policies" and "issue administrative instructions" (Malcolm, 1998, p. 358). Although such circumstances were constantly opposed by the Albanian population,

there were no changes in the politics followed by the nationalist regime of Serbia: armed troops were sent in Kosovo and "a state of emergency" was declared.

On 23 March 1989, Kosovo's autonomy was revoked and the status of pre 1963 was back. Kosovo was considered a "province" within the Republic of Serbia (which removed the prefix "socialist" from its name), and had no right for any decision taking in domestic politics. In the 1980s, "*80% of political prisoners in Yugoslavia were Albanians, what reflects the scale of the persecution against them*" (Dragović, 2002, p. 117). Kosovar Albanian intellectuals and political activists left Kosovo for the United States or western and northern Europe. During the late 1980s and 1990s in these countries emerged a powerful diaspora, "which would play an important role in the financing and the maintenance of the parallel structures established by Kosovo Albanians in the 1990s", after the revocation of Kosovo's autonomy in 1989 (Clark, 2000, pp. 95–121; Pula, 2004, pp. 797–826).

By 1989, Kosovar Albanian politicians were removed or resigned from their positions, and by 1991 "*more than half of the population were dismissed from their working places*" (Limani, 2017). In 1990, independent television, radio and newspaper sources within Kosovo were shut down. In September 1991, the Kosovo Albanian members of the "Kosovo Parliament" called for "a referendum to declare the independence of Kosovo from Serbia, in which 99.87% of the voters (87% of the electorate) voted for independence" (Limani, 2017). In 1992 elections were held. The "Democratic Alliance of Kosovo" gained 96% of the seats and its leader, Ibrahim Rugova, was elected President of Kosovo.

During the 1990s, as all state institutions were controlled by Serbs and Kosovar Albanians were banned from using them, was established "*the parallel system in Kosovo*" (Limani, 2017). This system included "state and public institutions, as well as high schools and the university, that operated in the citizens' private houses, within the framework of self-declared independence" (Limani, 2017). It should be noted that Serbian authorities imposed the use of new school curriculums in Serbian language, a decision that encountered resistance from the Albanians. The "parallel system" was probably the most important and emancipatory movement in the modern history of Kosovo, and Prishtina in particular. This whole period is distinguished with ethnic tensions between Albanians and Serbs, intense events and activities carried out by Kosovo's self-declared government, a great resistance from Kosovo's society who constantly fought even against armed forces, and the emergence of illegal groups aiming the liberation of Kosovo. The outcome of such events during the 1990s, led to the Kosovo War (1989-1999). By the middle of June 1999 Kosovo was

liberated and entered a long (ongoing) process of transition, that would culminate with Kosovo's independence from Serbia on 17 February 2008.

4.2. HIGH AND LOW INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL PRESSURES

This section will bring into discussion domestic events and affairs in relation to the international discourse, which are products of the general historical analysis of post-1945 Prishtina and Kosovo, presented above. It will further define the domestic and international ideological and political pressures and distinguish them into high and low, in order to test the model of this thesis by analyzing how their combination is reflected in architecture and the city of Prishtina. In this context, first, it is important to clarify what are identified as domestic and international pressure in the case of Prishtina.

In the first chapter of this thesis (cf. Chapter 1, Section 1.2.2), are defined the domestic pressures as the power exerted by domestic elites, such as position and opposition, or individuals/groups aspiring political power and propagate a certain ideology. On the other side, international pressures are defined as external power forces intervening in domestic affairs, such as neighboring and powerful states, or relevant international organizations (including those with political, economic, cultural or humanitarian character). In this context, we are interested in deciphering particular developments in the history of Kosovo from 1945 to the late 1990s, in which powerful foreign states and/or domestic elites, had or still have a distinct impact translated in architectural and urban developments. The effects of such developments are related to the changes and transformations of morphological and typological features of a building and an urban area, stylistic and linguistic aspects of relevant architectural works (public buildings and urban plots), the position of public buildings in specific locations within the city, etc.

Domestic pressures in the case of Kosovo are represented by Albanian left and right political groups or Serbian nationalist political groups. Considering the complexity of the political reality of Kosovo, the former "Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" (SFRY), the "Socialist Republic of Serbia" (as one of the constituent republics of SFRY) and the "State Union of Serbia and Montenegro" are considered as domestic power forces. This

consideration is based on the fact that, by constitution, Kosovo as autonomous province within Yugoslavia was part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

International pressures on the other side, "*involve the interests of powerful states with stakes in the country and the Balkans, and neighbour states imposing their blueprint in the region*" (Kalemaj, 2014, p. 75). Principally, as international power forces are considered the state power represented by the United States of America, the European Union (as a *sui generis* state), the Republic of Albania and the Soviet Union. As power forces are considered also the international specialized organizations with relevant impact in the field of architecture and urbanism, such as UN, NATO, UNESCO, Docomomo International, Europa Nostra, or UN Habitat.

After the Second World War, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was distinguished as the main political force, offering a vision for the socialist modernization of the federate and the construction of the so-called "people's democracy" (Žarković, 2017). The Soviet Union was the main foreign political and ideological support for the new Yugoslavia. However, unlike most Eastern European communists, Yugoslav communists did not consider their triumph in the war only as a merit of the Red Army units of the Soviet Union but managed to build a military power linked to the ideal of a future socialist society by relying on their own four-year war against occupation forces (Žarković, 2017).

Within the post-war Yugoslavia, a sufficiently strong and organized political opposition did not exist, thus there were no domestic pressures towards the central authorities. Some pressures were present in the relation between Kosovo and Serbia though, regarding the issue of Kosovo's position in the federate. On one hand, Serbs emphasized that Kosovo was already 'annexed' by Serbia and its status was not a matter of discussion in the organization of post-war Yugoslavia (Malcolm, 1998, p. 328). On the other hand, the Regional People's Council in Kosovo selected its own delegates to the third meeting of the "Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia" (AVONJ) in 1945, telling us that Kosovo was part of an important phase for the formation of Yugoslavia, acting as a political unit in its own (Malcolm, 1998, p. 329).

However, the tensions between Kosovo and Serbia were not given attention and, in the end, the decision to include Kosovo as an autonomous region within Serbia was made by federal bodies and was voted both in the regional and republican council (Malcolm, 1998, p. 328). There were some other cases of resistance from Kosovar Albanians, related to their

requests for not sending Slav colonists to Kosovo and the use of the Albanian language in the official aspect and education. Such requests were met by central bodies, but it must be noted that they did not represent any threat to the functioning of the federate.

After consolidating the power within the federate, Yugoslav leading authorities were focused on the international affairs and events that may have had an impact in domestic issues. If in the first post-war years, Yugoslavia remained "a loyal member of the Eastern Bloc and a Moscow ally" (Jakovina & Previšić, 2020). This position changed in 1948, with the expulsion of Yugoslavia from Cominform (Communist Information Bureau), following the Tito-Stalin split (Malcolm, 1998; Jakovina and Previšić, 2020). Such developments had negative effects particularly on Kosovo. As Albania was also part of the Eastern Bloc, Enver Hoxha (its leader) declared his loyalty to Moscow and was distanced from Tito's policies, particularly those related to the case of Kosovo (Malcolm, 1998, p. 334). With the break of such international relations, the system of control within Yugoslavia was tightened allowing the security apparatus to suspect and control for the infiltration of agents in Kosovo from Enver Hoxha, considering the Albanian population as a potential threat (Malcolm, 1998, p. 334).

From the late 1950s an onwards, the debate on the socio-political situation – with focus on the political and economic decentralization, the liberalization of the market, the self-government reform and the flexibility of the federation to different issues (Mujadžević, 2011, p. 226; Klasić, 2018) – was occurring between two groups within the high representative bodies, labeled as centralist and decentralists (Klasić, 2018). By the early 1960s this debate was deepened by the emergence of the economic crisis, which "*according to Branko Horvat (one of the most renowned Yugoslav economist of the time) occurred firstly for political opposition to further liberalization of the economy*" (Klasić, 2018).

In long-term, the break with Moscow may have impacted the decentralization policies to be later realized (Malcolm, 1998), which were also preceded by a rapprochement of Yugoslavia with the West. Even after "the reconciliation with the Soviet Union" in 1955, Yugoslavia did not join a socialist-based link with Russians and followed an active foreign policy (Jakovina, 2017). However, the event put an end to the Informbiro period in Yugoslavia, stopping the persecutions of Hoxha's "agents" in Kosovo.

In the years to come, the federate maintained "a significant degree of independence" in international affairs, by following a middle course during the Cold War. Calling for "*a world where nations were more closely linked and oriented towards each other, but were also independent and able to decide on their own interests and the coalitions useful to them*"

(Jakovina, 2017), in 1961 Yugoslavia became one of the initiating countries of the "Non-Aligned Movement". If within Yugoslavia there were moments of tensions between domestic actors which at times resulted in high pressures towards the central power, in international affairs Yugoslavia – although highly active – was somehow maintaining a neutral position and not allowing for other power forces (especially the Soviet Union) to interfere in internal issues.

This position in the international scene, was reflected on the domestic debate which began to lean more towards the idea of decentralization and more independency for the federal units, what would be achieved with later political changes pushed forward by Kardelj and Tito itself. The first phase of the application of such changes is reflected with the 1963 Constitution of Yugoslavia, aiming to transmit that the federate was a "*multiethnic community in which economic aspects were crucial to interethnic relations; consequently, national economic independence…is a specific form of working people' self-governance*" (stenographic notes from the VIII Congress of the Communist League, 1965, p. 343). For Kardelj, everyone "*should have the right and the opportunity to live and progress in accordance to results their work*" and, therefore, "*no power beyond the people itself*" could influence its development (Beślin, 2017). The aim was to create a condition in which interethnic relations would not represent any tension that would allow for domestic pressures. The 1963 Constitution was to establish "*such relations that* would *guarantee that under no condition anyone could be forced to anything*" (Beślin, 2017). These remarks were addressed to Serbian nationalist and centralist tendencies, which had no strong opposition in Serbia, expect from Kosovo. According to Kardelj, Serbia as "*the biggest republic and Serbs as the biggest nation*" should not be above any other nation, and their nationalism and centralistic course "*could inflict the biggest harm to the country's unity*" (Beślin, 2017). Therefore, in order to maintain stability within the domestic pollical scene and to implement the ideological plan of the socialist Yugoslavia, nationalisms had to be liquidated.

For Yugoslavia and Kosovo in particular the amendments to the 1963 Constitution, declared in 1968 in the Federal Assembly, were the realization of the long process of decentralization. In the domestic discourse, such changes were pushed by the pressures from the political elite in Kosovo and by the 1968 student protests throughout Yugoslavia. The international impact came from the 1968 world events such as student protests, the Prague Spring, Chinese and Albanian Cultural Revolutions, May 68 in Paris and the Soviet invasion of former Czechoslovakia.

In the case of Kosovo, pressures were reflected through the call for a republic. In 1968, prior to the constitutional amendments, Mehmet Hoxha asked: "*why do 370,000 Montenegrins have their own republic, while 1.2 million Albanians do not even have total autonomy?*" (Malcolm, 1998, p. 338). The slogan "Kosovo-Republic" was heard in the student protests in Prishtina, along the slogans "We want university", "Long live Albania", "Down with colonial policy in Kosovo", etc. The protesters in Prishtina, were part of almost all students in Yugoslavia calling for social justice, a "radically different socialism" and support for their "comrades" in Paris and Berlin (Malcolm, 1998).

The reaction of the state towards such events, was impacted by the revolutionary movements around the world and opened way for changes in the internal politics of Yugoslavia: the inclusion of the two provinces as federal units, their upgrading into Autonomous Socialist Provinces and the prefix "socialist" added to the republics. Changes in international politics were also causing pressures on the Yugoslav authorities. The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 may have alarmed Tito and made him to follow a rapprochement policy with other states that were distanced from the Soviet Union, such as Albania (Malcolm, 1998, pp. 338-339). As Albania was not a Soviet ally since 1961, by the end of the 1960s had been reconciliated with Yugoslavia. This change in international affairs was reflected on domestic developments in Kosovo. From 1969 Kosovo Albanians were allowed to use their national flag and emblems, an agreement about road transport between the two countries was signed between Belgrade and Tirana, and a fuller commercial agreement was made in the following year (Malcolm, 1998). With the establishing of the University of Prishtina in 1970, a new agreement was signed with the University of Tirana for the exchange of the academic staff, bringing more than 200 university teachers from Albania in the course of the next five years (Malcolm, 1998).

These new developments for Kosovo within Yugoslavia, and the calls for larger autonomy for the provinces, were opposed by Serbian politicians and intellectuals, particularly by Dragoslav Marković (President of the "Republican Constitutional Commission"), who always considered the provinces as elements of federalism and not federal units (Beślin, 2017). Law Professor Pavle Ristić's criticized the 1968 constitutional amendments, which according to him, represent Serbia's inequality vis-à-vis other federal units, by questioning Serbia's constitutionally guaranteed sovereignty and the right to self-organization (Beślin, 2017). Serbia was considering the 1968 amendments as an interference on its own internal affairs. Although the provisions were dealing with domestic issues of the federate and not Serbia's, "*they prevented Serbia from arranging itself its relations with the*

provinces and thus arbiter their autonomies, entitled to derogate or abolish them at will, any time, without any interference by the federal top" (Beślin, 2017), and sabotaged its centralistic and nationalist ideology.

The approval of the 1974 Constitution of Yugoslavia summarizing all the amendments from 1967 to 1971, and the Constitution of the "Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo" after that, were seen as the final steps to consolidate the state agenda for "decentralization". In the case of Kosovo, the powers determined by the 1974 Constitution represent the last positive developments, as there was never a step to turn the autonomous provinces into republics. A reason for this was a theory that republics were entities for "nations" as opposed to "nationalities", the former being presented as "a state-forming unit" and the latter a displaced part of a nation whose majority lived elsewhere (Malcolm, 1998, p. 341). In this context, the Albanian nation in this case had its own state in Albania, while the Hungarians of Vojvodina had their state in Hungary. The practical political reason for denying Kosovo the status of the Republic, was the fear that a "*Kosovo Republic would secede from Yugoslavia and join itself to Albania*" (Malcolm, 1998, p. 342). However, it is hard to conclude if such idea was popular and desired by Kosovo Albanians at the time.

Constant opposition by Serbia to the autonomy of Kosovo, was a domestic pressure which was however kept under control by federal authorities, including Tito and Kardelj themselves. The fact that Kosovo continued to maintain the same status, indicates that pressures from Serbia were not enough to risk the domestic politics of the federate. The situation changed with Tito's death (1980); the challenges in the economic and social development; the Serbian tendencies to re-centralize the power, exercise their nationalist agenda and become the main power force within the federate; and the Slovenian and Croatian opposition to Serbian policies, causing domestic tensions, between the federal units.

The year 1981 marks the emergence of high domestic pressures within Yugoslavia, initiated in particular by Albanians with the 1981 protest in Prishtina, followed by other protests in the course of the 1980s. The protests in Prishtina became a serious threat for the federate, but the political reaction to the crisis did nothing to improve the situation, as the social, economic and political grievances of the protesters were never addressed, considering them all as "counter-revolutionaries" (Malcolm, 1998). However, it is hard to define the protests of 1981 in this thesis, because there exist different and contradictory opinions about why and how it started, which have never been verified. Some sources say that the protest was attended by agents provocateurs working for the security police, who were infiltrated

by Belgrade. Nevertheless, all this situation tells us for the rising tensions within domestic elites, especially between Prishtina and Belgrade.

Another actor that started to exert pressure under these circumstances, was the "Serbian Orthodox Church", which was used later by Slobodan Milošević for his nationalist project for a Greater Serbia. Although Yugoslavia's constitution "proclaimed separation between religious communities and the state", after the events of 1981, the Church made a comeback, calling for "*a necessity to protect spiritual and biological being of Serbian people in Kosovo*" (Radić, 2002, p. 303). By interfering in domestic relations and political decisions, The Serbian Orthodox Church became more a national-political institution, which prioritized the national interest over religious and universal values (Barišić, 2017).

Along with the Church, the Serbian intelligentsia was also involved in the increase of domestic ideological and political pressures. Between 1985 and 1989, under the direction of Dobrica Ćosić, the "Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU)" prepared the famous "Memorandum" as an advisory document for the government (Malcolm, 1998, p. 354). This document called for a fundamental reorganization of the state because the decentralization was leading to the disintegration of Yugoslavia, and was concerned with the position of the Serbs within the state apparatus. Regarding the relation to Kosovo, it argued that it "*cannot be reduced, either solely or mainly, to formal or juridical questions about the interpretation of constitutions…it is a matter above all of the Serbian people and their state*" (Malcolm, 1998, p. 355).

With Milošević coming to power first as the president of the "Serbian League of Communists" (1987), then as president of Serbia (1989-1991; 1991-1997), and finally president of the "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" (1997-2000), Kosovo remained a source of high domestic tensions. Exactly by exploiting the "Kosovo case", Milošević turned himself into a "national' leader" (Malcolm, 1998, p. 356). However, the pressures were not felt only within the domestic scene though. The international discourse was changing, and such changes must have impacted the domestic debate. The domination of the West Bloc, the strengthening of capitalism as the main power force impacting the economic development and the political discourse, the abandoning of socialist ideology, and the replacement of modernist with postmodernist discourse, were influential in the establishing of the new political and social order in Yugoslavia. In addition, the revolutions of 1989 around the world (which signaled "the fall of communism" in many places), "the fall of the Berlin Wall", the dissolution of the "Soviet Union", etc., were undoubtedly major

international ideological and political forces, impacting the Serbian politics towards Kosovo and the dissolution of Yugoslavia after that.

The "revocation of Kosovo's autonomy" in 1989 was another milestone in Milošević's leadership. But the outbreak of continuous massive protests and the installment of the parallel system during the 1990s, signified the strong Albanian opposition to Belgrade's policies. At this point, the pressure was not coming only by the political elite of Kosovo, but mainly by the citizens and "illegal" groups organized for Kosovo's "liberation" from Yugoslavia. In addition to rapid and intense developments within Yugoslavia, the 1990s are also characterized by a large involvement of the international factor in the region. The driving force behind this involvement in domestic affairs – apart from the genocidal approach of Serbia – were the Kosovar Albanian "political elite "of the time and "the activity of the Kosovo Liberation Army" (Malcolm, 1998). The presence of the "OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission in Kosovo", the NATO intervention in Kosovo War through the bombing campaign towards Yugoslavia, and the "establishment of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo" after the war, are major events which tell us for powerful international pressure during and after the 1990s.

4.3. CRITICAL JUNCTURES OF PRISHTINA'S MODERN HISTORY

4.3.1. Definition of the Term "Critical Junctures"

Considering the impossibility to study architecture, ideology and politics in Prishtina – or anywhere else – in a linear fashion through the entire period from the end of the Second World War to the end of the 1990s, it is important to define some limits within which significant events and case studies will be analyzed and interpreted. For this purpose, this thesis identifies the *critical junctures* in Prishtina's and Kosovo's modern history, which are reflected on the events occurring in Prishtina. This approach is introduced – though in a different context – by Ilir Kalemaj, in his study on national identities, "imagined" geographical borders and political constructs impacting their manifestation (Kalemaj, 2014). His study is focused on the case of Albania and neighbouring countries inhabited by Albanians, such as Kosovo and North Macedonia. Kalemaj uses the term *critical junctures* to identify those moments when there is "*a regime change that stimulates the reconfiguration of national identities*", which are not simply moments when political rotations happen within the "normalized" political scene (Kalemaj, 2014, p. 15).

In this thesis' view, *critical junctures* will be adapted to interpret a major development with a particular time frame, that changed the course of historical action, and not a period of time (e.g., the 1974 Constitution, the 1989-1999 actions and reaction between Prishtina and Belgrade, etc.). Such major developments are always interrelated with the general ideological and political context in former Yugoslavia, and they are affected by the domestic and international discourse on ideology and politics (all presented in the previous section). In this context, it will be analyzed what happens with architecture and city planning at the moment when major changes constituting critical historical junctures occurs. The research interest lies in those particular developments, in which the specific combinational of high and low domestic and international ideological and political constructs, is influential in the changes within existing architectural and urban configurations or the production of new architectures and urbanities.

4.3.2. Post-World War II Prishtina's Critical Junctures

In the case of Prishtina, the *critical junctures* emerge from different time periods in the modern history of Kosovo, starting from 1945 to 1999. As Prishtina is the capital city of Kosovo, all major developments in the country were reflected in the city space and social discourse. The post-1945 period has been "*determinant for the important political and social events*" which were directly manifested in Prishtina's general urban and architectural development (Sadiki, 2019, p.18; Kumaraku & Pula, 2023). Lower borderline relates to the end of Second World War, out of which Prishtina emerged an underdeveloped center with distinguished oriental features (Sadiki, 2019). Upper borderline (1999), coincides with revocation of autonomy of Kosovo (28 March 1989) by the Republic of Serbia and commencement of a dark period for Kosovo society (Sadiki, 2019).

Since 1945 Kosovo has been subject to significant political and social changes, constitutional amendments among the most important, which are always an influential factor in the architectural discourse. Prishtina's *critical junctures* reflect the changes in the ideological orientation of Yugoslavia, Kosovo's position within the federate, changes in the politics of the state (including domestic and international affairs on local and central level), conflicting power forces, etc. In this thesis are identified six critical junctures [**Table 1.3**]:

    - Critical Juncture 1: The end of the Second World War (1945)

    - Critical Juncture 2: 1963 Constitution

    - Critical Juncture 3: 1968 Student Protests

- Critical Juncture 4: 1974 Constitution

- Critical Juncture 5: The 1980s domestic tensions

- Critical Juncture 6: The revocation of Kosovo's autonomy in 1989

Within each critical juncture are selected specific case studies through which the changes in architecture and city planning will be interpreted. These case studies will be analyzed and discusses in the following chapters in order to decipher architecture's ideological and political operation. This thesis also defines the ideological and political pressures of each critical juncture, and differentiate them into high or low domestic and international pressures [**Fig. 4.1**].

- Critical Juncture 1: The end of the Second World War (1945):

The first critical juncture is represented by the events occurring in the first years after the Second World War in 1945. It is associated with the creation of the "Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia", the creation of "Autonomous Region of Kosovo and Metohija" as a constituent part of the "Socialist Republic of Serbia", and the official recognition of Prishtina as the capital city of Kosovo. This critical juncture is developed in the time frame from 1945 to 1963, within which occurred many significant political events, economic reforms and social changes.

Referring to the previous section, there were domestic pressures in this critical junctures, but not high enough to signify any threat to the central power. In international affairs, Yugoslavia maintained a neutral position, so there were no pressures to indicate tensions or changes in domestic politics. A shift in this juncture was made by the Tito-Stalin split and the changes in domestic as well as international relations of Yugoslavia as a result. In the case of Prishtina, all of these events were very important and had great impact, although they were not major enough to constitute a critical juncture in their own as they did not present any change in the overall ideological and political context, and the urban and architectural product.

In terms of city planning and architecture, the impact is seen mainly in the framework of new regulations, the application of modernist principles of urbanism and architecture (the latter being perceived through morphological, stylistic and technological changes in new constructions), and deconstruction-construction activities in the name of the general modernization of the city and improvement of housing conditions. The 1953 Urban Plan of Prishtina (the first urban/spatial planning document drafted in the post-Second World War

history) is probably the most significant case through which the state transmitted its messages on how the future of Prishtina within Yugoslavia is conceived. The 1953 plan will be used as a case study associated to this critical juncture.

- Critical Juncture 2: 1963 Constitution

The approval of the new constitution of Yugoslavia in 1963 is the next major development for Kosovo and Yugoslavia in general. With this constitution was created the "Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia", while the republics were transformed from *People's Republics* to *Socialist Republics*. The changes in the constitution signify the initial attempts to make concrete the debate on the political and economic decentralization of the federate, in order to give more powers to each federal element. In the context of Kosovo, the changes are presented through the promotion from *region* to *province*, and in the meantime the reduction of competences only within the Republic of Serbia.

The changes in Kosovo's status were reflected in the lack of relevant developments in Prishtina's architecture and city planning. There were some initiatives to push forward new urban plans for the city (mostly in the type of regulatory plans for specific areas) and new constructions in terms of public and social infrastructure, but all of them came to life after 1968. Although this critical juncture is not distinguished for architectural achievements, it is important for the political changes which somehow led to a state of stagnation in the case of Prishtina and Kosovo.

The time frame of this critical juncture, which is manifested through the decentralization process, starts with 1963 and continues until 1968. Relevant to mention in the context of this juncture are the events of 1966: the Brioni Plenum and the removal of Ranković from power, the stopping of anti-Albanians repressive policies, the vanishing of the ideology of "homogenous Yugoslavsim", and the economic crisis (as a negative development). Domestic pressures were high, signified by the debate between "centralists" and "de-centralist" and the stances of the Albanian political elite. International pressures remained low, considering the fact that Yugoslavia did not allow for foreign actors – such as the Soviet Union for instance – to be infiltrated in domestic affairs.

- Critical Juncture 3: 1968 Student Protests

The student demonstrations that erupted in June 1968 in almost all universities in Yugoslavia represent a "major event in the history of the federate", constituting the third critical juncture. This juncture is set in the time frame 1968-1974, and another key development was reflected

by the amendments of the year 1968 to the 1963 Constitution. The high level of decentralization that was achieved by these amendments, and the upgrading of the provinces into federal units with almost equal status to the republics, led to major changes in Kosovo's position. Kosovo was officially recognized as the "Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosovo".

All the events in this critical juncture were impacted by high domestic and international ideological and political pressures. Domestic pressures were coming again from the Albanians, requesting more autonomy and a university in Albanian language. Other sources of pressure were the student protests across all Yugoslavian capital cities and the ongoing debate for political decentralization and economic liberalization, occurring between the two groups (centralists & de-centralists) within the federal bodies. Domestic events were occurring in line with other world events from the same year. For instance, the student protests erupting in cities such as Paris, Berlin, etc., and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, were two influential factors.

The changes in the politics and the internal organization of the federate, were reflected in many positive events occurring in Prishtina, such as the establishing of the University of Prishtina in Albanian language, the right to direct economic development, regulate social relations, etc. In the context of urban/spatial planning and architecture, the changes were reflected in the drafting of new projects, relevant for the city of Prishtina. Following the establishing of the university, the plan for the University Center was drafted and started to be implemented. In terms of architecture, a significant development is the start of woks related to the National Library of Kosovo. These two project are part of the case studies to be presented in chapter 5 and 6.

- Critical Juncture 4: 1974 Constitution

The zenith of all developments mentioned above is the new 1974 Constitution of Yugoslavia. The impact in the case of Kosovo is the approval (for the first time) of the "Constitution of Kosovo" by the "Assembly of Kosovo" and the "Federal Assembly", on 28 February 1974. This critical juncture, with the years 1974 and 1989 as a time frame, is probably the most important for the history of Kosovo, as it represents significant developments in political, economic and social aspects. These constitutional changes, the conditions emerging by them and the events to occur in the following years, were related to domestic pressures again. Such pressures were impacted by the increasing tensions between Belgrade and Prishtina, regarding the new constitutional status of Kosovo. However, such tensions were controlled

by central authorities and were not allowed to impact the internal organization of the federate. The international discourse was also neutral, and no major events occurred.

The changes occurring in the architecture of the city of Prishtina are very much related to the new position of Kosovo in the political scene: its openness towards the country, region and the international discourse on the discipline of architecture. New stylistic influences from western and even Japanese schools were present in Prishtina, represented through landmark public buildings as a new architectural typology dominating the city space. As the project of the National Library of Kosovo was still ongoing, other architectural works were being designed and constructed, such as the Youth and Sports Center "Boro and Ramizi", which is another case study analyzed and interpreted in chapter 6.

- Critical Juncture 5: The 1980s domestic tensions

Tito's death in 1980 marks the beginning of the time frame of the fifth critical juncture, which is concluded with the events of 1989. The re-centralization and nationalists politics followed by Serbia and the opposition by other republics, are reflected with the 1981 demonstrations in Prishtina. These and other demonstrations erupting in the following years, were the initial point of an almost ten-year period of rising political and ethnic tensions between Albanians and Serbs, which are at the center of this juncture. Such tensions, and the new politics followed by Serbia, were the reason of high domestic pressures. Under the circumstances created at the time, federal authorities were more concerned with internal relations and challenges, rather than with international affairs. Considering the fact that there were changes of regimes, ideologies and social orders, occurring in the international scene, there were no attentions for the involvement of any external actor in Yugoslavia.

The 1980s represent a radical change in the history of Yugoslavia and Kosovo, reflected first on the political discourse, than in economic and social dimensions. In the city of Prishtina the construction of landmark building was continuing, but it must be said that the majority of them started as projects before the 1980s. There were no new, significant development, neither in urbanism nor in architecture. However, the modern style was still dominant, probably because it was not easy to change the ideological background of Yugoslavia and the Serbian nationalist leader, Milošević, had not consolidated his power yet. The National and University Library and the Youth and Sports Center remain two case studies from this critical juncture.

- Critical Juncture 6: The revocation of Kosovo's autonomy in 1989

The last critical juncture, as a major ideological and political change, is the revocation of Kosovo's autonomy in 1989. Its time frame is from 1989 to the end of the 1990s, characterized with actions and reactions between Prishtina and Belgrade, and culminating with Kosovo War (1998-1999). As Serbian nationalist ideology was dominating the federative bodies, repressive policies towards Albanians were back. Without doubt, the 1990s were characterized by strong oppositions between federal units in Yugoslavia, causing high domestic pressures coming especially from Serbia and Kosovo. The international actors were also largely involved in the region and exerted high pressure on Serbia to abandon its destructive and genocidal politics.

In the course of forced resignations, removal from the working places, schools, universities and public institution, the city of Prishtina suffered significant changes in the urban form and architecture. On one hand, in terms of architecture, the new regime transmitted its nationalist ideology through the construction of new orthodox churches in neoclassical style. In Prishtina, the Serbian orthodox church started building in 1995 (and was never finished), in the University of Prishtina Center, in contradiction the principles of the urban solution of the complex. On the other hand, with the installment of the "parallel system", Prishtina was turned into a "parallel city", in which public and private architecture were merged as all state and public institutions continued their illegal activity in the houses of Prishtina's citizens.

- Critical Juncture 6: The revocation of Kosovo's autonomy in 1989

NR.	CRITICAL JUNCTURES	TIME-FRAME	CASE-STUDIES
1	Critical Juncture 1 The end of the Second World War (1945)	1945 – 1963	1. General Urban Plan of Prishtina, 1953
2	Critical Juncture 2 1963 Constitution	1963 – 1968	1. General Urban Plan of Prishtina, 1953
3	Critical Juncture 3 1968 Student Protests	1968 – 1974	1. General Urban Plan of Prishtina, 1953 2. Masterplan of the University Center, 1971 3. National Library of Kosovo, 1971-1982
4	Critical Juncture 4 1974 Constitution	1974 – 1981	1. National Library of Kosovo, 1971-1982 2. Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz" 1977-1981
5	Critical Juncture 5 The 1980s domestic tensions	1981 – 1989	1. Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz" 1977-1981
6	Critical Juncture 6 The revocation of Kosovo's autonomy in 1989	1989 – 2000	1. Masterplan of the University Center, 1971 2. National Library of Kosovo, 1971-1982

Table 1.3. Critical Junctures of Prishtina's Modern History & Case-Studies (source: author)
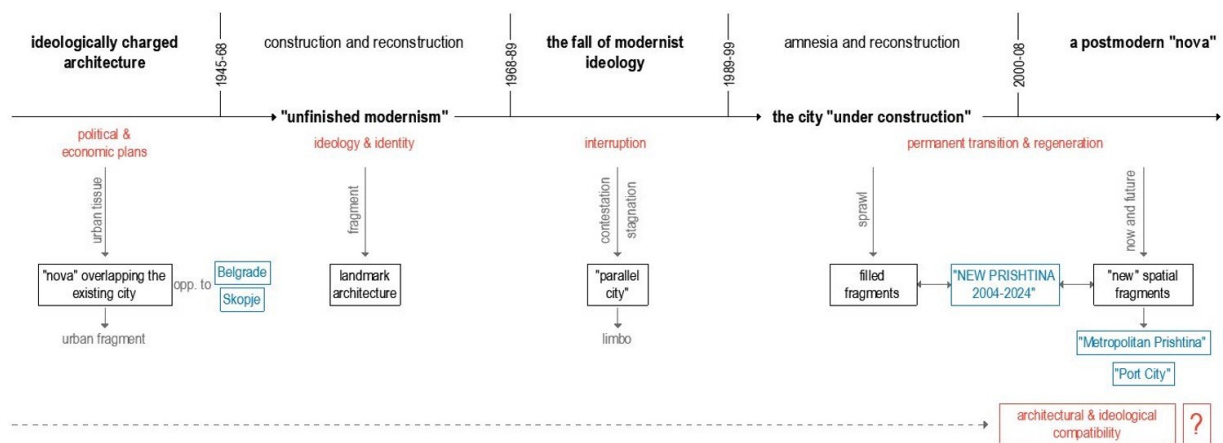
Fig. 4.1. Critical Junctures within the combination of dominant ideologies and politics, and architectural languages

CHAPTER 5.

IDEOLOGY OF THE PLAN: PLANNING THE "NOVA"

The aim of this chapter is to bring together all the hypotheses of this research and test them in the context of urban planning. In this way it will present, within the frame of the "Ideology of the Plan", the overlapping of three discourses: 1) the ideological and political international and domestic pressures in the case of Prishtina; 2) the general principles of modern city planning studied above (cf. Chapter 3); 3) the peculiarities of urban scale interventions. This chapter will discuss the first plane of ideological and urb-architectural compatibility emerging from the defined critical junctures of Prishtina's modern history (cf. Chapter 4), which is constructed upon the political and economic plans which influenced the urban form and urban architecture, by producing an ideological condition for the practice of urban planning. One of the key concepts that will be developed here, is the "Nova" as an ideologeme in the case of Prishtina. In order to discuss the (re-)creation of the new city, this chapter refers to three case studies with different background and result: The General Urban Plan of Prishtina drafted in 1953, the Masterplan for the University Center in Prishtina, and the "Parallel City".

5.1. CONSTRUCTING MODERNITY

In Kosovo and Prishtina, the modernization of the urban fabric is related to the country's past within Socialist Yugoslavia. The developments and interventions in the scale of the city were first conceived in the framework of general reforms regarding the political and social organization of post-Second World War Yugoslavia. Following the country's need for rapid development, the urban plan was conceived as an instrument for the realization of short and mid-term political and economic plans. The planning discipline was strictly based on the premises of modernism, while it followed the type of "general radical reconstructions" by partially destructing the historic core of the city (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.2.3). Later on, the urban plans drafted for specific areas within the city, in the type of regulatory plans, were developed following CIAM's principles and the schemes of modernist architects and planners, such as Le Corbusier. Thus, we have two contexts through which we can understand the city of Prishtina – its planning and identity – that will be presented below.

5.1.1. Impact of Political and Economic Plans

At the beginning, Socialist Yugoslavia was a "satellite state" of the Soviet Union, and the latter became "a model for the restructuring of the political and economic system" (Kulić, 2012, p. 30). However, the distancing from the Eastern Bloc and the Soviet Union in 1948, resulted in the introduction of the concept of "self-managing socialism" based on a re-reading of Marx and reliance on economic and political cooperatives (Kulić, 2012). Urbanization processes aimed to represent the combination of the market and planned economy of the mid-1960s, and the "gradual strengthening of national autonomies" laid down in the 1974 constitution (Kulić & Mrduljaś, 2012, pp. 6-7). The socialist-based political and economic programme of the state, instrumentalized through the urban plan, produced the essential "*industrialization of the country, social security and a considerable increase in the quality of life of the citizens, as well as a level of cultural freedom sufficient to allow for the development of entirely authentic and internationally relevant cultural practices*" (Kulić & Mrduljaś, 2012, p. 6).

The projects of modernist urbanization were impacted by a set of political, economic and technical circumstances, and sometimes their implementation was often "slowed by technical and economic limitations" (Kulić & Mrduljaś, 2012, pp. 6-7). The urbanization of Prishtina and Yugoslavian cities in general, "*can be critiqued on the same grounds as most of modernist architecture and urban planning projects, for their uncritical and instrumental development, unconcerned with incidental consequences and by-products*" (Kulić & Mrduljaś, 2012, p. 7). But this does not exclude the fact that Yugoslavia's socialist modernization was constructed on a particular utopian vision of an egalitarian society. In the very first post-war years modernist urbanization was primarily focused on already existing urban centers, while most of the country was still rural, until the mid-1950s when the complete transformation to urban and industrial society occurred (Kulić & Mrduljaś, 2012, p. 8).

The concept of modernity in the case of Prishtina is interpreted through post-World War II urban plans and architectures, presenting them both as historical layers on pre-existing urban forms and unfinished visions of the future. The modernization tendencies in Prishtina emerged as early as in the late nineteenth century, during the Tanzimat Reforms enforced by the Ottoman Empire, mainly introduced in architecture and street infrastructure (Navakazi & Jerliu, 2019). However, the urban development during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, was based on a spontaneous evolution of a town with

distinguished oriental morphological and stylistic features (Sadiki, 2019; Kumaraku & Pula, 2023).

After the Second World War Prishtina became an administrative centre and later the capital city of the former "Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosovo", within the "Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia". In the case of Yugoslavia, the practices and principles of modern architecture and urban/spatial planning, were critical and fundamental for the "construction of socialism". They were considered as means for differentiating new typologies from the capitalist form of urbanization, aiming at the de-Ottomanization of the urban space (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018). Thus, the post-war Yugoslav city was the field where political power aimed to express the social progress by destroying the former – capitalist/bourgeoisie system, spatially represented by Ottoman buildings and public spaces (Gjinolli, 2019; Kumaraku & Pula, 2023). The dominant ideology followed by the regime and imposed on the socio-spatial discourse, was that of "Brotherhood and Unity". Being grounded on the idea of "social unification, political and economic centralization", this ideology aimed at transcending all forms of ethnic, religious or regional identity in order to construct a "Yugoslav identity". Thus, socialist urban and spatial planning was impacted by both pragmatic and ideological objectives.

Considering that modernist concepts in socialist Yugoslavia produced several urbanization approaches (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.2), former Ottoman provinces as Prishtina were given particular attention regarding the ideological urban modernization, pushed through the political and economic plans. According to Shukriu:

> "*Ever since the first five-year plan of economic development of the People's Republic of Serbia (1951) the principle was forced "to make efforts and be determined to entirely liquidate the backwardness of our Republic, especially in the province of Kosovo and Metohija and Sandzak*" (Shukriu, 1963, p.11; Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018).

In the case of Prishtina, the de-Ottomanization process[10] aimed at transforming it into both a European and Yugoslavian modern city, an identity often "contested" by the city's population in the first stages of the post-Second World War period (cf. Chapter 4; Jerliu &

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[10] As Jerliu & Navakazi (2018) inform us: "*the transformation of Ottoman cities into modern cities was a widespread phenomenon in Southeast Europe, including Yugoslavia*". Conley & Makaš emphasize that: "*this approach was more about 'revenge' against the existing urban customs and forms of the Ottoman city, and that modernization and the construction of a new national identity was synonymous with the notion of Europeanization*". See: Conley, T. D, & Makaš, E. G. (2009). Shaping Central & Southeastern European Capital Cities in the Age of Nationalism. In: E. G. Makaš & T. D. Conley (Eds.) *Capital Cities in the Aftermath of Empires : Planning in Central and Southeastern Europe*, p. 14. Routledge.

Navakazi, 2018). This objective of the regime derived from the "economic mid-term plan" and was transmitted first through the "city monograph" and later through urban/spatial plans and reports. In this context, the "*new*" modern urbanism emerged as an overlapping layer to the built heritage of the city, "*regardless of the relevance and distinctiveness of traditional values and the historic dimensions of the city which evolved during the Ottoman era*" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 56).

From the late 1960s and onwards, relevant transformations and the overall development in the disciplines of architecture and urbanism, occurred simultaneously with wider ideological, political, economic and socio-cultural events, *and* constitutional changes (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023; Kulić, 2012). Such events, somehow allowed the "fostering of a sense of identification" of each entity within Socialist Yugoslavia, leading to the emergence of "national identities", which would then contribute to the general image of the former federate (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023; Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018). Prishtina experienced the most significant urbanization and architectural modernization between 1970 and 1980, a process which was interrupted with the revocation of Kosovo's autonomy by the Republic of Serbia in 1989 (Hasimja, 2016).

In general, being the center of a former province, Prishtina did not provide a representative example of mass urbanization. The most distinct and relevant projects were presented by the plans for the modernization of the city center, the urbanization of few areas within the city distributed in fragments, and the construction of landmark buildings in undeveloped urban settings. Archival documents and blueprints, indicate that "the planned destruction" of existing structures to make space for new modernist buildings was based on fragmented interventions conducted in the name of a political-economic vision, by targeting the most symbolic parts of the pre-modern city (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, pp. 57-58). This is probably the reason why Prishtina's urban development is mostly discussed in the context of the post-socialist political history of the Socialist Yugoslavia, in which case "*architectural religious monuments are mainly mentioned in the framework of ethnic conflict and contested heritage*" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 57).

5.1.2. CIAM and Modern Normativities

Starting with "voluntary" deconstruction-construction activities from 1947, the focus of modernist interventions was the core of the city centre: "the old bazaar, mosques and other structures from the Ottoman period were demolished" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018). Actions taken during this period were introduced by modernist urban/spatial planners as "*urban activities…operative works necessary for preparing a study on the development of Prishtina City*" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018). This period is characterized by a strong ideological expression through architecture and urban planning. As presented in the previous section, the identified impacting forces are the political and economic plans of the state (i.e., of former Yugoslavia), aiming the construction of socialism. However, we can say that regardless of the ideological and political influences in Prishtina, all the projects carried out at the time, were based on modernist principles of architecture and urbanism.

During the pre-war and post-war period, the opening towards international political relations both with the East and West, largely influenced the discourse of architecture. Architects with international experience such as Jože Plečnik, Hugo Ehrlich, Zlatko Neumann, Ernst Weissmann, Edvard Ravnikar, Juraj Neidhardt, and later on Bogdan Bogdanović, Bashkim Fehmiu and George Konstantinovski, were actively engaged in the activities of CIAM and brought back to Yugoslavia the modernist ideas from the United States, France, Austria and Czechoslovakia (Kulić, 2012, p. 9). All of them believed in the socialist and progressive dimension of modern architecture, and were of leftist orientation. In Prishtina, in the first post-war years, most of modernist realization within the urban space were housing blocks, with few examples of governmental building and public buildings such as health, education or cultural facilities:

> "*Interpolation in the city centers were executed and new avenues and neighborhoods introduced progressive standards and residential practices, thus inscribing a new cultural layer in the built environment*" (Kulić, 2012, p. 9).

With the political changes of 1968, the discipline of architecture in Prishtina (as well as in all Yugoslavia) is characterized with a strong expression of different stages of modernity, from the *Existenzminimum* promoted by CIAM, to the emergence of other modernist languages such as regionalism, metabolism and brutalism. The internal (domestic) and external (international) political organization of the country necessitated "the representation of the socialist regime as modern, open and progressive" (Kulić & Mrduljaš, 2012). In Prishtina, this was transmitted through the scale, form and aesthetic of construction

programmes, with both pragmatic and symbolic values: "*as representations of the modern ambitions of the socialist society as on par with the leading international urban centers*" (Kulić, 2012, p. 27). In this way, the avant-garde architecture in Yugoslavia was a direct representation of the avant-garde status of Yugoslav socialism, conveying the image of a socially, economically and politically progressive state (cf. Kumaraku & Pula, 2023; Kulić, 2012).

In comparision to the planning methodology of pre-WWII focused on regulatory and zoning plans, in post-war period was applied a type of planning framed on the local community and the municipality (Sadiki, 2020, p. 25). The city areas of great symbolic significance or important spatial layout and position, were filled with particularly ambitious and advanced architectures, designed in their own modernist language. Such examples is the construction of the new Brotherhood and Unity Square – designed by Miodrag Pecić and built during the late 1950s – in which were placed the "Municipal Assembly Building" and the building of the "Regional People's Committee for Kosovo" (currently the "Parliament of Kosovo") [**Fig. 5.1**].

Other cases in which the principles of modern urbanism and planning resulting from the meetings of CIAM, embodied in the Charter of Athens or Le Corbusier's schemes of urban solutions, are the following plans: the "*General Urban Plan of Prishtina*" drafted in 1953 by the Institution of Urbanism of the People's Republic of Serbia, with Dragutin Partonić as a leading architect; the "*Programme for the urban solution of three residential quarters and the center of the new part of the city*" in 1962 and "*Conceptual Urban Solution of the University Center in Prishtina*" in 1971, both drafted by the Urbanism and Design Institute of Prishtina, with author Bashkim Fehmiu; the "*Conceptual Urban Solution for the new center of Prishtina*", drafted in 1967 by Ljiljana Babić; "*The General Urban Plan of Prishtina 1987-2000*", drafted in 1987 by the Urbanism and Design Institution of Prishtina, with author Rexhep Luci; etc. [**Fig. 5.2**].

Prishtina was positioned as both a provincial and a capital center, "being the capital city of the province of Kosovo, within the Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018). On one hand, the provincial character was manifested through the means of urban planning. The new modern housing blocks signified the regime's aim to improve the living standards of the working-class in Prishtina "on equal terms with other cities in Yugoslavia" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018). However, the housing sector was developed in the type of "model projects" with "self-reliant infrastructure", suggesting a lack of a whole vision for city (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018). On the other hand, the character of the capital is

represented by the modernist architectures of the type of landmark superstructures, which signify the vision of Yugoslavia's architecture and the influences from the international discourse.

The ways in which Prishtina was conceived as a modern urban center, are expressed through the urban plans. For instance, the '*Programme for the urban solution of three residential quarters and the center of the new part of the city*' is among the very first planning documents prepared by the Urbanism and Design Institute of Prishtina (Sadiki, 2020, p. 32). The aim of this plan was to set the detailed principles and parameters for three new residential areas in the city, including housing blocks, open public spaces and other necessary functions (Sadiki, 2020, p. 32) [**Fig. 5.3**].

The other area included in this plan, was the center of the new city, which was presented only in the territorial division scheme as a position within the city. In 1967, Ljiljana Babić drafted the proposal for the formal and aesthetic vision of this center, presented in her '*Conceptual Urban Solution for the new center of Prishtina*' [**Fig. 5.4**]. This document included the spatial distribution and organization of the main public buildings, the traffic and public areas (Sadiki, 2020, p. 33). The plan envisioned an area with a circular traffic organized in the outer border, while the inner part would be accessible only to pedestrians, presenting a typical modernist plan influenced by the theories of Le Corbusier. This urban solution was never realized as such and the public buildings were positioned contrary to the plan. Thus, was lost one of the very few possibilities for the city of Prishtina to be manifested in urban ensembles, opening way for a fragmented development.
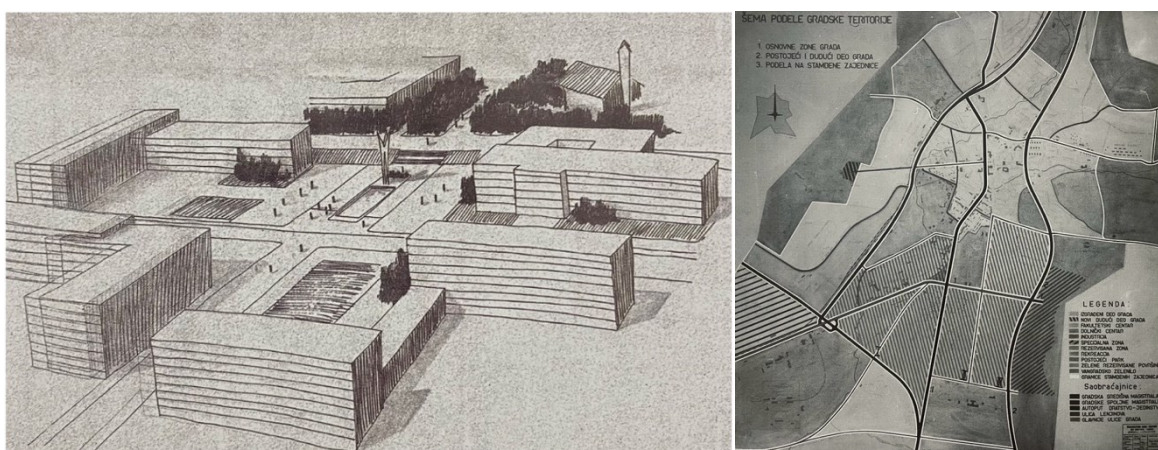
Fig. 5.1. Miodrag Pecić, *Brotherhood and Unity Square*, Prishtina, 1959 (source: Sadiki, 2020, p. 43). **Fig. 5.3.** Bashkim Fehmiu, *Territorial Division Scheme, Plan of 1962*, Prishtina, 1962 (source: Prishtina City Archive, Fund SO-KK, Box 1/1-21 2/1-14/Nr. 587)
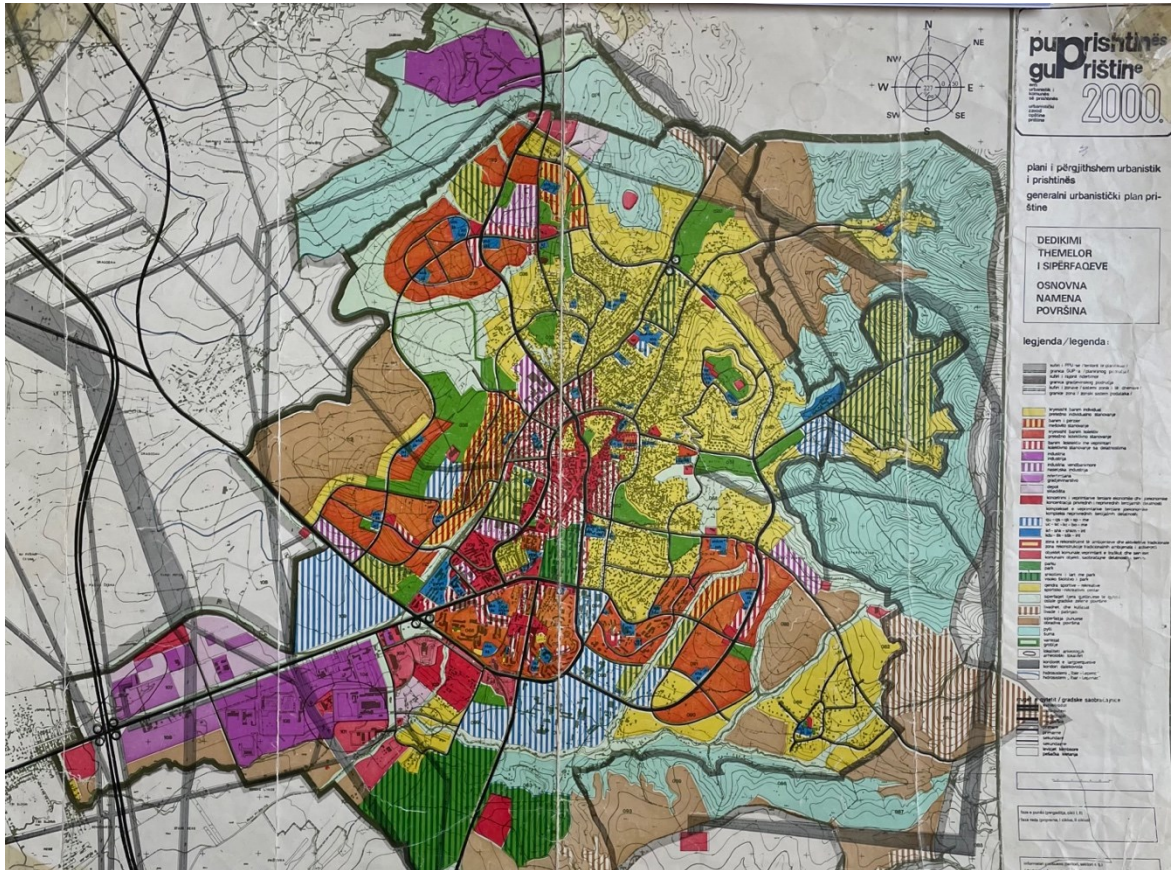
Fig. 5.2. Rexhep Luci, *1987-2000 General Urban Plan of Prishtina*, Prishtina, 1987 (source: Institute of Urbanism and Design, Prishtina, 1987, 52)
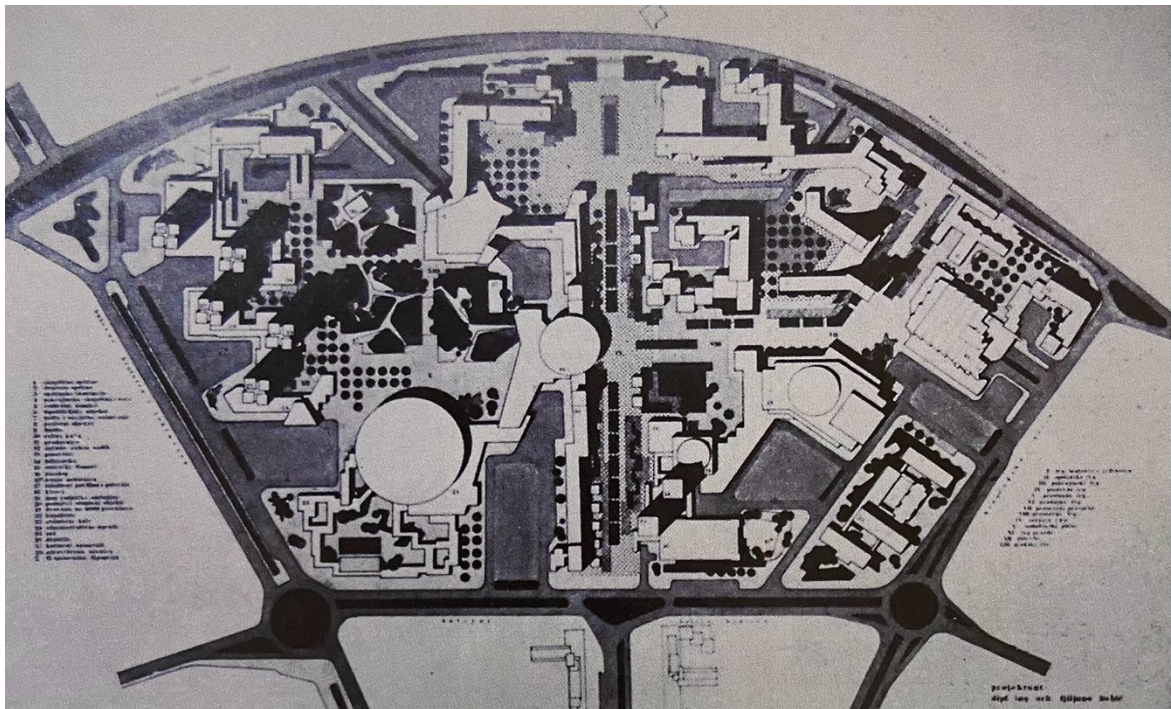

Fig. 5.4. Ljiljana Babić, *Conceptual Urban Solution for the new center of Prishtina*, Prishtina, 1967 (source: Arhitektura i urbanizam (63), 1970, pp. 26-27)

5.2. PRISHTINA'S GENERAL URBAN PLAN OF 1953

5.2.1. The Setting

Historical Background

In the first years of the post-Second World War period, urban development in Prishtina was based on the spontaneous evolution of a town, organized in organic neighborhoods with individual one and two-story houses, connected with narrow streets (Sadiki, 2020, p.24). The "Old Bazaar" was the only large public space in the city and the principal space of social interaction. Other open public spaces were developed in small areas in front of religious buildings, i.e. mosques (Sadiki, 2020; Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018). As in all other Ottoman towns, a strict distinction between the public and private realms was maintained (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 59). However, we can distinguish the existence of a compact urban structure and an identifiable central core represented by the Bazaar (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 59).

Considering the existing conditions, authorities were faced with an immediate need for the structuring, planning and re-organization of the city. The new political order, through architectural and urban means, was able to undertake large-scale radical re-constructions of significant existing areas within the city, both to superimpose the socialist and modernist ideology, and to create the basic infrastructure for the improvement of the living conditions of the working class. In this context, in the initial stages of the post-war period, Yugoslavian authorities drafted the first "five-year plan" – instrumentalized through the *urban plan*[11], – with the goal of recovering the country, particularly in terms of social, economic and cultural development.

Within the framework of the five-year plan, numerous 'General Urban Plans' and 'Regulatory Urban Plans' were drafted for the capitals and other cities of Yugoslavia. Only in the Republic of Serbia, in which Kosovo was a constituent part with the status of a *region* (cf. Chapter 4), forty-seven plans were drafted (Sadiki, 2020). Within this group of urban plans was also the General Urban Plan of Prishtina, drafted in 1953 by the Belgradian architect, Dragutin Partonić [**Fig. 5.5**]. This plan was considered the first spatial document of post-WWII for Prishtina, and the first to be drafted after the plan of 1937 for a city of 16.000 inhabitants, which today is found more as a sketch rather than a document of the plan with all its constituent parts (Sadiki, 2020, p.25).

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[11] See the analysis and interpretation of Tafuri's notion of the "plan", in Part 1 of this thesis, Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.

However, it is important to mention that until 1953, Prishtina's urban development was not based on "genuine plans for the city", but rather on "fragmented interventions" with an ideological and political background, which had the task of "the termination of the so-called *backwardness* of the city" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 58). These interventions were first presented in the report "*Cities and Settlements in Serbia* (*Gradovi i Naselja u Srbiji*)", published in 1953 by the "Institute of Urban Planning in Belgrade" (Mitrovic, 1953, pp. 11-13, 187) [12]. In the section on the Prishtina case, the report mentions the perspectives of the "General Urban Plan" of 1953 (the drafting of which was on the final stages), through a "*narrative that contested the value of the city's architectural and urban heritage from the Ottoman period*" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 58). This heritage was defined by state urban/spatial planners as "*being too remote and, therefore, deserving of a "general radical reconstruction*" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 58).

Spatial Context

From the report *Cities and Settlements in Serbia* we can understand that the drafting of 1953 General Urban Plan of Prishtina, went along with some preceding activities that opened way for its further implementation. Thus, between 1940s and 1950s, Prishtina's Bazaar was the "*focus of modernist interventions, where the shops were demolished through voluntary labour imposed by the state upon the owners*", carried out by "Popular Front volunteers", under the slogan "destroy the old – build the new" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 60; Sadiki, 2020) [**Fig. 5.6**]. Starting as early as in 1947, as Jerliu & Navakazi emphasize, "the destruction of the Bazaar went on simultaneously with the construction of new public buildings and apartment blocks within the central area of the old, Ottoman core" (2018, p. 60).

The initial stage of the modernist urbanization in Prishtina, as a "preparation phase" for the General Urban of 1953, was characterized by the construction of "collective housing blocks" (as a typical residential formal type found in other former Yugoslavian cities and modernist cities in general, either socialist or capitalist). In 1974, a "three-floor apartment block typology" was introduced within "the traditional residential quarters" of Prishtina

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[12] According to Jerliu & Navakazi (2018): "*the report documents urban development approaches in certain cities during the first post-war decade, including the construction of the socialist Prishtina on the foundations of its Ottoman core*". Maps and blueprints presented in this report show the urban structures of the cities in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, before and after the planned development, accompanied by explanations regarding the applied methods and approaches. See Mitrovic, M. (1953). *Gradovi i Naselja u Srbiji*, (pp. 165-166). Urbanistički Zavod Narodne Republike Srbije. See also: Jerliu, F., & Navakazi, V. (2018). The Socialist Modernization of Prishtina: Interrogating Types of Urban and Architectural Contributions to the City. *Mesto a Dejiny, 7*(2), 55-74.

(Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 62) [**Fig. 5. 7**]. This was an exemplary intervention, a model development signifying "*a narrative which spoke of a future large-scale redevelopment*" of traditional housing units into compact modern neighborhoods (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 62). In Prishtina, this endeavor would end up with neglected spaces behind and between these modern buildings producing fragments rather than ensembles, and a misconception of spatial qualities.

At the time when the plan of 1953 was drafted Prishtina had a population of 24.081 inhabitants and an area of 223 ha, while the plan foresaw an urban growth which would achieve a number of 50.000 inhabitants (Sadiki, 2020). The planning approach introduced by the 1953 General Urban Plan, was structured from top-down, allowing the federal (Yugoslav) and national (at this time, Serbian) authorities to be "superimposed" in both a regional and local/city scale. At the city level, the planning principles were promoted through four elements: 1) standardization; 2) proper city size; 3) the vital role of the city center; 4) the neighborhood unit concept (Fisher, 1962).

A distinguished element of Prishtina's General Urban Plan of 1953 was the development of the main "Marshal Tito" street. At the time of its construction and until 2005, the street was destined for cars and other transport vehicles, with wide pedestrian avenues in both of its side. Since 2005, it was transformed into a grand boulevard for pedestrians, not accessible for cars. Throughout the modern history of Prishtina, this street was the main (at times the only) public area of the city which continues to maintain its function. Even though it was never transformed into a big, central public area, it is still a point of reference for the citizens and visitors. The street not only served as a public core, but it was also an axis that maintained the connection – therefore, spatial relations – between relevant architectural works in the city of Prishtina.

The plan of 1953 was never completed in line with the initial draft. Yet, it played an important function in the development of the city in the years to come (Webb, 2014). It was the only plan of this category until 1987 when the second pos-WWII General Urban Plan for Prishtina was drafted, by Kosovar Albanian architect Rexhep Luci (Sadiki, 2020) [**Fig. 5.2**]. Although many areas of the city were re-designed in terms of urban planning with other detailed plans, the plan of 1953 created the general framework for the construction of new buildings and the reconstruction of existing neighborhoods. Most importantly, by expressing the ideology followed by the political elite of former Yugoslavia, the plan of 1953 determined the mentality of Prishtina's inhabitants and the theoretical and practical

background of the architects who would engage in planning and designing activities in Prishtina.

In spatial terms, French and Hamilton's model (cf. Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2) for the socialist city, can be deciphered through the 1953 General Urban Plan. From the eight zones in which socialist modernization of the city is expresses, four can be applied to the referred plan: "*(1) the historic medieval or renaissance core; (2) inner commercial, housing, and industrial areas from the capitalist period; (3) a zone of socialist transition or renewal, where modern construction is partially and progressively replacing inherited urban or relict-village features; (4) socialist housing of the 1950s*" (French & Hamilton, 1979, p. 227). The first is related to the Ottoman city of Prishtina. The second is represented by the first modernist housing models superimposed in the Ottoman core. The third is related to the hole re-conception of Prishtina center in order to create the *new* formal and aesthetic image. While the last refers to the new residential units placed on the street fronts.

Social and Economic Dimensions

The 1953 General Urban Plan of Prishtina, expect from offering solutions for numerous urban and infrastructural problems and challenges, it was indeed a promoter of "the economic development of the city" (Sadiki, 2020, pp. 25-30). The new planned elements such as streets, public areas and public buildings, and residential buildings, required a great financial investment from the central regime and a considerable labor power (Sadiki, 2020, pp. 25-30). Under these circumstances, the first construction enterprises in Prishtina and Kosovo were established, in which a significant number of workers were employed (Sadiki, 2020, pp. 25-30). Such phenomenon directly impacted the improvement of the economic conditions of the poorest social strata, and thus, created a middle class in Prishtina's society, which was not present before.

Essentially, one of the objectives of the 1953 Plan, was to develop "physical and spatial solutions to social and economic problems" (Sadiki, 2020; Gjinolli, 2019). Their function was technical, they had to help the implementation of economic plans and reforms, to guide and control demographic growth and migration, "to provide a view of cities through national urban development strategies and controlled urbanization", etc. (Nedović-Budić, 2001, p. 13). One of the first interventions of the plan, which was implemented according to already set central policies, was the nationalization of the private property. Thus, the structure of territorial division and urban land use, was not a result of profit-seeking concerns of private owners, but rather a result of political decisions (Andrusz, Harloe & Szelenyi, 1996, p. 215).

167

Thus, it was the state that owned and distributed the "*nationalized means of production and property*" (Nedović-Budić, 2001, p. 13).

Since the late 1950s, the main axis (cf. next section) planned as the city center, became the principal boulevard of Prishtina, which at nights would be transformed into an area accessible only to pedestrians. This was the main public space of the city, in which relevant social and cultural events, and social interaction, would take place (Sadiki, 2019, p. 21). Thus, the proposals of the General Urban Plan of 1953 had a considerable impact in the formation of the modern civic structure within the sense of modernity in general (Sadiki, 2019, p. 21). Considering the position of Kosovo and Albanians within post-war Yugoslavia (cf. Chapter 4), the plan of Dragutin Partonić was initially conceived as a project for the destruction of the historical past of Prishtina, and this was partially true if we refer to the demolition works in the historic core (Sadiki, 2019, p. 22). However, one cannot deny that for the first time in the city's history, the plan divided its space into functional zones, laid out the basic infrastructure, and created the first planned public spaces (Sadiki, 2019).

Fig. 5.6. *Old Photographs of Prishtina city center showing the destroyed structures during the mid-1940s and mid-1950s* (source: Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 64)

Fig. 5.5. Dragutin Partonić, *General Urban Plan of Prishtina, 1953* (Source: Prishtina City Archive, Fund SO-KK, Box 1/1-21, No.587-589)

Fig. 5.7. *Modernist housing typology inside traditional quarters*, Prishtina, mid-1950s (source: Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 64).

5.2.2. Morphological Features

The plan defined the urban area such as individual buildings, mixed buildings, buildings in rows, buildings in blocks, the hospital centers, etc., which were never planned before (Sadiki, 2020). The most important contribution of this plan was the reconstruction of the pre-existing north-south axis in the type of a boulevard with avenues and green area on the sides, reminiscent of late nineteenth-century layouts [**Fig. 5.8**]. The pre-existing "*north-south axis of the city stretched southwards from the Old Bazaar and was historically known for craft fairs and commerce*", being an important central axis from which the city was developed during the Ottoman period (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018). This street, which was named after Marshal Tito since 1947 and is known today as "Mother Teresa Boulevard", was redeveloped into the city's center and main axis, in the type of a boulevard along which new state edifices and apartment housing blocks were built (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018).

With the plan of 1953, alongside this boulevard type axis several principal administrative and cultural buildings would be located, together with collective housing blocks (Sadiki, 2019). The state and public buildings would include the house of culture, the theater, an open amphitheater, the publishing house, the army house and the technical palace (Sadiki, 2019, p. 25). The majority of these buildings would be constructed in the years to

come, although not alongside the main boulevard, but in other locations near it, because their exact position and plot was never determined in the General Urban Plan. Over time, this plan was elaborated into several detailed urban plans, similar to the type of regulatory plans, which were a lower category than the general plan (Sadiki, 2020, pp. 25-30). These detailed plans were drafted in order to develop the urban setting and the exact morphology of important state and public buildings which were listed in the General Plan of 1953.

This project required major demolition works in order to be realized. Besides a part of the Old Bazaar there were destroyed several buildings including: "*the catholic church; a 16th century mosque with the cemeteries located on the eastern side of the street; several Ottoman style two-story houses with commercial ground floors; and early 20th century edifices representing a western influence*" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 64). Apart from the buildings, the river *Prishtina* was also "buried". All these demolitions opened the space for the construction of new, modern buildings, such as "Kosovo Parliament and Municipality of Prishtina" building, the former "Hotel Bozhur", the former "Gërmia" shopping mall, etc.

The redevelopment of the north-south axis into Marshal Tito street had a greater significance in the following years, as Marshal himself would parade through it when visiting Prishtina (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 64). Furthermore, expect from being the central core of the new, modernist Prishtina, this street was transformed into the main connection with other main streets within the city and also with streets that would connect Prishtina to other cities in Kosovo. Besides the redevelopment of the north-south axis to be conceived as the city's center, was also planned the redevelopment on another pre-existing axis, "*the former promenade known as the Divan Yoll, which used to define the southern side of the traditional quarter of Tophane*" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018), and was extended from the Old Bazar in east-west direction. This element of the overall urban regeneration foreseen with the plan of 1953 played a role in "*the disruption of the perimetric area*" of the traditional residential quarter of Tophane, and was one of the cases that had "*a critical impact on the social and spatial fragmentation of the historic city during the 1960s*" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p.65).

Similar to other socialist cities in Yugoslavia and beyond, the new residential buildings were designed in the form of isolated units in rows or blocks. They were commissioned and constructed by the state for the higher social classes such as bureaucrats, intellectuals, technicians and skilled professionals (Szelenyi, 1983). In other cases they were built in the form of temporary individual minimal housing units for construction workers, working for the state. The first type appeared the first, they had better construction quality and

architecture, and were usually positioned in the city center where state institutions were built. Rather than being a solution for the improvement of urban residential areas in line with the fast-growing population of Prishtina, this type of buildings intended to provide housing units for workers who were employed in public/state institutions, as their position in the city would suggest (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018). As Hirt documented through the case of Sofia (Hirt, 2012), we understand that such approach is typical for the residential areas in the socialist city. According to Kosovar Albanian architect and professor, Florina Jerliu:

> "*by maintaining such diversity in the city centre the official narrative on socialist Prishtina was two-faced: on the one hand, it informed about potentials of modern streets and architecture, while on the other hand, it disseminated the label of so-called remote urban culture upon what was left of the underdeveloped Ottoman-type neighborhood*" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 65)

Many similar cases in the socialist city of Prishtina are signifiers of the lack of interest of the central regime of Yugoslavia, to upgrade the urban contexts and inhabitants' living conditions, as the standards of the Albanian majority in Kosovo were not a priority in the overall context of the former federate (Malcom, 1998, p. 323).

Expect from the redevelopment of the streets and their surroundings, as presented above, the plan of 1953, dealt with the spatial extension of other urban functions too. The residential areas, were distinguished in five typologies: individual buildings (Serbian: indivudualna izgradnja); mixed buildings / individual and blocks (Serbian: kombinovana izgradnja / blok i indivudualna; buildings in rows (Serbian: izgradnja u nizu); collective blocks (blok izgradnja) and frontal buildings, i.e. buildings constructed alongside the street fronts (frontalna izgradnja). Apart from residential zones, the industrial zone was defined too. Alongside these, Dragutin Partonić also defined the position of parks, green area, sport terrains, schools (primary, secondary and high schools), train station, bus station, public toilets, and commercial areas including cafés and restaurants, automobile services, etc.

The planned redevelopments of the Marshal Tito and JNA streets, and some other streets including the railroad, were completely realized, together with some of the buildings with the proposed functions. Yet, the General Urban of Plan of 1953 by Dragutin Partonić was not treated as a whole concept for the city and was never realized as such. Since the beginning it was clear that there was a lack of experts and elementary institutions to make possible the realization of the plan (Sadiki, 2020, pp. 25-30). Therefore, in 1957 was established the Technical Department within the Municipality of Prishtina, and years later in 1961 was established the Institute of Design and Urbanism of Prishtina (Sadiki, 2020, pp.

25-30). The plan was principally focused on the central axis (Marshal Tito street), and this is clearly indicated by the fact that this part of the plan is processed in the level of a Regulatory Plan, in which dimensions, volumes and urban landscapes are defined (Sadiki, 2020, p. 20) [**Fig. 5.9**]. This was done despite the fact the according to the legislation of the time, General Urban Plans did not include such level of processing (Sadiki, 2019, p. 20).

The "General Urban Plan" of 1953, foresaw the development of the city of Prishtina towards its southern part. The redevelopment of Marshal Tito street as a communication line, divided the city in the residential functional zone positioned in the south of the axis, and the public functional zone in the west. As the further growth of the city was oriented towards the south, the northern hill area would be out-posted, opening way for illegal and informal constructions in the following years. In the matrix of communication lines, the transit communication routes were also explored through directions of north-south, what frames the city scope from the eastern and western part, while the third communication route, of the same direction, would symmetrically divide the city. However, this scheme was not completely followed in other plans of lower category, such as the "*Programme for the urban solution of three residential quarters and the center of the new part of the city*" of 1962. This plan derived from the General Urban Plan of 1953, providing a detailed platform to guide the urban development of the southern part, based on a polycentric extensions of the new residential quarters.
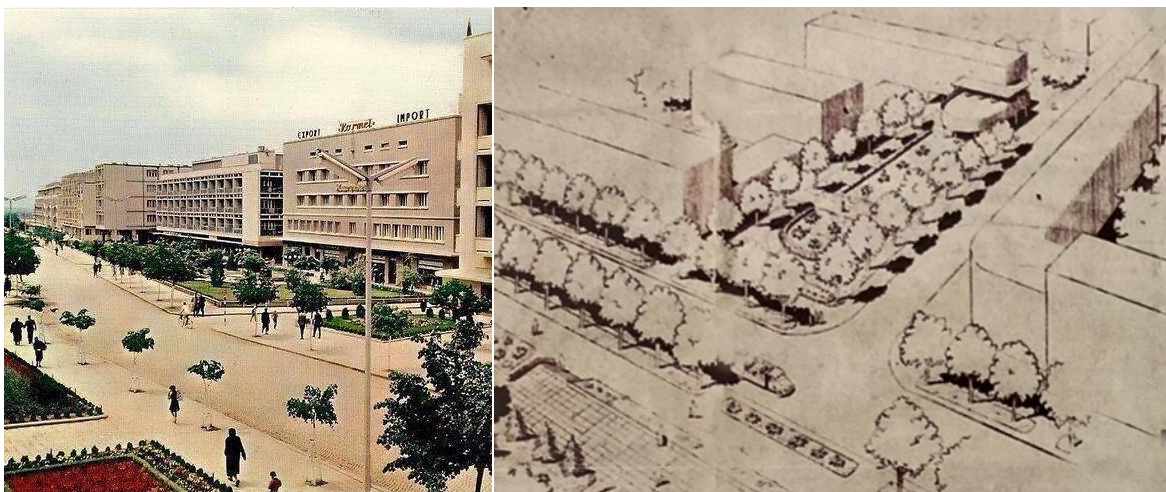
Fig. 5.8. *Modernist buildings along former Marshal Tito Boulevard*, Prishtina, 1950s (source, Sadiki, 2020)

Fig. 5.9. Dragutin Partonić, *General Urban Plan of Prishtina, Axonometric drawings*, Prishtina 1953 (source: Prishtina City Archive, Fund SO-KK, Box 1/1-21, No.587-589)

5.2.3. Style and Languages

The General Urban Plan of 1953 without doubt followed the principles of modernist urban planning and architecture, as it was the case with all cities in socialist countries. The first element of this plan, which makes it socialist – modernist, is the construction of the political and representative core with the construction of the square of "Brotherhood and Unity" [**Fig. 5.1**]. The second, is the is the definition of public functions in the city center. The public and state buildings were a replacement of commercial function inherited by capitalist or bourgeoise systems. Their architecture was also modern.

The third element is the treatment of residential buildings following the typologies introduced by the modern movement. They transmitted three main modernist concepts: that of the minimal housing unit, the uniform buildings in serial form and the collective housing block; followed by the introduction in Prishtina's city space, of housing projects with mixed-use ground floors for consumption and cultural functions, and the integration of open green areas in their fronts [**Fig. 5.8**]. The residential, as well as public buildings, were always constructed with modern materials, techniques and technologies. If we compare them to other modernist buildings, we would be able to understand the context (cf. Chapter 3).

Apart from buildings, the modern character of the plan was expressed through the presence of an industrial zone, railroad and by the adaption of the streets into modern vistas for modern means of transportation and the dynamics imposed in the everyday life by the modernization process. The redevelopment of the north-south axis was an intervention that defined a "*new national iconography of socialist Prishtina, in which its monumental and regularized fronts were designed to resemble the architecture of other European capitals, and used imported features found in other cities of Central and Southeastern Europe*" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018). The plan of 1953 favored the architectural approach based on universal forms and neglected completely the architectural heritage and other regional elements, which represented the ottoman past.

The outcome of the plan in the scale of architecture, would be seen only in the years to come, when the realization of modernist buildings was completed. However, for the purpose of deciphering the influential architectural languages, the "Brotherhood and Unity" square is taken as an example. The square is the central urban entity proposed by Partonić in the 1953 plan, which represents the intersection of the two axis (north-west and south-east) [**Fig. 5.1**]. It was designed by Miodrag Pecić for the area in which the building of "Regional People's Committee of Kosovo" was built in 1948 (Sadiki, 2020, p. 42). In 1959, following the 1953 plan, was organized the competition for the design of the obelisk dedicated to "the

martyrs of the National Liberation War, the term used for the Yugoslav resistance to fascist forces in the Second World War" (Bădescu, Baillie & Mazzuchelli, 2021). The competition was won by the sculptor Miodrag Žarković, who designed a monumental modernist piece with brutalist features (Sadiki, 2020, p. 42) [**Fig. 5.10**].

In 1960, as the existing building did not reach the artistic expression of the "appropriate formal and aesthetic level of modern architecture", in the spirit of the 1953 plan (Fehmiu, 1962), Juraj Neidhardt was engaged to work on the reconstruction of the building of "Regional People's Committee of Kosovo". Being a former intern of Le Corbusier himself, Neidhardt obviously based his intervention on the principles of modern architecture as introduced by his master (Sadiki, 2020, p.44). Le Corbusier's influence is evident not only in the form of the building, but also in the urban parameters followed in the spatial distribution of the new volumes. The volume in front of the square was treated with an open ground floor in the type of a colonnade, in order to allow the pedestrian's movement (Sadiki, 2020, p. 44) [**Fig. 5.11**].
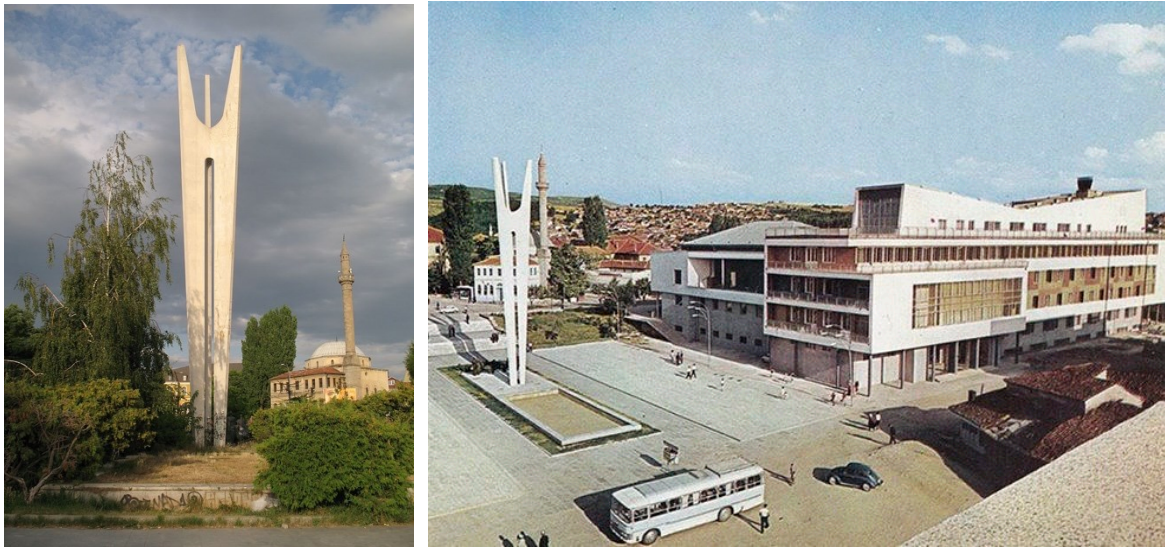
Fig. 5.10. Miodrag Žarković, *Brotherhood and Unity Monument*, Prishtina, 1959 (source: https://archipelagopr.com/2-the-islands-title-post-lorem-ipsm/)

Fig. 5.11. Juraj Neidhardt, *Regional People's Committee Building*, Prishtina, 1960 (source: https://archipelagopr.com/2-the-islands-title-post-lorem-ipsm/)

5.3. MASTERPLAN OF THE UNIVERSITY CENTER (1971)

5.3.1. The Setting

Historical Background

The advanced position of Kosovo within the Federation compared to the former status of the Province, the decentralization of the political and economic system, social development, etc., all of these changes were reflected on the urban and architectural development of the capital Prishtina. For the city, as for the domestic and international scene in general (cf. Chapter 4), the *revolutions* of 1968 mark the date. Within this critical juncture (which is the beginning of the most important period of Prishtina's modernist development), the students' demonstrations and the following political changes, had a particular outcome: the opening of the "University of Prishtina". In the discipline of architecture and urban/spatial planning, this was reflected on the spatial, formal and aesthetic dimension manifestation of the event.

The "University of Prishtina" is the expression of the achievements of Kosovo's society, while the University Centre is the spatial, formal and aesthetical outcome of that. With the establishment of the University in 1970, there was an urgent need to create the spaces which would accommodate the multidimensional activities of this institution (Sadiki, 2020). The normal activities of the University of Prishtina needed new premises for the new academic units, labs, institutes, administration, etc. (Sadiki, 2015, p. 120). Under such circumstances, in 1971, the Institute of Design and Urbanism in Prishtina was appointed to draft the Urban Solution for the University Center. The Kosovar Albanian architect and professor, Bashkim Fehmiu was the main architect-urban planner, who worked with a design team consisting of architects Rexhep Luci, Mirograd Pećić, Ranko Radović and Dimitrije Mladenović (Sadiki, 2015, p. 120).

For this plan, Bashkim Fehmiu collaborated with the architect and professor from Belgrade, Bogdan Bogdanović, who was engaged as an external consultant. Both Fehmiu and Bogdanović were regular CIAM (International Congress of Modern Architecture) delegates, represented the former Yugoslavia in the meetings of this congress. Fehmiu was a key figure in the architectural scene of Prishtina and Yugoslavia, and the first Kosovo Albanian graduated architect. He studied in Belgrade, and was later a Professor and "one of the founders of the Faculty of Architecture" in Prishtina, experienced both in urban planning and architectural design (Gjinolli, 2015, p. 74). He was also the founder and director of the Urbanism and Design Institute in Prishtina and was engaged in the team for the drafting of the General Urban Plan of Belgrade (Gjinolli, 2019).

Besides his great contribution in the discipline of architecture and urban/spatial planning, he was part of the political and intellectual elite of Kosovo, and was very influential in decision-making. Fehmiu was active in philosophy, sociology and urban culture, focusing also on professional ethics and emphasizing the impact of politics in the city development (Gjinolli, 2015, p. 74). Major modernist urban and architectural projects of the second half of the twentieth century in Prishtina, are works of Bashkim Fehmiu, such as: "*the Programme for the urban solution of three residential quarters and the center of the new part of the city*" (1962), which provided the basis for the construction of three neighborhoods, 'Ulpiana', 'Dardania' and 'Lakrishte', the "*Master Plan for the University of Prishtina Centre*" (1971), Architectural design for the 'Grand Prishtina Hotel' (1974), etc., (Sadiki, 2015, p. 119).

Spatial Context

The plan for the University of Prishtina Centre is developed in a location positioned at the center of the modern city of Prishtina, following the main north-south axis (cf. Section 5.2 above) which exists since the early Ottoman period. Although there is no evidence of mention of the University Center in it, the "General Urban Plan" of 1953 had projected the future development of the area in which the complex is located, through the development of the southern part of the city of Prishtina, in the direction of the north-south axis. In the plan of 1953, the existing position University Centre appears in the southern end of the north-south axis, as an open field without a proper destination and without a defined spatial planning (cf. Section 5.2, **Fig. 5.1**). However, it is with the "*Programme for the urban solution of three residential quarters and the center of the new part of the city*" in 1962, that the idea of having a University at the center of the new part of the city, is presented. In this plan, the area of the University Center appears at the level of a land use map, in the Territorial Division Scheme, named as *Fakultetski Centar* [cf. **Fig. 5. 3**].

The University Center is organized within an area of sixteen hectares, which according to the Urban Development Plans is located in the zone named "Center 2". The location's rectangular urban form is enclosed by the streets "Architect Karl Gega", "Agim Ramadani", "Eqrem Çabej" and "George Bush", the three latest being primary roads of main importance to Prishtina's urban development since the drafting of 1953 urban plan. Access to the complex of the University Centre is facilitated through all the above-mentioned streets, both for pedestrians and automobiles. Since the 1900s, the complex has been largely transformed, losing its spatial, formal and aesthetic qualities.

Social and Economic Dimensions

For Bashkim Fehmiu, the university was conceived as one of the supreme achievements of the society. Particularly, the foundation of the "University of Prishtina" was seen as the most important historical event in post-Second World War period in Kosovo (Sadiki, 2015, p. 120). Such a position was already expressed by Fehmiu at the very first lines of his introduction to the Masterplan for the University Centre, in the textual part of the document (1971). His theoretical position on the university was naturally applied to the urban and architectural dimension of the masterplan, whose aim was to make place for universal and noble values of a "temple of knowledge" (Fehmiu, 1971; Sadiki, 2015).

Besides the utilitarian aspects, the planning premises – the formal and aesthetic features – would be influential on the education of the individual and the society as a whole. For Fehmiu, the human being and the community, rather than the building or the urban structure itself, have always been at the centre of the practice of planning (i.e. modern planning). The Human – Community binome was the essence of every urban structure. According to Fehmiu:

> "*a human being cannot be born or live alone, for he is part of the community, and because of this, it is not irrelevant to the community what an individual is, as it cannot be irrelevant to the individual what the community is. The community educates and changes the human, so that he may in turn work and create to change the community. Human behavior in a community necessarily takes place in the space of harmony, livelihood, work, discovery and imagination*" (Fehmiu, 1971, p. 35).

From this passage we understand that, if the purpose of education is to create individuals that are not only able to accumulate, acquire and reproduce the knowledge, but universal thinkers who will be able to create a better future for the society, then the space of the distribution of such knowledge, must necessarily contribute with its universal urban form and architectural language (Sadiki, 2015, pp. 120-121). Thus, we find the principal dimensions of modernism and socialism, represented in the layout of the plan. From the plan, it is clear that the author and his team, were very conscious for the impact of the space – and particularly the way they treated the space – in the psychological, social and cultural formation of the individual and society in general (Sadiki, 2020).

During mid-1990s, without following the premises of the Masterplan of the University Center, by the Milošević regime, was built the Serbian Orthodox Church [**Fig. 5.12**]. The superimposed building, did not only change the city space and the urban landscape, but it

was against the very principle of a University Center and a modern, socialist society. With this as an initial step, the site condition continues to be in a constant spatial, formal and aesthetic transformation. The further disfigurement of the site and the initial masterplan by Fehmiu, continued with the construction of the Institute of History and the Faculty of Education, both in direct contradiction with the plan itself and the overall principles of modernity (Sadiki, 2015, p. 123) [**Fig. 5.13**]. Today, a part of the complex is transformed into an underground parking lot with shops and private businesses above, contrary the very essence of an open public space.
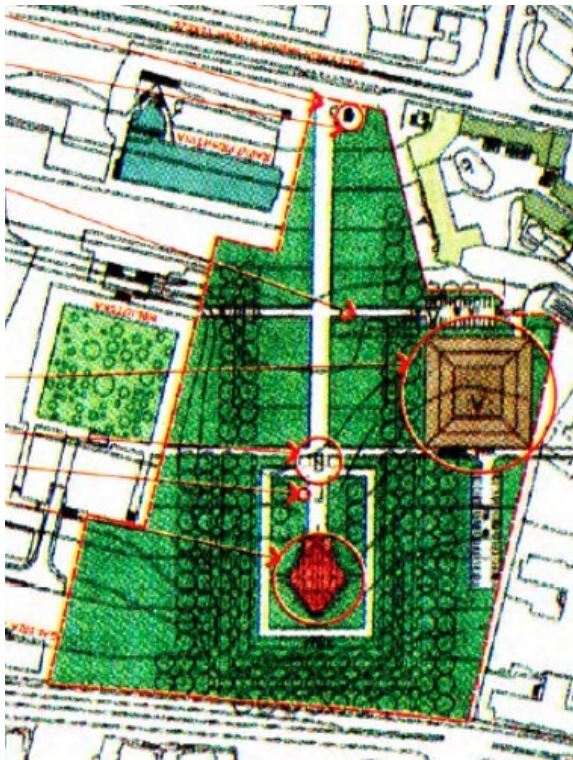
Fig. 5.12. Spasoje Kruniq, *plan of the Orthodox Church in Prishtina, relation to the Library and current view of the building*, Prishtina, 1990s (source: left – Koha Ditore Daily Journal; right - https://architectuul.com/ architecture/the-political-church).

Fig.   5.13. *View of the University Center including the National Library, the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Faculty of Education*, Prishtina, 2019 (source: https://www.artforum.com/news/manifesta-14-chooses-pristina-capital-of-kosovo-as-next-host-city-79726)

5.3.2. Morphological Features

In formal terms, the initial aim of the Masterplan of the University Center was to set the principal urban parameters, which would direct the general spatial organization (Sadiki, 2020). Fehmiu's concept was developed by placing the pedestrians at the center of the planning strategy, limiting the traffic to the external streets at the edges of the site and organizing the parking area in the underground. In this way, the inner part of the whole complex would be only accessible to pedestrians. The position of the buildings in the site followed a logical sense of grouping, based on the needs of communication between the functions (Sadiki, 2015, p. 121). All functional areas are developed in a number of separate volumes, following a harmonized rhythm and sense of mass, and creating a compositional coherence by being interrelated with each other in a dynamic whole, adapted to the topography and the existing urban silhouette (Sadiki, 2020, p. 34) [**Fig. 5.13**].

Fehmiu designed a network that would accommodate all the buildings: the Academy of Sciences and Arts (north-east); the Rector's Office (north-west); the Faculty of Environmental Sciences (east); the Art Gallery (east); at the center would be the National and University Library of Kosovo and the Amphitheater; the public squares with green spaces would be distributed throughout the whole complex; while the institutes would be placed from south-east to the west, along the perimeter of complex, marking the visual boundaries of the whole (Sadiki, 2015, p. 121). Naturally, logically and functionally, the central building would be equally accessible from the surrounding buildings and pathways (Sadiki, 2015, p. 121).

The buildings inside the complex were interconnected by long corridors and all of them were envisioned to be of "a modular character that could expend if needed and would have domes allowing their interiors to be filled with zenithal light" (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 21). To avoid the transformation of the complex into an isolated island within the city, the ground floors were open spaces treated as interconnected yards placed in series, in perfect harmony with the topography (Sadiki, 2020, pp. 35-36). Squares and mini-squares, like the ones in front of the Academy of Arts or the Faculty of Nature Sciences, the "Walk of Achievement" connecting the "Rector's Office" with the "National and University Library", and the open amphitheater in the northern slope of the Library, all form an urban structure entirely open to the observer (Sadiki, 2015, p. 121). They simultaneously create a functionally continuous ensemble and offer intimacy while using the space (Sadiki, 2015, p. 122).

This framework was followed only in the case of the construction of the "National and University Library". In fact, the Library, designed by the Croatian architect Andrija Mutnjaković, is the only structure within the complex of the University Centre, which is built in compatibility (although not completely) with the master plan designed by Bashkim Fehmiu (Sadiki, 2015, p. 123). According to Fehmiu's masterplan and referring to the existing condition of the site today, the central building of the University Centre is the Library, accessible from all the surrounding structures which create the visual boundaries of the whole urban composition, as envisioned in the original plan. The horizontal extension of the buildings along the perimeter of the plot of the complex, with the Library in its centre, transforms the Library into the heart of the ensemble also in the volumetric sense, while other buildings contribute to the creation of the urban silhouette in the background (Sadiki, 2015, p. 122).

5.3.3. Style and Languages

Even though the Masterplan of the University center is "categorized as an urban project, it contains the fundamental principles to shape the space from the architectural point of view" (Sadiki, 2015, p. 122; Kumaraku & Pula, 2023), dealing particularly with aspects such as form and style [**Fig. 5.14**]. The general framework of the design of the plan is considered to be the repeated module created by the combination of geometrical forms which are presented through cubes and domes. Thus, Fehmiu developed a spatial layout typical for the modern urbanism, embodying modern architecture through the features of each separate building within the complex.

Referring to Fehmiu's plan, the Croatian architect Andrija Mutnjaković, who would later design the building of the National and University Library, considered it as a city within the city: "*a city, a small city in the center of Prishtina*" (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 30; Kumaraku & Pula, 2023). The masterplan of the University Center, reminds us of the modernist school of architecture and planning, particularly Le Corbusier's layouts of city plans. This is evident if we compare it to the large city-scale schemes of Chandigarh in India (1950s) or to the layout for the Venice Hospital (1964) [**Fig. 15**]. The second case is in fact very close to Fehmiu's masterplan, both in terms of scale and spatial extension of the volumes. After being invited in the discussions, although not officially appointed by the authorities to work on a proposal for the Venice Hospital, Le Corbusier gave his thought regarding how the new complex should be built:

"Do what you have to build with the most modern architecture possible and make, those who have the right, to set the standards of lighting and ventilation that will constitute the facades. Use reinforced concrete to build these standards and do not try to copy the old handmade brick of the old Venice" (Boesiger, 1999).
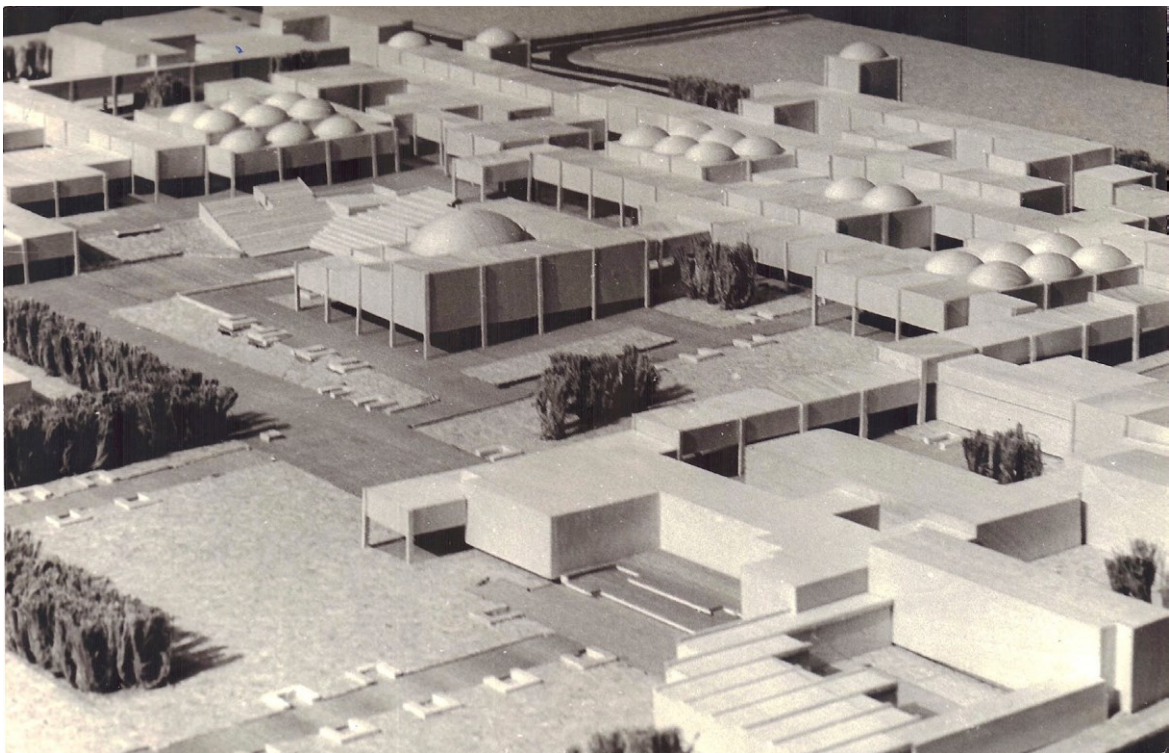
In Fehmiu's proposal, the architectural concept was developed based on a horizontal rather than vertical extension, fulfilling the needs of the growing city without altering the existing urban profile. One can find similarities between these two projects, not only in terms of theoretical approach and basic planning principles, but also in the modernist style and architectural language of the volumes, and the treatment of the public space, characterized with open ground floors [**Fig. 5. 14**]. Other cases that can be compared by their plans to the formal layout of the Masterplan of the University Center, are Maurizio Sacripanti's Lyrical Theatre in Cagliari (1965) and the Amsterdam Orphanage designed by Aldo van Eyck (1960) [**Fig. 5. 16** and **Fig. 5. 17**].

The guidelines and proposals of the Masterplan of the University Center were only taken into consideration by Andrija Mutnjaković in the design of the "National and University Library of Kosovo" building. This is in fact is the only building that completely follows the spatial, formal and aesthetic parameters set in the urban plan of Bashkim Fehmiu (Sadiki, 2015, pp. 122-123). Few buildings followed the position within the plot, but neglected all other dimensions of the plan. In this sense, the Masterplan of the University Center remains an unrealized utopian vision.
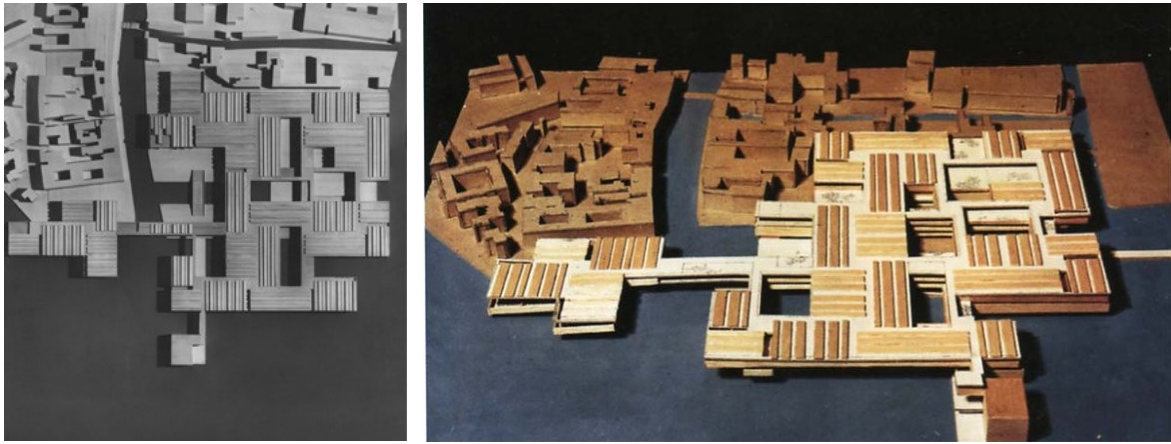
Fig. 5.13. Bashkim Fehmiu, *The University Centre, Ground Plan*, Prishtina, 1971 (source: Library of the Faculty of Architecture, University of Prishtina, Section: 07, Box 1, No.108)
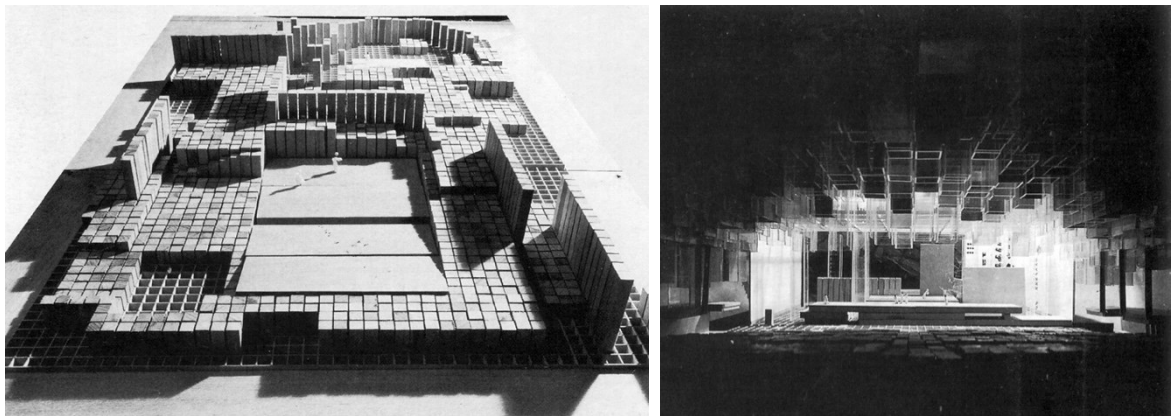

Fig. 5.14. Bashkim Fehmiu, *The University Centre 3D Model, Southwestern View,* Prishtina, 1971 (source: Library of the Faculty of Architecture, University of Prishtina, Section: 07, Box 1, No.109)
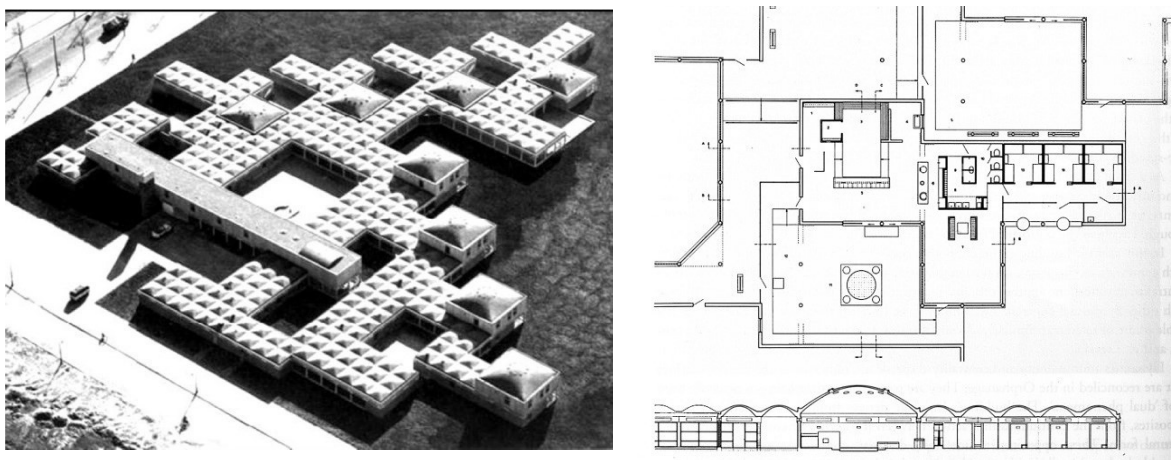
Fig. 5.15. Le Corbusier, *The Venice Hospital*, Venice, 1964 (source: https://www. archdaily.com/789025/ad-classics-venice-hospital-proposal-le-corbusier ; https://ucldigital press.co.uk/Book/Article/52/77/0/)

Fig. 5.16. Maurizio Sacripanti, *The Lyrical Theatre*, Cagliari, Italy, 1965 (source: https:// socks -studio.com/2012/06/10/lyrical-theatre-in-cagliari-maurizio-sacripanti-1965/)

Fig. 5. 17. Aldo van Eyck, *The Amsterdam Orphanage*, Amsterdam, 1960 (source: https://www.archdaily.com/151566/ad-classics-amsterdam-orphanage-aldo-van-eyck?ad_ medium=gallery).

5.4. IDEOLOGY OF THE PLAN

5.4.1. Ideology, Politics and the Plan

After having analyzed the case-studies presented above in terms of urban planning and the architecture of such planning, this section will interpret them in relation to the ideological and political conditions with which they are interdependent. Thus, we will be able to understand how the two plans emerge as the outcome of the combination of high and low domestic and international pressures occurring in a specific critical juncture, how they are impacted by other changes from other junctures, and which are the proxies of these plans, as elements of the two analytical categories defined in this thesis (cf. Chapter 1, Section 1.2.2).

General Urban Plan of Prishtina (1953) – To start with the General Urban Plan of 1953, it is understood that the document marked an important moment for the urban regeneration of the city of Prishtina, by completely transforming the former Ottoman city. The impression that would emerge out of the reconstructed axis and street fronts, was a clear representation of the "*official efforts for the modernization of the capital city of Kosovo, what had to take place on equal terms with that of other Yugoslav cities*", in order to express the fundamental premises of socialism as the ideology of the state, through modernist urban planning (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018). From the report *Cities and Settlements in Serbia* and the fact that the General Urban Plan was preceded by deconstruction – construction works, indicates that the carried out activities had to be backed up by a *plan* in order for their ideological and political function to be concealed. As Tafuri would suggest, the 'urban plan' in this case is transformed into a 'plan for the re-organization of the building production', in which state becomes the planner and that 'inherited modernist utopia' is left aside (Tafuri, 1973/1976; Amhoff, 2012).

The fact that the General Urban Plan was never realized as was initially planned, was probably due to political and economic reasons, considering the week position of Kosovo in domestic politics, as it was an underdeveloped "Region" within the "Republic of Serbia". The plan of 1953 included only few areas within the city center which underwent radical transformation, and provided the general framework only for some new constructions distributed in fragments. The plan did not project a 'new' city, as it was the case with the extension of existing cities in Belgrade or Skopje (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018), nor did it create a vision for the future, as the modernist architectural ideology indented (Tafuri, 1973/1976). Even the treatment of the Marshal Tito street as the main public area and the center of the modernist city of Prishtina, was in contradiction to large public spaces for the mass,

represented through urban squares, promoted by socialist modernism, as it was the case with Tirana for instance.

The "official" aim of the plan was for sure the construction of urban spaces in function of the "*new citizen of the proletariat, in order to manifest the social activities in the spirit of a self-governing society*" (Sadiki, 2020, p. 30). But, reading this plan, we understand that this aim was never achieved. There was a fragmented urban development and public areas were treated as pedestrian paths interrupted by automobile roads and buildings, rather than squares or wide avenues. The lack of a comprehensive study and the necessity for a fast transformation of the city of Prishtina at the time when the plan was drafted and realized, have transformed it into an operational tool, rather than a vision.

We should have in mind that the plan of 1953 was the only plan of this category and scale of intervention, until the 1987 General Urban Plan by Rexhep Luci. Considering this large time span, the plan should have functioned as a proposal for the future and not an instrument of the state. For these reasons, numerous areas within the plan were redeveloped after the mid-1960s, when Kosovo gained a better position within the political scene of former Yugoslavia, and the signs for political, economic, social and cultural progress started to be seen. Many changes were proposed with the 'Programme for the urban solution of three residential quarters and the center of the new part of the city', the 'Masterplan of the University Center', and the spontaneous development of central plots.

In the end, considering the process and the results, this type of planning document – the General Urban Plan (GUP) – is characterized with a lack of scientific analysis in terms of both socio-cultural and territorial context, being presented in the form of maps showing land use, projected functions and the volumetry of the buildings (Hasimja, 2016). General Urban Plans were designed-led plans that had no relation with other disciplines and had very little or no support for the existing physical strata. Those were addressed through other types of policies that fell under the economic development domain, the outcome of which had totally disregarded the complex problems connected to space (Hasimja, 2016). A similar methodology was followed in later plans, drafted for specific areas within the city, as it was the case with the 'Programme for the urban solution of three residential quarters and the center of the new part of the city'. An exception was made with the General Urban Plan 1987-2000, but due to the political condition in the domestic scene, this plan was never realized, entering the large group of unrealized or uncompleted projects.

Masterplan of the University Center (1971) – Fehmiu's plan could be considered as the architect's vision for creating the *new* city of Prishtina, that started with the heart of the modern city, the University Centre. Dealing with concrete works of architecture, in particular with the National Library, the plan aims at the (re)creation of the city of Prishtina through landmark architecture, positioning architecture as a determiner of the destiny of the city (Tafuri, 1973/1976). This approach was also followed in all construction activities in Prishtina – defined by an "ideological background" based on "the concept of *identity*", – in which we distinguish a strong presence of landmark public architecture and a lack of an overall plan for the vision of the city as a whole. According to Fehmiu: "*The university in its nature is one of the supreme achievements of human civilization, while in Prishtina, the university was the most important historical event after World War II*" (Sadiki, 2015, p. 120).

Revising Manfredo Tafuri's work 'Architecture and Utopia', would contribute to the interpretation of the vision introduced by the author of the plan for the University Centre. In Tafuri's work, the plan (i.e. the urban plan) positions architecture as a determiner of the destiny of the city, being able to project the future from the present, through a traditional link with utopia (Tafuri, 1973/1976). At least this stands for a socialist condition. In capitalism, the urban plan as a determiner of the form of the city, became a plan for organizing the building production (Hays, 1989).

5.4.2. Contextualization of the Model

Critical Junctures

General Urban Plan of Prishtina (1953) & Masterplan of the University Center (1971) – In one side, The General Urban Plan of 1953 is a product of the events occurring in *Critical Juncture 1*, which extends from 1945 to the mid-1960s (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2). However, the Plan has impacted the "future development of the city" and in this context it is also related to the second and third critical juncture. Many proposed areas of development and the architectures of the city were realized in Critical Juncture 2 – 1963 Constitution; while some of them were subject to the overall changes impacted by the events of Critical Juncture 3 – 1968 Students Demonstrations. On the other side, the Masterplan of the University Center (1971) emerges as a result of Critical Juncture 3, continues its realization during Critical Juncture 4 – 1974 constitution, and reappears in Critical Juncture 6 – The revocation of Kosovo's autonomy in 1989. In this last juncture, the masterplan is charged

ideologically and politically, being transformed into a site of continuous tensions (cf. Chapter 4).

High and Low Domestic and International Ideological and Political Pressures

General Urban Plan of Prishtina (1953) & Masterplan of the University Center (1971) – At the time when the General Urban Plan (1953) was drafted and started implementing (CJ 1), ideological and political pressures, both domestic and international, were low (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.2). In the following years, the rising pressures in the domestic scene and the global revolutionary movements, which somehow ended in the aftermath of the 1968 events (CJ 3), produced several changes to the initial plan, placing it within high domestic and high international pressures (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.2). The Masterplan of the University Center, in one side is a direct outcome of the combination of high domestic and high international ideological and political pressures signifying the third critical juncture. On the other side, it's transformation is placed within high domestic pressures and low international reaction, occurring from 1989 and during the 1990s, in Critical Juncture 6 (cf. Section 4.2).

Proxies

The dominant analytical features of the General Urban Plan of 1953 impacted by the combination of domestic and international ideological and political pressures, within the categories of *centrality* and *perceptibility* are: ideological and political influences, scale, extension of existing city and expansion or contraction of the urban plan. Considering the scale and character of the urban plan, other proxies are not applicable or cannot be measured, for instance cost and finances (Chapter 1, Section 1.2.2). In the case of the Masterplan of the University Center, the defined features are: ideological and political influences, location, size / scale, morphology and style.

General Urban Plan of Prishtina (1953)

1. Scale: Considering both the type of plan and the political forces pushing forward its drafting and implementation, the scale of intervention is grandiose.

2. Extension of existing city: In a discourse of collaborating low domestic and low international pressures, this plan, being instrumentalized by the state, proposed for large areas to be extended to the existing city and at the same time the city center was radically re-constructed.

3. Expansion or contraction of the urban plan: This feature appears in a later period of the realization of the plan, in which the rise of domestic pressures created a better condition for

the development of Prishtina. In this context, more detailed plans were drafted for specific areas initially planned in 1953, aiming at the revision of the General Urban Plan. These kind of plans proposed a polycentric distribution of spatial units, representing some premises of postmodernism which was an emerging style in liberal and capitalist countries.

Masterplan of the University Center (1971)

1. Location: The central location of the complex in the city of Prishtina, particularly its position at the center of the new modern city along the central axis, make the whole plan a distinguished element of the urban scene, which recreated the image of the city and characterized its urban development ever since.

2. Size / Scale: The scale of the project, including the dimensions of proposed buildings, communication infrastructure inside the complex and its spatial extension, all are signs of large-scale project that would reshape the city space.

3. Morphology: The horizontal spatial distribution of the volumes projected in the plan, the formal arrangement of the separate volumes and the whole, and the geometrical composition, represent the importance of the masterplan and a sense of freedom for the architect, to carry on his large-scale project. With the changes presented by Critical Juncture 6, the plan was transformed, and the imposed structure of the Serbian Orthodox Church aimed at the creation of a new central point within the University Center.

4. Style: High domestic and high international ideological and political pressures, resulting with the events of 1968, opened way for developments and exchanges of international practices in the discipline of architecture and planning. This is evident in the presence of stylistic references from western architects, in Fehmiu's masterplan. Besides this, the changes in the Yugoslavian socialism, were reflected by the modernist principles in which the plan was based. On the other side, in the combination of high domestic pressures, the neoclassical, eclectic language of the "Serbian Orthodox Church" built in the mid-1990s, was a sign of power used by Serbian nationalist authorities controlling the urban development of the city at the time.
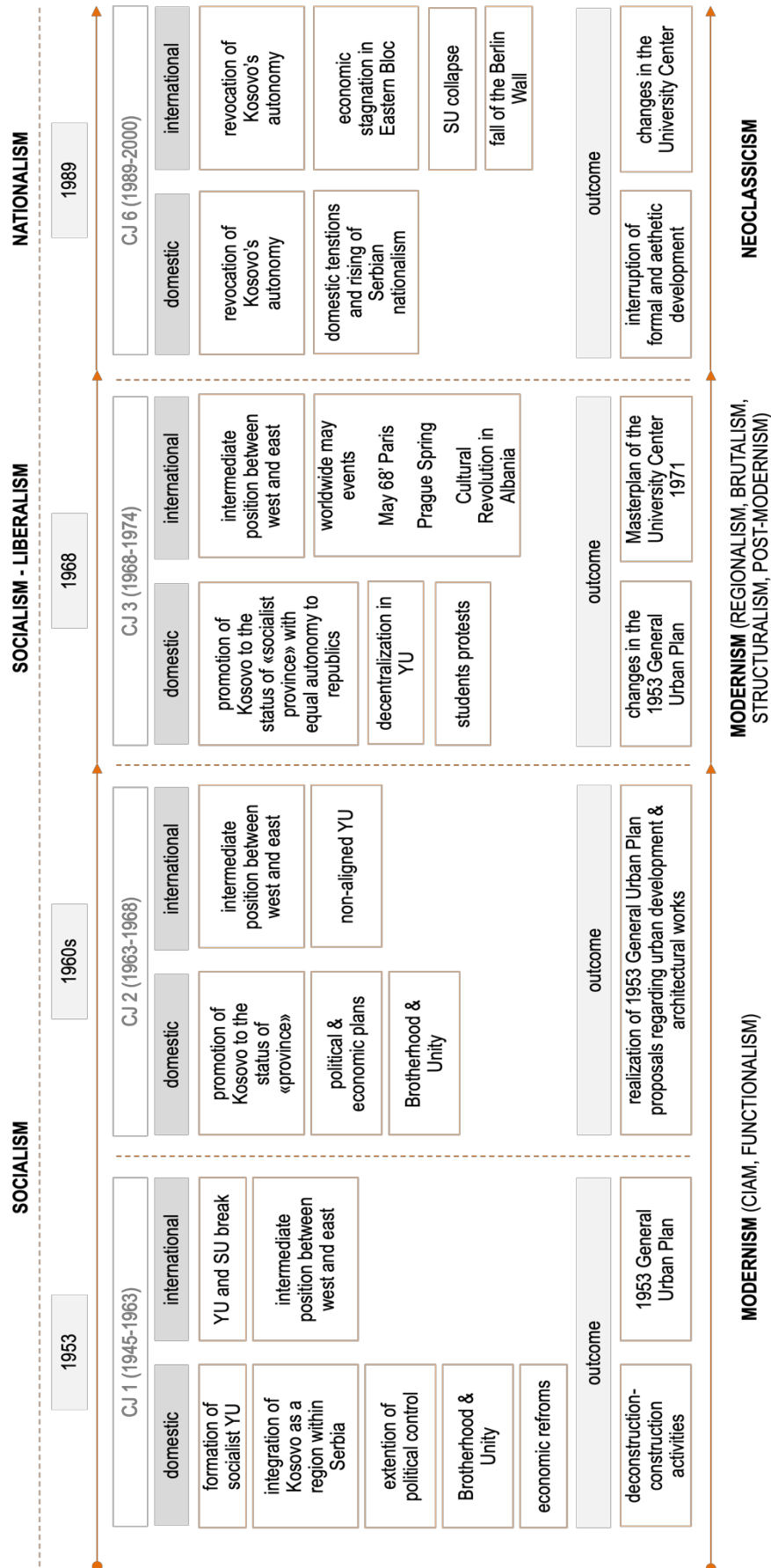
Fig. 5.18. *Diagram of ideological and political, domestic and international forces & Prishtina's urban planning* (source: author)
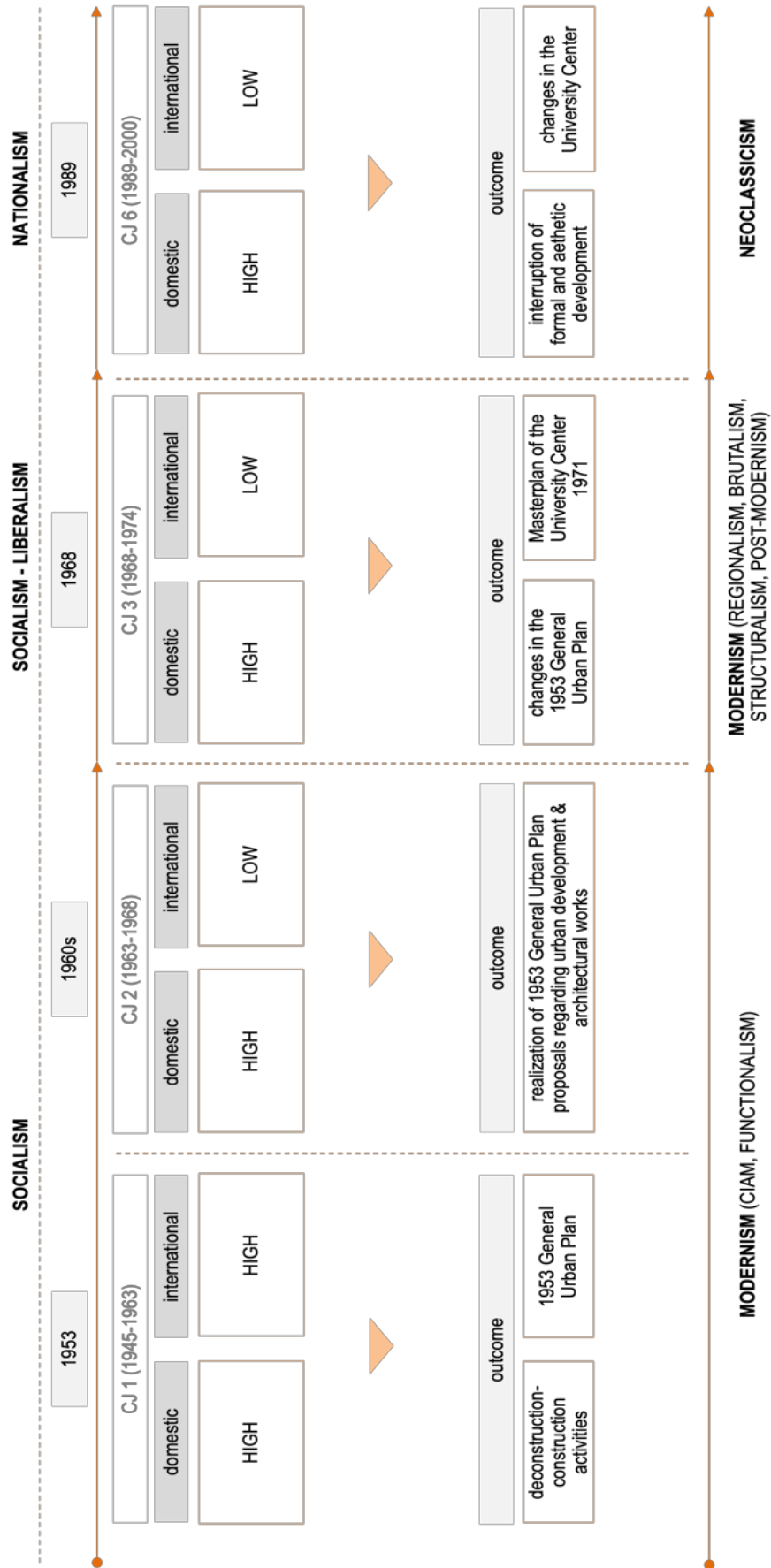
Fig. 5. 19. *Diagram of high and low domestic and international pressures* (source: author)

CHAPTER 6.
IDENTITY AND IDEOLOGY OF ARCHITECTURE

After understanding the ideological and political conditions in the Post-WWII Prishtina and their manifestation through the (urban) plan influenced by political and economic factors, which determined the architecture and the form of the development of the city, this chapter will present architecture as a signifier and determiner of the destiny of the city. Central to this chapter is the episteme of modern architecture itself, which produces an architectural ideology and a specific identity expressed through landmark architectural works in Prishtina. The "National and University Library of Kosovo" and the Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz" are two examples of this phenomenon, a detailed analysis of which will be presented here. Most importantly, this analysis will contribute to the understanding of how these architectures operate ideologically and politically, where are they placed within the model through which we decipher the collaboration of architecture with domestic and international ideological and political forces, and which are the features (defined in this thesis as "proxies") that are in play within this collaboration.

6.1. THE EPISTEME OF ARCHITECTURE
6.1.1. Modernist Languages Within the City

After 1968, the discipline of architecture is characterized with an expression of different stages of modernity, from the *Existenzminimum* and the *Functionalist City* promoted by CIAM (treated in the previous chapter), to the emergence of other modernist languages such as regionalism, structuralism, functionalism, metabolism and brutalism. In all construction activities in Prishtina during 1970s and 1980s, was followed the approach of recreating the city through architecture, positioning it as determiner of the destiny of the city (Tafuri, 1973/1976). This approach was also defined by an ideological background based on the concept of *identity* (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023), – in which we distinguish a strong presence of landmark public architecture and a lack of an overall plan for the vision of the city as a whole. Examples of this phenomenon are the never-finished urban solutions for the University Center by Bashkim Fehmiu, or the plan of Ljiljana Babić (both presented in Chapter 5).
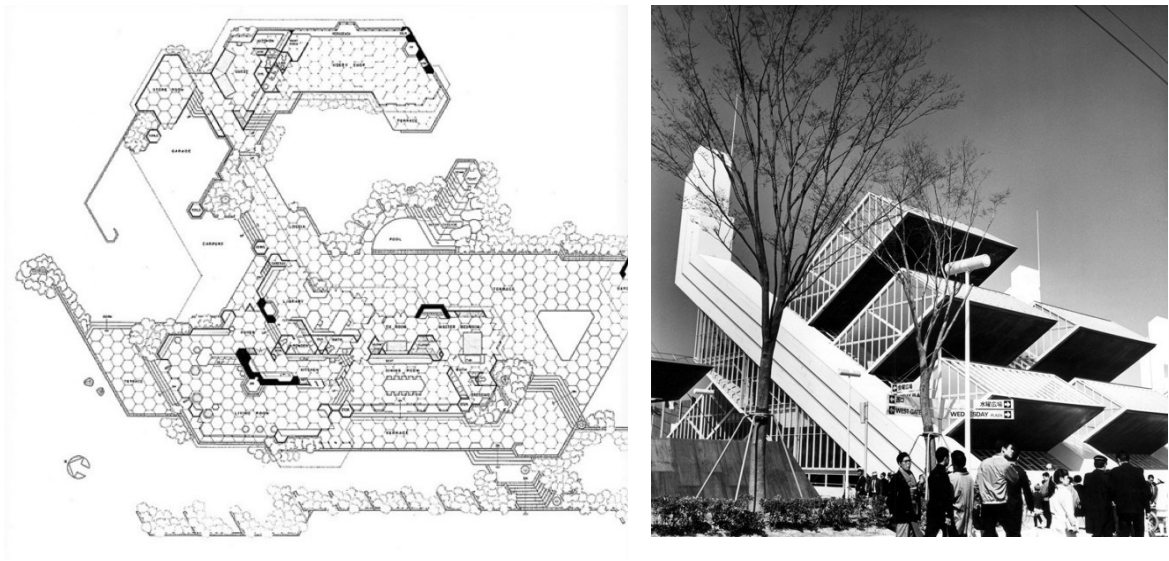
Architectural works of this time were constructed in unbuilt and undeveloped urban plates, by creating "new centralities" in the city and forming "separate urban fragments". Large-scale architectural landmarks were constructed almost "spatially autonomous" from each other, but "having a strong character of space formation" (Papa, 2019). In this

conception of space, unity is given by the sequence created along the path which works as a system made of elements in contrasts and interruptions. Representations of this building typology are the "National and University Library of Kosovo", the Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz", former "Rilindja Publishing House" (currently Kosovo Government), "Grand" Hotel, or former "Ljubljanska Bank". These buildings are expressions of different modernist stylistic/linguistic and technological features, unfolding multiple layers of modernity, present throughout Socialist Yugoslavia.

The National and University Library is an example of regionalism by using the combination of cubes and domes, representing layers of Islamic and Byzantine architecture to be found in Kosovo and the region (Ivas, 2015) [**Fig. 6.8**]. In addition, the hexagonal metallic grid covering the façade, reminds us of the grid used by Frank Lloyd Wright in the plan of Hannah House [**Fig. 6.1**]. The Social and Sports Center [**Fig. 6.20**] is similar to Metabolist architecture and the idea of megastructures, that can be compared to Kenzo Tange's National Gymnasium, designed for the "Summer Olympic Games" in Tokyo in 1964 [**Fig. 6.2**], or the "Italian Pavilion" built for the Osaka Expo 70' [**Fig. 6.3**]. Even the initial winning proposal for the Social and Sports Center [**Fig. 6.4**] was based on foreign stylistic references, being compared to the Centre Pompidou by Richard Rogers, Renzo Piano and Gianfranco Franchini, constructed during 1971-77 [**Fig. 6.5**]**.** The brutalist style is embodied in the Rilindja Publishing House [**Fig. 6.6**], while the former Ljubljanska Bank is associated to the curved glass facades of postmodern architecture [**Fig. 6.7**].

The lack of a vision to project the future from the present, which according to Tafuri (1973/1967), has to be the main objective of "the plan", led to the recreation of the city space through landmark architecture, differently put, the construction of landmarks without a city (i.e., without being part of an overall urbanization). The city in this case is constructed by a spatial concept made up of various episodes, determined by singularities and peculiarities of place, related to a particular object or spatial configuration. Being connected to each other in a formal continuity as urban patterns, these episodes "contribute to the formation of the image of the city as a whole" (Papa, 2019).

It is also important to note that modernist landmarks in Prishtina are quite dispersed in spatial terms. A system of public spaces that would allow for spatial integrity, and unhindered mobility between landmarks located in close vicinity, was never considered (Jerliu, 2013). Despite the criticism, the examples presented above are the most visible signs of progress and have contributed to the construction of the image of Prishtina as a capital city of an autonomous state. They represent "different phases of the modernization" for the city of Prishtina, interrupted by the installment of the parallel system after the revocation of Kosovo's autonomy in 1989 until the Kosovo War in 1998-1999.

Fig. 6.1. Frank Lloyd Wright, *Hanna House, Ground Floor*, Stanford, California, 1937 (source: https://www.argcreate.com/portfolio/stanford-university-hanna-house-architectur al -rehabilitation/); **Fig. 6.3.** *Italian Pavilion, Osaka Expo 70'*, Osaka, 1970 (source: https://www/ribapix.com/italian-pavilion-expo-70-osakariba23192)
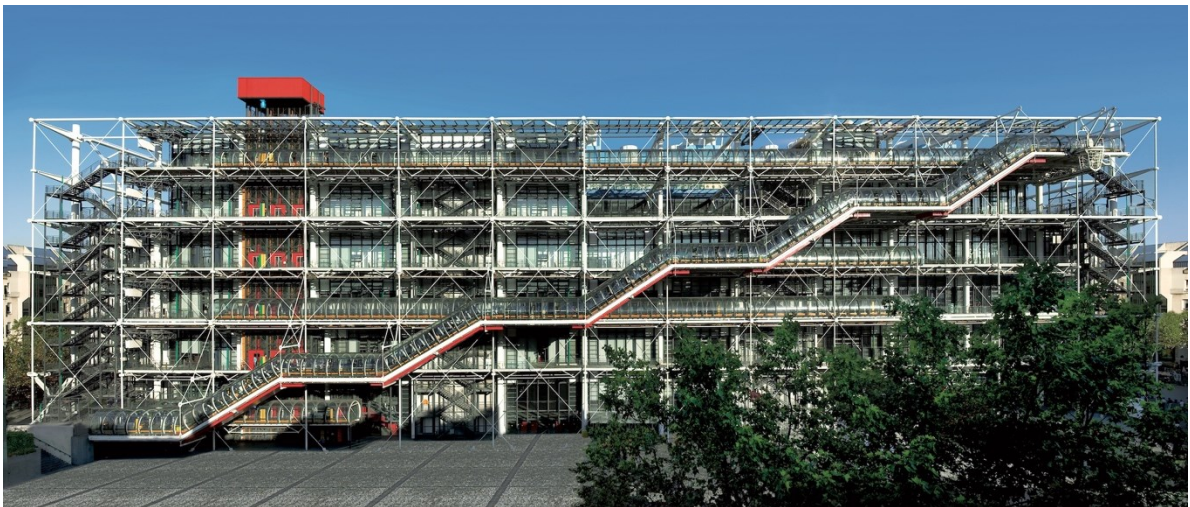

Fig. 6.2. Kenzo Tange, *National Gymnasium, Summer Olympic Games*, Tokyo, 1964 (source: https://visuallexicon.wordpress.com/2017/10/07/yoyogi-national-gymnasium-ken zo-tange/)

Fig. 6.4. Ljerka Lulic, Jasna Nosso, Dinko Zlatarić, *Winning Proposal for Palace of Youth and Sports "Boro and Ramiz"*, Prishtina, 1970 (source: Sadiki, 2020)

Fig. 6.5. Richard Rogers, Renzo Piano, Gianfranco Franchini, *Centre Pompidou*, Paris, 1971-1977 (source: https://www.surfacemag.com/articles/centre-pompidou-renovation/)

Fig. 6.6. Georgi Konstantinovski, *Rilindja Publishing House*, Prishtina, 1972-1978 (source: https://architectuul.com/architecture/priting-house-rilindja); **Fig. 6.7.** Zoran Zekić, Former *Ljubljanska Bank*, Prishtina, 1984 (source: https://www.e-flux.com/announcements/31379/at-your-service-art-and-labour-at-the-technical-museum-in-zagreb/)

6.1.2. Landmark Architecture on the Construction of Urban Identity

When we discuss about the modern city of Prishtina and the typology of "landmark architecture", taking into account the rapid political developments and the general economic, technological and cultural changes, we understand that the messages transmitted by this architecture are more assertive, as we are dealing with sings that transform into clear and strong ideological and political goals. In this context, Prishtina's landmark architecture signifies an important phase of modernist urbanization occurring between 1970s and 1980s. Domestic decentralization, and the socialist orientation with emerging liberalist premises, created a condition in which architectural discipline was not centralized and controlled, but it was rather open towards the international debate and influences, and architects were free to follow their own aesthetical direction. Therefore, being a field of representation, architecture is related to the construction of both individual and national identities. Said otherwise, "*an architecture expresses a certain, external, identity, while at the same time, has its own identity*" (Kumaraku and Pula, 2023).

At this point, it would be interesting to study: 1) the identity of an architectural work through the contexts in which appears; 2) our identification with architecture. Three plans that define the identity of an architecture, are "the formal, stylistic/linguistic, and technological" (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023). Within these plans, "we are to deal with aspects of a building such as typology, geometry, proportions, aesthetics, and the technology and materials used for its construction" (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023). Such aspects are compatible to the proxies defined in the first chapter, upon which is constructed the analysis of the relation of an architectural work with the political constructs impacting it.

Morphology, Style and Technology [13]

On one side, architectural identity is represented through its material dimension: the morphology and geometry of the building; the stylistic plan in which this morphology is manifested; and the technology through which the architectural work is constructed (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023). On the other side, the "identification with an architectural work is an individual or collective interpretation of a certain building or part of the city" (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023). If a specific building is studied in relation to ideological and political constructs, particularly in conflicting and/or collaborating discourses, it is

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[13] The text presented in this section is integrated in the research paper written by Dr. Llazar Kumaraku and PhD. Cand. Dasara Pula (author of this thesis), titled: Identity of Architecture: the Case of the National Library. The paper is published online, in the Athens Journal of Architecture. https://www.athensjournals.gr/architecture/2022-4914-AJA-ARC-Kumaraku-05.pdf

understood that architecture with its own identity exists within an ideological and political condition. Said otherwise, this only proves one of the thesis of this study, that architecture is an ideological and political practice which 'conceals' the ideological and the political through its formal, aesthetic and technologic modalities. Although it can be passively or actively engaged, architecture is always in interplay with ideological and political conditions.

The first plan of architectural identity, the formal plan, is related to the geometry of the building and the elements that constitute it (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023). From this point of view, there are many cases that share the same typology but are expressed in different architectural languages or styles, thus defining the second plan (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023). The third and last plan that determines the identity of an architectural work is related to the technology and materials used for its construction, and is always in the function of the stylistic/linguistic plan (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023). All three plans are used in the analysis and interpretation of the architecture of the "National and University Library of Kosovo" and the Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz".

6.2. THE NATIONAL AND UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF KOSOVO

6.2.1. Analysis and Interpretation

Historical Background

The National and University Library of Kosovo "Pjetër Bogdani", has its beginnings in 1944, though its official name and location has changed in the course of the second half of the twentieth century. The first central library institution in Kosovo, the Regional Library (1944-1952), was founded in the city of Prizren, in 1944. In 1947 the library moved to Prishtina (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 16), which became an administrative center of the former "Autonomous Province of Kosova and Metohija", within the "Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" immediately after the World War Two, in 1946 (Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, Article 2, 1946). The Regional Library was closed in 1952 and its collection was moved to the Miladin Popovic Municipal Library in Prishtina, today known as Hivzi Sylejmani library (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 16).

The library institution was re-established in 1956 as the Central Library (1956-1962). In 1961, by a decision of the "Provincial Council", the Library changed its name to the Public Provincial Library (1962-1970). Alongside the inherited collection, the Public Provincial

Library was funded by the city library "Miladin Popovic", Institute for Albanian Studies, Pedagogy School of Prishtina and the National Assembly of Yugoslavia (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 17). In 1970, the institution changed its name to the "National and University Library of Kosovo". Although this change of name did not intend the foundation of a new institution, it should be considered as a critical moment of its re-creation, which also marked a new phase of Kosovo's modern history.

The National and University Library of Kosovo "Pjetër Bogdani" [**Fig. 6.8**], was designed and constructed between 1971-1982 (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017). The architectural project, "designed by the Croatian architect Andrija Mutnjaković, was approved in 1971" (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 92). In 1974, the "Assembly of the Socialist Province of Kosovo" adopted the decree on the construction of the building. Construction works started in 1974 and the building was inaugurated on November 25, 1982 (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 92; Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017). The construction date is related to the Constitutional amendments of 1974, the outcome of which was decentralization and more autonomy for all federal entities (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, pp. 54-55), including the Socialist Province of Kosovo which drafted and approved its own Constitution in the same year. Therefore, the "National and University Library" building, is an expression of a new identity for the province of Kosovo, a new ideological context and new political, social, economic and cultural conditions.

Geographical and Spatial Context

The National and University Library is located in the center of the city of Prishtina, in that part of Prishtina's urban area which according to Prishtina's Urban Development Plan is named as "Center 2" (Albanian: "Qendra 2"). The Library is part of the complex of the University of Prishtina Centre, being its central building. The location's rectangular urban form is enclosed by the streets "Architect Karl Gega", "Agim Ramadani", "Eqrem Çabej" and "George Bush", the three latest being primary roads of main importance to Prishtina's urban development since the drafting of 1953 urban plan [**Fig. 6.9**]. Access to the complex of the University Centre is facilitated through the above-mentioned streets, while one can enter the National and University Library through pedestrian paths inside the complex, whose function is to create physical communication between the buildings that are part of this urban plate.

Taking into account the fact that the first urban plan for Prishtina was drafted in 1953 (Sadiki, 2020, p. 25), the location of the Library can be hardly studied in earlier historical

periods. However, in order to formulate some hypotheses, we can analyze the relation of this urban area with Prishtina's main boulevard which at the time of its construction (1950s) replaced the city's old bazaar. The plot of the Library, presented in maps from the ottoman era as an open field, was placed on the outskirts of the ottoman Prishtina, at the southern end of the north-south axis on which the old bazaar was once developed. Considering this position within the city, the proximity to the core of the ottoman city and simultaneously the non-urban nature of the area, it can be assumed that the location was used, though not for public or social activities. This interpretation of spatial relations is supported by oral histories documented by local researchers, which inform us that urban area in which the Library is located today, was used as a military camp during the late ottoman period, by the end of nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century (Llonçari, 2004).

In the General Urban Plan of Prishtina, which was the first spatial document of post WWII drafted in 1953 by Belgradian architect and professor Dragutin Partonić (Sadiki, 2020, pp. 25-29), the location of the Library and University Centre continues to appear in the southern end of the newly constructed boulevard (former old bazaar), as an open field without a defined destination. There are no streets, public spaces or buildings located in this area, although the surroundings were planned for the construction of new buildings, mainly of residential character.

In the urban/spatial planning dimension, the location of the Library (respectively the University Centre complex) was treated for the first time in the 1962 urban plan for Prishtina, designed by Kosovo Albanian architect, urban planner and professor Bashkim Fehmiu. This was a partial urban plan, which took into consideration the urban development of only four zones inside the city, as it is understood from the drawings and the name: "*The program for the urban solution of three residential neighborhoods and the centre of the region of city's new part*" (Albanian: Programi për zgjidhjen urbanistike të tri lagjeve të banimit dhe qendrës së rajonit të pjesës së re të qytetit). In the 1962 plan, the urban plot in which the Library is located, is presented only at the level of a land use map, named in the legend of the drawing as *Fakultetski Centar* (English: Faculties Centre; Albanian: Qendra e Fakulteteve) (Sadiki, 2020, pp. 30-31). Yet even though the plot is presented in the Territorial Division Scheme and its function is designated, it is not planned and designed. It is only with the 1971 urban plan "*Conceptual and Urban Solution for the University of Prishtina Centre*" (which is more of regulatory plan type), that the precise location and approximate morphology of the "National and University Library of Kosovo" is planned and presented.

Fig. 6.8. Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo*, Prishtina, 1971-1982 (source: https://www.moma.org/collection/works/273899?artist_id=67482 &page=1&sov_referrer=artist).

Fig. 6.9. *Map of the location of the University of Prishtina Centre, with the Library at its centre,* 2021 (source: google maps, retouched by the author)

Functional, Social and Economic Dimensions

The National and University Library of Kosovo together with other architectural works from the same period which are important for the "statehood of Kosovo" (such as the Social and Sports Centre, Rilindja Publishing House and Office Tower and the Central Bank), are the "most remarkable contribution" of the socialist-modernist period in Prishtina (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 68). They all communicate the idea of the modern life, as well as the progressive goals of modernist architecture in socialist Yugoslavia

The Library represents one of the main architectural landmarks of the city of Prishtina. In her doctoral thesis, the architect and professor Teuta Jashari-Kajtazi, while aiming to find the icon of the socialist period in Prishtina, claimed that the Library is "*the first, leading and strongest interpretation of the period*" (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 92). From her research on the architecture of the building and its representations, one can understand that the National and University Library is one of the few landmarks in the city, which preserved its formal and functional qualities, as it has managed "to retain its original character" and "resist" all the changes Kosovo underwent since the 1970s:

> "*The National and University Library is both a 'utilitarian facility required for society' and object of architectural achievements that could be subjected to an interpretation of its style. Over the different periods of progress in the region, public use of the Library has increased rather decreased, and of course, the building is considered to be dealt with from architectural and theoretical points of view*" (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 38).

Following the constitutional changes of 1974, Kosovo's institutions had the power to decide where these fund had to be applied. Considering the fact that in the same year, the construction of the Library was approved by law from the Provincial Assembly, we understand that the building was of primary importance for the consolidation of Kosovo's statehood. The foundation of the University of Prishtina and the construction of the Library, were probably among the first decision of the assembly of the newly established "Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosovo". This should not surprise us, because a university in Albanian language was among the main demands of 1968 demonstrations of Kosovo's society, and the culmination of this was the Library including books in Albanian to be later published by the Rilindja Publishing House.

Since its construction, the National and University Library "performed the function of the central library of Kosovo, a scientific library, a multilingual library, as well as the Prishtina University library" (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017,

p. 17). The building, together with its urban setting, is a place of social interaction – a meeting point for different social groups, – and a venue for social-cultural events (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023). Due to the constitutional changes of 1989 and the rising of domestic political tensions which eventually led to the breakup of Yugoslavia and the revocation of the autonomy of the "Socialist Province of Kosovo", the "National and University Library" changed its name into the "Central Library of Kosovo and Metohija".

Between 1990 and 1999, with the installment of the *parallel system*, "the Albanian speaking readers and workers were not allowed to enter and use the building" (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 18; Kumaraku & Pula, 2023). And considering that Albanians were a majority in Kosovo (cf. Chapter 4), the Library started to lose its importance as a public facility and was faced with a decrease in the number of visitors/users (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 18). With the end of the Kosovo War in June 1999, the building was immediately returned to its original function as the National and University Library.

Urban Setting

The formal parameters for the building of the National and University Library were initially defined on Bashkim Fehmiu's master plan for the University Center in 1971 (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.3). And it was Fehmiu himself who invited Andrija Mutnjaković to design the Library in Prishtina. In fact, Mutnjaković had proposed a similar project for the "Sarajevo City Library" in Bosnia and Herzegovina [**Fig. 6.10**]. Although different in scale and size, functional organization, spatial layout and urban configuration, the Sarajevo project was based on the same formal concept combining cubes and domes structures, as it is the case of the library in Prishtina (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 30; Mutnjaković, 1987). Mutnjaković's proposal was not selected in the competition for the Sarajevo library, but it did raise discussions and criticism among professionals in the field of architecture and urbanism. At this point, Fehmiu was convinced that such a project would perfectly fit his plan for the University Center in Prishtina, to which Mutnjaković later referred as "*a city, a small city in the center of Prishtina*" (Kosovo Architecture Foundation and Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 31). Practically, what Fehmiu did in urbanism with spaces, structures and voids (grids and circles), Mutnjaković "was doing with cubes and domes in an architectural work" (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023).

The geographical layout of the site "indicates that the architect had an opportunity to freely express his creativity in space" (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 92). Referring to the incorporation of the structure in the existing spatial environment, some scholars think that it creates the impression that "the building is superimposed on the site, placed in the first-row regard to the rest of the surroundings" (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 92). But, analyzing the similarities between Fehmiu's conceptual proposal for the Library and the built design by Mutnjaković, there is no doubt that the structure completely followed the principles of the urban plan.

Unfortunately, the site condition changed during the 1990s, following the 1989 constitutional changes and political tensions. Contrary to the existing plan and without a new revised plan, within the University Centre was built an Orthodox Church (1995), in the northern side of the Library, aiming to create a new centrality within the complex (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.3). This caused a disfigurement of the city, which continued further after the 2000s, with the construction of the Institute of History and the Faculty of Education, both in direct contradiction with the Plan itself, but also against any modern or contemporary urban or architectural principle (Sadiki, 2015, p. 123).

Architecture (Morphology, Style, Technology)[14]

"*The motifs and cubes, spheres and columns, represent a contemporary application of the autochthonous architectural inspiration of the people…Future architecture, while accepting the functionalist principles of the purity of function and construction, will take into account a much more important factor: man, with all his cares, habits and customs, regional individuality, historical, religious and social traditions*".

(Mutnjaković, 1984, pp. 30-31).

The architect Andrija Mutnjaković, with his design for the National and University Library in Prishtina, finds a spatial archetype and tries to affirm the vitality of the regional architecture (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023; Ivas, 2015). The "regional style" as a language of modern architecture, was used as a reference in the design of the Library. It was seen as a "solution of the problem of alienation, into which the international style of modern architecture has fallen" (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 23).

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[14] The text presented in this section is integrated in the research paper written by Dr. Llazar Kumaraku and PhD. Cand. Dasara Pula (author of this thesis), titled: Identity of Architecture: the Case of the National Library. The paper is published online, in the Athens Journal of Architecture. https://www.athensjournals.gr/architecture/2022-4914-AJA-ARC-Kumaraku-05.pdf

The combination of geometrical figures such as the cube and sphere, common to the traditional architecture of all the ethnic groups in Kosovo and the whole region, was considered as a representation of "the spirit of place" (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 23) [**Fig. 6.11**]. The building is considered to be a culminating expression of the region's architecture: "the formation of space – its compact structure, shapes, light and shade, and elevation – carried associations of the traditional buildings of the region" (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 22). The regional input was the influence of Byzantine and Ottoman architecture. As Mutnjaković states:

> "*A common characteristic of these buildings is their identical treatment of space: a square area of the building covered by a dome. In their details of shape, plane treatment of walls, and the application of iconographic elements and their decorations, these buildings have marked architectural characteristics in common*" (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 104).

The plan of the National and University Library of Kosovo was exactly drafted according to the concept of the architectural form cited above. As the building is "a principal monument" in preserving and maintaining "the essence of the national identity, transmitting its inspiration to new generations" (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 25), its morphology has an important function in this aim.

Formal plan – While interpreting the architecture of the building, Andrija Mutnjaković uses the term *structural* (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023), referring to it as the strategy of planning the repetitions and mutations of the elementary spatial module (Mutnjaković, 2016, p. 134). In this case, the "elementary spatial module" is a cube covered with the sphere. The spatial type of the building is selected between the type of libraries perceived as spacious halls, such as in Belgrade and Zagreb, and that of simultaneously common and spatially separate volumes, as it is the case with the library in Berlin (Mutnjaković, 2016, p. 135; Kumaraku & Pula, 2023), giving advantage to the second one. Besides this, the functional part of the Library in Prishtina is the same as in all modern libraries (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 92).

If we analyze the spatial arrangement scheme, we understand that the central area of the building is treated as an "atrium" which has the function of a basic communication area. The reading halls and other spatial units are distributed on all the floors, according to their importance, functional unity and the number of visitors (Mutnjaković, 2016, p. 136). The Library includes two reading rooms, one for 100 visitors and the other seating 300, located on the first floor. While an amphitheater with 150 seats and a conference room hosting 75

persons, are situated on the ground floor (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 92) [**Fig. 6.12**]. The first floor contains special reading areas, for special collections such as geography, graphics, record library, film and video library, and periodicals [**Fig. 6.13**]. An area for research and cataloguing, and the carrels of research workers are located on the third and fourth floor (Mutnjaković, 2016, p. 136). The building has the capacity to host a collection of two million books (Hysa, 1984, p. 31), the stacks are located in the two levels below the ground floor and are not accessible to the public (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 92).

The formal layout which is based on a proportional system combining the grid with concentric circles, is entirely inserted within a quadrant whose diagonals equal the diameter of the circle (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2017). The characteristic formal element is the square structure of the cube which bears a dome, representing in this way layers of Islamic and Byzantine architecture, to be found in Kosovo (Ivas, 2015). The whole unique complex contains a number of cubicles, each topped with small white domes which are 99 in total, while a larger dome covers the centre (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 92). The dome construction fits the need of the reader: "in this way space is rounded, and lighting is both close to the reader and even" (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 105).
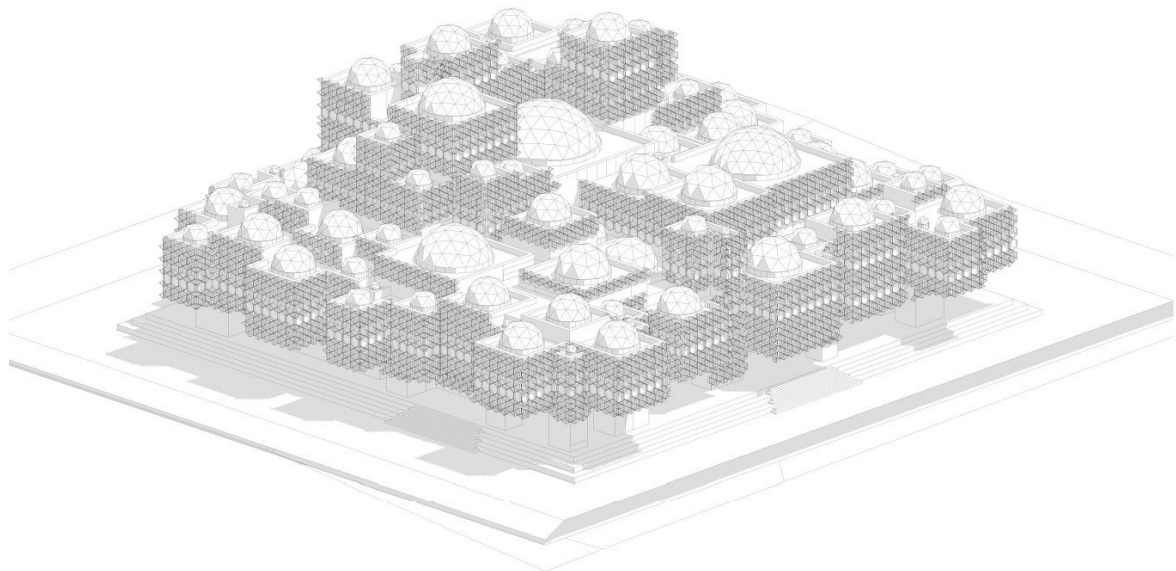

Fig. 6.11. Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo, Structure*, Prishtina, 1971-1982 (source: author)
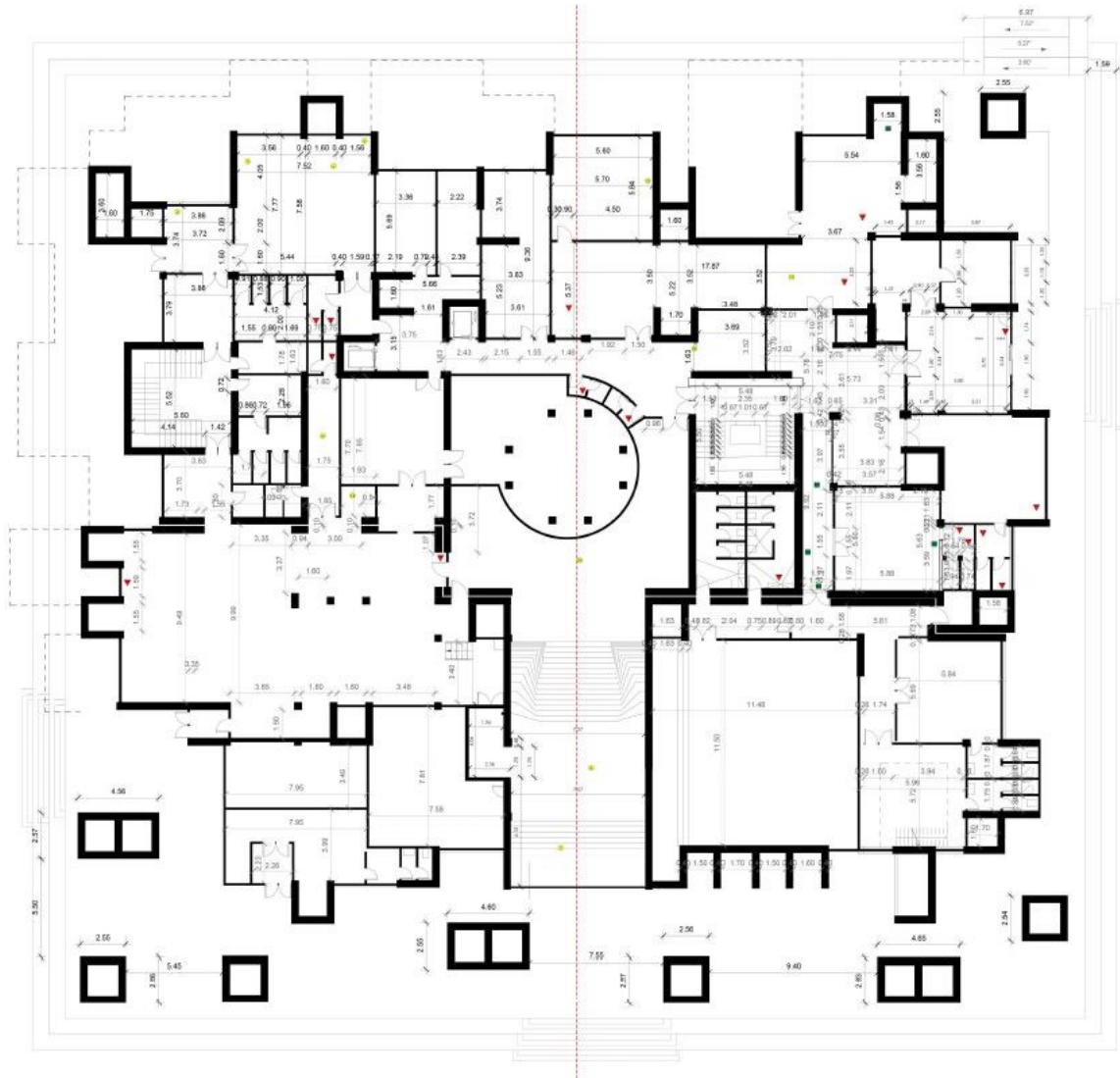
Fig. 6.12. Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo, Ground Floor*, Prishtina, 1971-1982 (source: author)
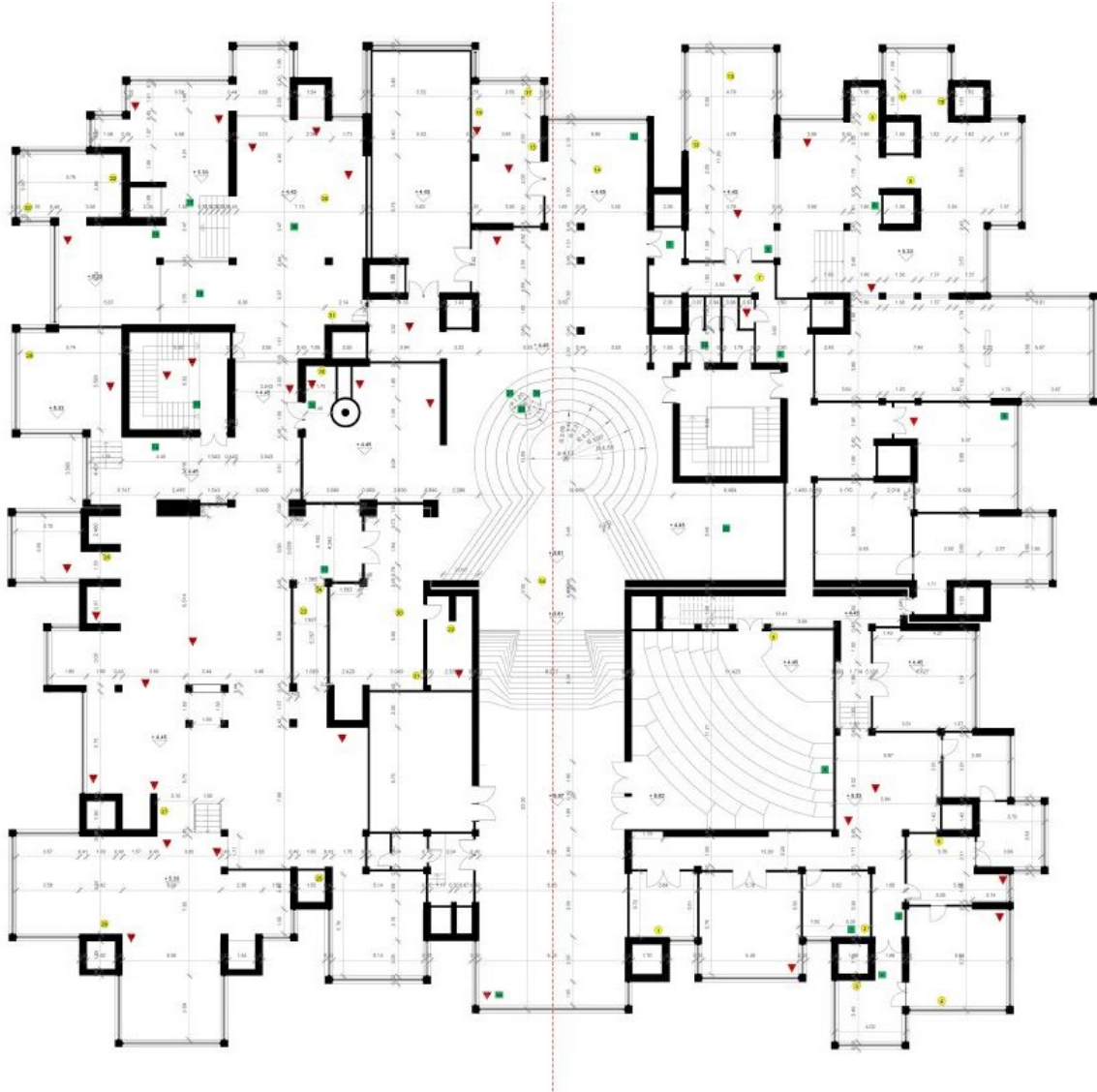
Fig. 6.13. Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo, First Floor*, Prishtina, 1971-1982 (source: author)
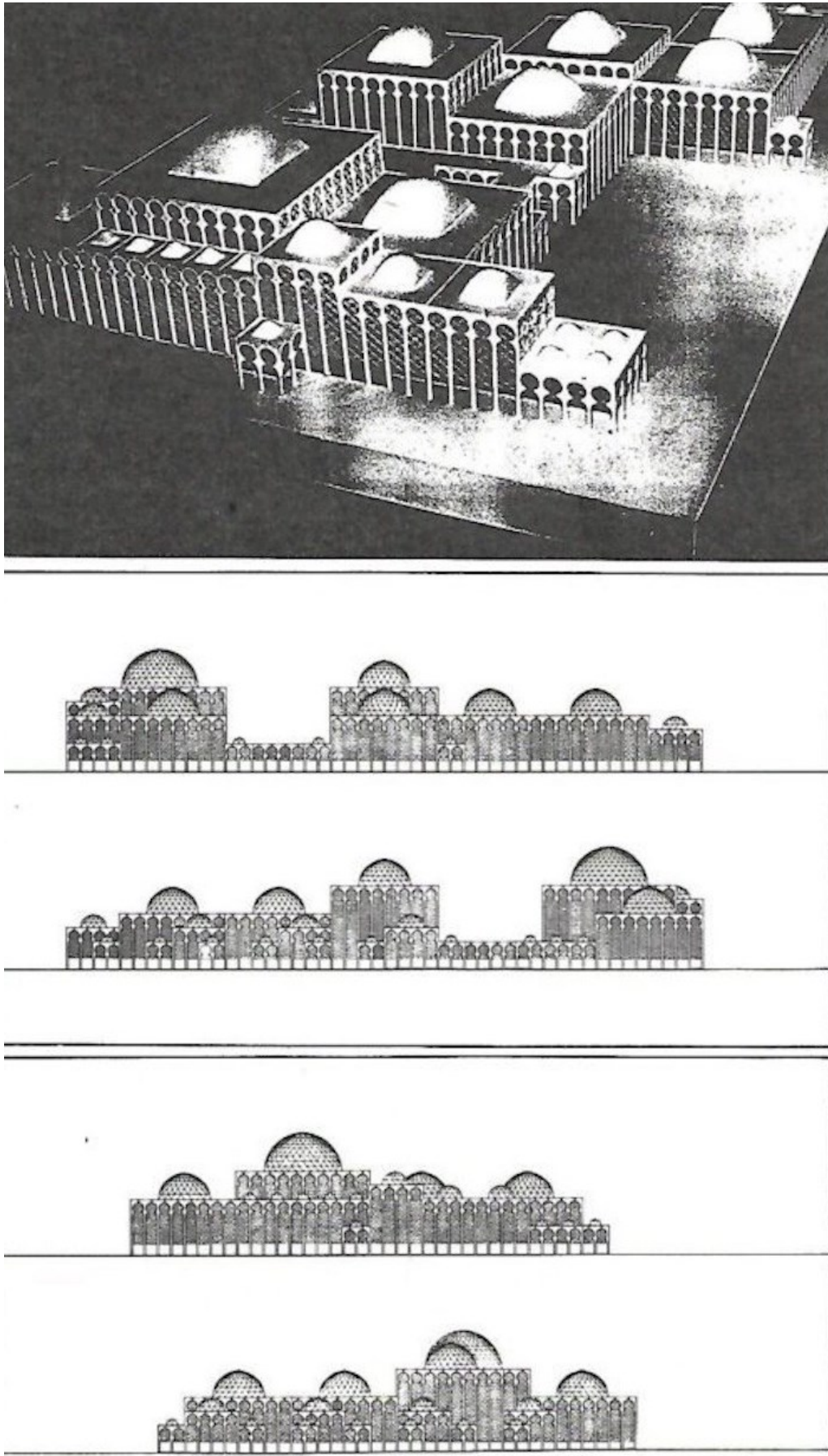
Fig. 6.10. Andrija Mutnjaković, *Project Proposal for the Library in Sarajevo*, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1970s (source: Mutnjaković, 1987, p. 37).

Stylistic/linguistic plan – In principle, a cube covered with a dome is a morphological-typological feature present in different stylistic periods and architectural languages (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023). But in terms of the architectural style, there is a third compositional element in the building of the National and University Library, a feature that makes it a modernist work. This compositional and stylistic element is the metallic grid structure, which has the function of a curtain covering the façade (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023) [**Fig. 6.14**]. It comprises of hexagonal metal units that also have the function of the "internal illumination of space". As Mutnjaković himself said: "*shade was also required to create a more intimate atmosphere for reading*" (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 105). The same patterns of hexagons are also used on the design of the domes structure [**Fig. 6.15**]. To make a comparison with other modern architectural works, one can find the hexagonal grid to be used also used by Frank Lloyd Wright as a compositional element and a stylistic feature in the planimetry of the Hannah House (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023).

In terms of the exterior, the building has always conveyed a somehow "unfinished look" (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 93) [**Fig. 6.16**]. At the inauguration ceremony, the President of the "Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo", Xhavit Nimani, asked the architect when the scaffold would be removed, referring to the aluminum grid. The façade, as it is covered with this grid of metal netting, gives the impression that the construction elements have been left on the exterior of the building (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 93). A similar architectural style was also present in Western Europe during the 1970s and 1980s, with the building of the "Centre national d'art et de culture Georges-Pompidou" designed by Richard Rogers and Renzo Piano, as a representative example [**Fig. 6.5**]. If we analyze the architecture of the building by excluding the metallic grid from its façade, we can easily suggest that it is a fine example of the brutalist style [**Fig. 6.17**]. In such case, it can be compared to Habitat 67 designed by Moshe Safdie in 1967 or the Geisel Library by Willian Pereira, built in San Diego between 1968-1970 [**Fig. 6. 18** & **Fig. 6.19**].

The undoubtedly modernist architectural project of the National and University Library of Kosovo, is linked to a period when modern heritage was "critically reviewed" in the region (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023). Through this case, we can read Mutnjaković's criticism towards High Modernism and his Critical Regionalism approach, as he tracks the latter's international and local origins within the whole modern movement. In his work, Mutnjaković refers to "the 1980 comprehensive rehabilitation of Plećnik and the work of the Zemlja group, whose critical retrospective exhibition was organized in 1971 at the 6th Zagreb Salon of Architecture", in the same year when the project for the Library in Prishtina

was being drafted (Mutnjaković, 2016, p. 130). In terms of style, although the Library is a representative example of modernist architecture, it is also an expression of combined architectural languages, which were developed throughout Yugoslavia within different stages of modernism, particularly brutalism and regionalism (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023).

Technological plan – The seven-story building with 12000 square meters of usable space (Ivas, 2015) and a layout of around 50x50 meters, is formed out of three compositional elements: the cubical structures, the dome and the grid covering the façade. The whole structural part, including foundations, columns, beams and slabs, is made of reinforced concrete [**Fig. 6.20**]. The cubes, constructed *in situ*, are also made of concrete and have large windows or static glass surfaces framed with metallic profiles. The domes are made of a light metallic construction and are covered with white, semi-transparent Plexiglas. They were produced in Germany and the cost of their production and transportation was about 1.4 million German Marks (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 47).

The main and only contractor of the construction works was the local enterprise Ramiz Sadiku, which took over the duties regarding all phases: "*the architecture, the engineering, and the role of the coordinator of works of the other companies who did the infrastructure, the installations, and the technological machinery*" (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 36). Construction works were supervised by the "Faculty of Civil Engineering" in Prishtina, respectively by the professors of relevant courses such as structural engineering, plumbing and sewage, heating, electrification and so forth (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 36).

Regarding the materials used on the façade, for the architect was important to use elements belonging to the location, which would be combined with the modern look of concrete, glass and metal. Thus, he decided that the façade of the whole ground floor would be completely covered with local stones: the stones which were used in the masonry of the mosque of Sultan Murat in Prishtina, built during the fourteenth century (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023; Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 36). These large tile-like stones, two meters by fifty to sixty centimeters, create the difference between the ground floor and the cubes.

The interior walls, particularly those above the central hall, are covered with an element composed of two spirals that was made by a local goldsmith. This is a symbol of Illyrian buttons, which is found in Kosovo as well as in other former Illyrian areas such as the region of Dalmatia (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 37). The

ceilings are polyester ceilings from fiberglass, produced in Zagreb. The floors are mechanical, and all the installations are distributed in the building through the floor, thus expressing the intention to design a technologically advanced building (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023).

To go back to the exterior, the initial design idea was to cover the façade with a concrete grid, placed from the second floor and above. But, in this case, the structure could be overloaded by a heavy concrete element. Instead of this, in order to have a lighter structure, Mutnjaković and the structural engineers decided that the grid should be produced from poured aluminum (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, pp. 43-44). At the end, the whole grid was constructed of molds that were produced by pouring each model individually (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023). There are around 70.000 pieces and 8 or 9 types of different profiles, "*from the empty hexagon, to the one divided into 3 pieces, or more pieces, than the corner models, the positive corner model, the negative one, and so forth. So in a way that whole structure connected into one whole*" (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 44).

Considering the conditions in Prishtina and the region, the elements used for the construction of the Library (such as reinforced concrete skeleton, concrete cubes, and prefabricated Plexiglas domes and metallic grid parts) represent a *new* technology and mode of building production. In conclusion, the metallic grid covering the cubic concrete forms as a pure expression of brutalist architecture, and the glass surface as screens through which the internal and external communications with each other, have a remarkable impact on the architectural identity of the National Library (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023).
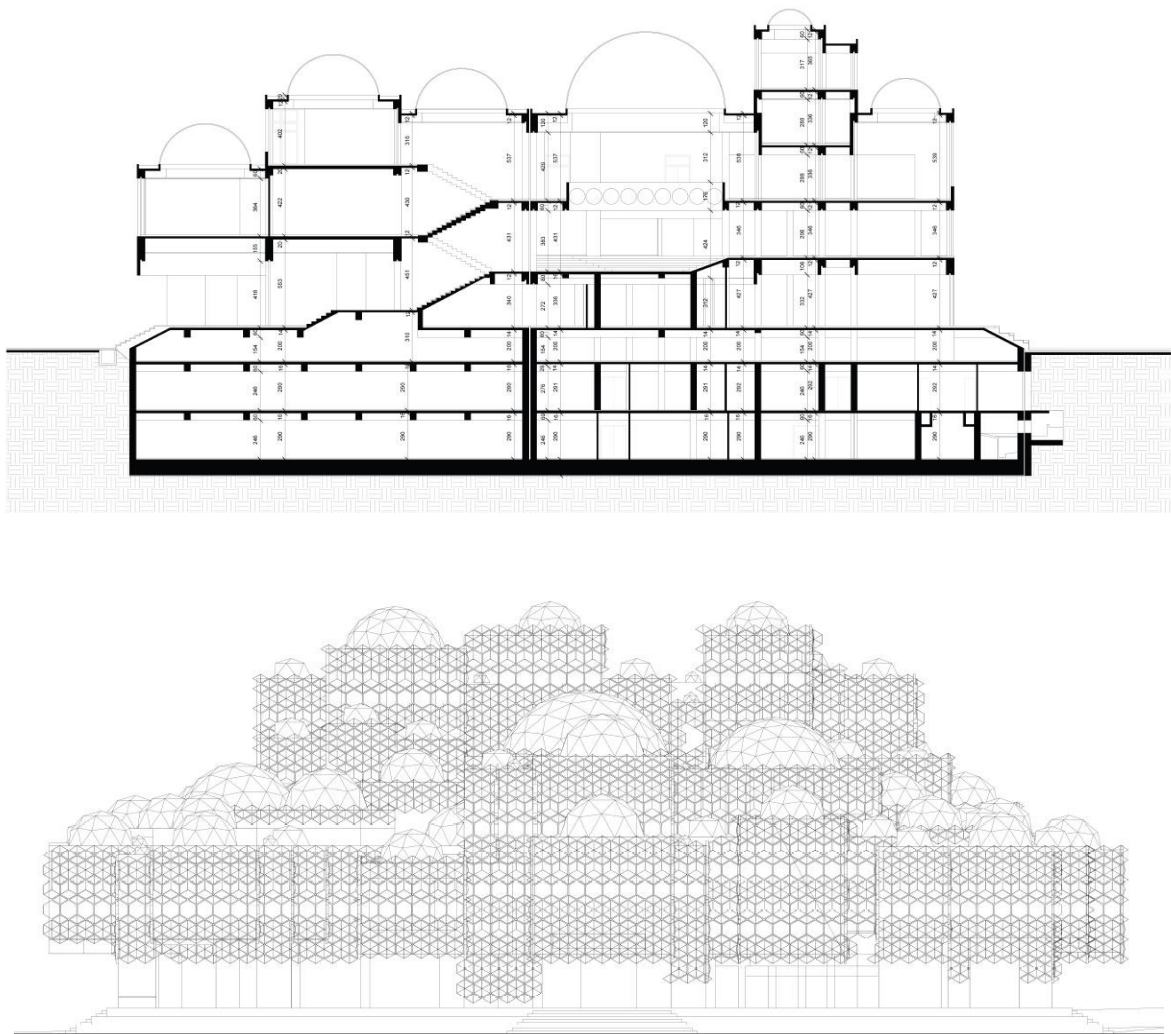

Fig. 6.14. Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo, Facade*, Prishtina, 1971-1982 (source: www.socialistmodernism.com)**; Fig. 6.15.** Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo, Dome Structure*, Prishtina, 1971-1982 (source: www.socialistmodernism.com)
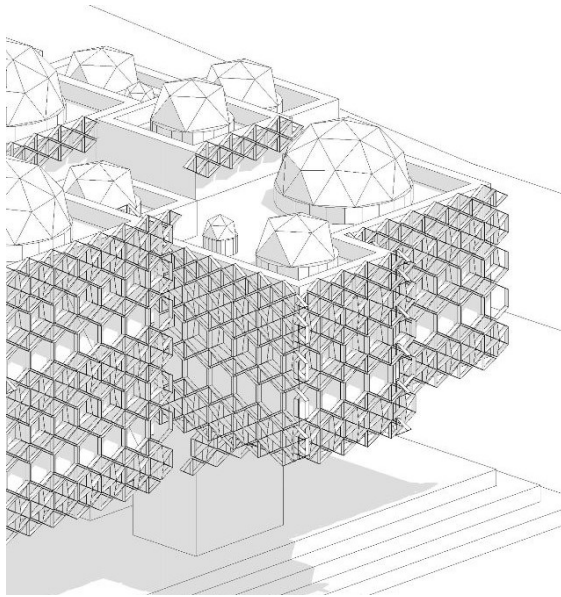
Fig. 6.16. Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo, Metallic Grid*, 1971-1982 (source: author); **Fig. 6.17.** Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo during construction,* Prishtina, 1971-1982 (source: community page "Prishtina e Vjetër")

Fig. 6.18. William Pereira, *Geisel Library*, San Diego, California, 1968-1970 (source: https://www.archdaily.com/566563/ad-classics-geisel-library-william-l-pereira-and-associates); **Fig. 6.19.** Moshe Safdie, *Habitat 67*, Canadian Pavilion, 1967 World Exposition, 1967 (source: https://www.archdaily.com/404803/ad-classics-habitat-67-moshe-safdie).

Fig. 6. 20. a) Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo, Section*, 1971-1982 (source: author); b) Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo, Front Facade*, 1971-1982 (source: author)

6.3. THE SOCIAL AND SPORTS CENTER "BORO AND RAMIZ"

6.3.1. Analysis and Interpretation

Historical Background

The Social and Sports Center [**Fig. 6.21**], is another important public facility in Prishtina, constructed for social use, which has a strong ideological background and is one of the landmarks that played a key function in the determination of Prishtina's urban form and overall identity. The building represents a kind of a complex comprising the sports center, a trade/shopping center, a cultural hall, multifunctional halls, etc. The sports center covers the main area of the facility, as the largest and most impressive structure (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 118), having a dominant position in the exterior.

The debate for the construction of this building started in 1970, when an open architectural competition in the level of former Yugoslavia was launched. The jury consisted of a group of politicians and renowned architects from different entities of former Yugoslavia. From 19 proposals, the jury awarded three prizes, which according to them "*expressed nobility in content and free creativity*" (Golijanin, 1970, pp. 54-62). This was the first case that an open competition occurred in Prishtina and Kosovo. The first prize was won by the project proposal from Ljerka Lulić, Jasna Nosso and Dinko Zlatarić, in collaboration with Krunoslav Marjanović and Petar Dapce (Golijanin, 1970, pp. 54-62). However, this project was never realized and there was another closed competition in 1974, in which the jury awarded the first prize to the proposal by the Institute of Research and Design "DOM" of Sarajevo in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with Živorad Jankovic, Halid Muhasilovic and Srecko Espak as main architect (Sadiki, 2020).

At this point, it is relevant to mention that Živorad Jankovic was an important figure of the architectural scene in Socialist Yugoslavia. After graduating from the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Belgrade in 1950, he "continued the postgraduate studies in Scandinavia and the University of Michigan in United States" (Sadiki, 2020). He was appointed full time Professor at the University of Sarajevo in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and was also director of the "City Planning Department" of the city of Sarajevo from 1970 to 1972, where he was responsible for the planning of the modern part of Sarajevo (Sadiki, 2020). In collaboration with Halid Muhasilovic, he designed the projects for the cultural and sports centers "Skenderija" in Sarajevo, and "Vojvodina" in Novi Sad.

The selected proposal was realized in 1977, while large parts of the initial project for the building were added on later, until 1981 (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 118). The building was opened to the public in 1981, under the original name Social and Sports Center "Boro

and Ramiz". It was named after the two Second World War Yugoslav Partisans and "People's Heroes of Yugoslavia" – the Serbian Boro Vukmirović and the Albanian Ramiz Sadiku – strengthening in this way the presence of the so-called "Brotherhood and Unity" ideology.

Since it completion until today, the building maintains the same function and is widely used by the masses, although not as much as during the late 1970s and 1980s. On February 25, 2000 – while it was spared by the Kosovo War – the building suffered an intentional fire. Due to this fire, parts of the building, particularly the large sports arena, were damaged. It has been refurbished and covered, and space beams replaced, through a funding given by KFOR. The large sports arena has not been used for sport or social activities since then and it remains closed to the public. Through structurally stable, this arena lacs the indoor conditions to host any activity. This whole 5000 sqm arena is currently used as a parking space.

Geographical and Spatial Context

The Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz" is situated at the center of the city of Prishtina, in that part of Prishtina's urban area which according to Prishtina's Urban Development Plan is named as "Center 1" (Albanian: "Qendra 1"). The Social and Sports Center is part of an area shared with the former "Rilindja" Publishing House and Prishtina's City Football Stadium. Although the three building were never part of the same masterplan, they are part of unified public area which still continues to be one the most important sites that shapes the city's morphology and identity.

The location is enclosed by the streets "Fehmi Agani", "Tirana", "Garibaldi" and "Luan Haradinaj", the first being an extension of the former east-west axis (cf. Chapter 5, Section 5.2) and the last a primary road of main importance to Prishtina's urban development since the drafting of 1953 urban plan. Access to the complex of the Social and Sports Center is facilitated through the above-mentioned streets, while one can have access to all entrances through pedestrian paths inside the area. If we analyze the site of the building in the context of ottoman city, we can see that it was not related to none of the main axis of the city, being a completely open field in its outskirts. The first tendencies of the urbanization of this area are presented in 1953 urban plan, where we can read the position of the city's stadium but no traces of a specific plot for the Social and Sports Center can be found.

The location of the building was first included in the 1962 urban plan for Prishtina by Bashkim Fehmiu. The urban plot in which the building is located, is presented only at the level of a land use map, named in the legend of the drawing as *Rekreacija* meaning 'Recreation' (Sadiki, 2020, p. 31). The precise location, urban features of the site and approximate layout of the Social and Sports Center, is planned and presented in the regulatory urban plan *"Conceptual Urban Solution of Prishtina's New Center"*, designed in 1967 by Ljiljana Babić (Sadiki, 2020). This plan, which followed the same principles of Fehmiu's masterplan for the University Center and those of CIAM's functionalist city, was never realized although it was approved by local authorities. The project for the Social and Sports Center did not follow the parameters determined with Babić's plan, but this plan serves as a spatial document which we can refer to when discussing the plans for the construction of the building and the location dedicated to it.

Functional, Social and Economic Dimensions

The Social and Sports Center is popular meeting point for the citizens of Prishtina, while it is also used as point of reference for visitors considering its function as a landmark architectural work. As the name suggest, it is a mixed-use building containing open terraces for social and cultural events, two sports halls, 4 training halls, a bowling hall, the youth house, the shopping mall, an outdoor pool and other outdoor sports areas. Due its multifunctional character and formal layout, the building was used throughout the whole year, in different times of the day, for different purposes.

Considering the fact that at the time Prishtina was the city Prishtina with the largest number of young population in former Yugoslavia, with over 50% of its population younger than 25 years old, the need for a building with recreational and sports services was more than necessary (Sadiki, 2020). Except from playing an important function in the social life, the Palace gave a contribution to the sports scene specifically because Kosovo had one of the poorest sports infrastructure in former Yugoslavia at the time (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016). The sports arenas used to host many basketball, handball, and box matches, and also indoor skating arena during the winter. There were extra spaces for the ballet club, the box club and other martial sports clubs. Following the construction of the Social and Sports Center, more sports centers were built in cities around Kosovo, since Kosovo within Yugoslavia hosted the World Women's Handball Championship in early 1970s (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 119). About four decades later, in 2014, the small sports arena hosted the last phase of the Basketball Euro-League (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016).

Although it continues to have the same function, many areas have been left unused and the building suffers proper maintenance, particularly after the fire in 2000. Yet, the shopping area is still active, as it is the small sports hall, the "Red Hall" and the youth center. Thus, the Palace is often referred to as a mini-city in itself which is used by locals daily, despite its current physical conditions. The Social and Sports Center represents a typological peculiarity also for its functional content. In a socialist political order, where all sports, cultural or social activities were organized, financed and maintained by the state, the presence of a commercial content made possible for the building to generate income, being self-maintained and profitable (Sadiki, 2020, p. 60), something that was more familiar for a capitalist rather than socialist system.

In terms of finances, a portion of the total budget for the realization of the project was financed by Prishtina's citizens themselves, through "self-contributions". In this case, "*self-contribution was a form of financing in which a portion of individuals' salaries was allocated for investing in the self-management of infrastructure*" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 70). 30% of total finances for the construction of the Social and Sports Center were provided in this form, while the remaining 70% was raised through bank loans (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 70). The whole building consisted of three phases of construction, only two of which were completed according to the initial plan. The reason for this were the changes in the political conditions in Yugoslavia after 1981 and the insufficient funds as a consequence.

Being inherited from a period when the building was a property of the institutions of Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosovo, after the Kosovo War and particularly with the independence of Kosovo and the creation of new municipal and state institutions, the ownership of the building was left unclear. Thus, there was no proper investment in the building. Being positioned at the city center and having the potential to host a wide range of activities, its status was part of a debate to convert it into a public-private partnership. It was only in 2020, when the Social and Sports Center was legally declared a public property of the Municipality of Prishtina.

Fig. 6.21. Živorad Jankovic, Halid Muhasilovic and Srecko Espak, *Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz"*, Prishtina, 1977 (source: http://hiddenarchitecture.net/ sport-and-recreation-centre-boro-and/)

Urban Setting

The Social and Sports Center is placed between the building of former "Rilindja" Publishing House (currently a building of the Government of Kosovo) positioned in the east, and Prishtina's City Stadium in the west. In front of it, is the "Grand Hotel". Because of the proximity of the Social and Sports Center to the first two buildings, the three of them create a set of state and public buildings, contributing to overall image of the modern Prishtina as a socialist capital city. The internal traffic network in the area allows for an easy car access for to all the volumes of the Palace, as well as to the other two buildings. A well-planned pedestrian network creates an easy movement of pedestrians inside the area and the complex of the Palace in particular (Kabashi & Gjinolli, 2015, p. 98).

The Social and Sports Center itself is conceived as a complex due to its several volumes and the presence of outdoor sports and public areas. The initial project by Živorad Jankovic was a very ambitious proposal, due to its large extensions, the connection between different volumes of the complex, as well as the connection with the surrounding areas and buildings (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016). The masterplan included the main building consisting of three volumes. The first is the shopping mall, above which are placed the sports arenas in one volume and the youth center in the other volume. These two volumes are connected to each

other through the open terrace. Apart from the main building there are two towers in the front, planned for a hotel for sports and culture delegations. The front side of the complex was also planned to be connected with the "Grand Hotel" in the other side of the street, through a pedestrian bridge above the street level (Sadiki, 2020). In the back side, there was planned another terrace which connected the sports arenas to a closed Olympic pool. In the outdoor area, there were several open sports fields, including three open pools. Another pedestrian bridge would connect this side of the complex to the "Arberia" neighborhood (Sadiki, 2020) [**Fig. 6.22**].

Expect from the main building and the two towers, the other parts of the project were those that remained uncompleted until today. The area in the back is today a concrete site used as a parking lot. The two towers are not used as a hotel, nor they have a public function. After the Kosovo War, they were inhabited by citizens of Prishtina and other cities in Kosovo, thus having a residential character. In 2008, on the Independence Day, in front of the Palace of Youth and Sports, the monument of "Newborn" was built, to mark the emergence of Kosovo as a new, independent state.

Architecture (Morphology, Style, Technology)

The whole original complex, covering an area of 60.000 m^2, is designed following the concept of French "grand ensembles" of the 1970s or the type of "megastructures" presented by Japanese metabolism. It is constructed on a large plateau – where the shopping mall is placed below, while two other volumes above it, – a vast elevated area which is accessed from Luan Haradinaj Street by climbing the stairs located to the left of the *Newborn* monument. At the top of the stairs, is a large esplanade dominated by the main building with two volumes.

Formal plan – The main building in which are situated the two sports arenas as the largest pavilions of the complex, is the dominant piece of the complex due to its size and the central position. The large sports arena has a capacity for 8,000 visitors, while the small arena hosts 3,000 visitors [**Fig. 6. 23**]. These arenas/pavilions create the main volume situated at center of the terrace (the slab, as presented above), together with a third volume at the side of it.

A central core, which is the main structural element of the building, functions as the main access point for both pavilions of the central volume, in which the architect located the restrooms and the hallways. A group of large central columns bear the weight of the structure of both pavilions. The size difference between the two pavilions is highlighted by creating

an asymmetric structure of large beams with uneven dimensions. This main volume is 80m deep (east-west axis) and has a length of 110m (frontal side), It is distinguished above all by its huge black roof with two broken and asymmetrical slopes that are supported, in the central part, by two rows of eight rough concrete columns rising to 40 m (southern row) and 33 m (northern row) in height. Inside, the different levels total a surface of 18,000 m^2.

The concentration of all servicing areas in a tract between the universal hall and the small hall has allowed separating the movement of the public and the sportsmen. The separated entry platforms for sportsmen and the public have allowed for the design of wide foyers that may be used for various exhibitions. The areas of the Shopping mall, garages, and depots under the entry plateau increase the value of space (Kabashi & Gjinolli, 2015, p. 98). The quality of such areas is enhanced because they are placed at the same level with the publicly accessed plateau, while on the other hand, there is circular movement in terms of providing space for the organization of the exhibitions.

Besides the sports arena situated in the first volume, the left wing as the second volume, houses an auditorium and conference hall called the "Red Hall". Below the terrace/slab where this volumes are situated, is the shopping mall area, thus being part of the main building. The "Youth Center" situated at the right side of the main volume, has a smaller presence in the project and is considered as a secondary building with a more modest architectural treatment, although it has a similar spatial organization to the main building [**Fig. 6.24**]. Three separated and independent volumes are connected through several runways that move the visitors through the different programs of the building (Sadiki, 2020). Their interior has different heights and dimensions, creating higher spaces for the small auditorium, and visual relations among different floor plans (Sadiki, 2020).

Stylistic/linguistic plan – In terms of style, the Social and Sports Center can be interpreted as a modern functionalist and structuralist architecture (Kabashi & Gjinolli, 2015; Sadiki, 2020). Several formal and stylistic/linguistic features of the building are very similar to those of Metabolist architectural language and the concept of megastructures. Such types became popular in Yugoslavia during the 1970s and were familiar to local architects particularly through Kenzo Tange's "Masterplan for Skopje", drafted in 1965 after the earthquake of 1963 (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, pp. 69-70).
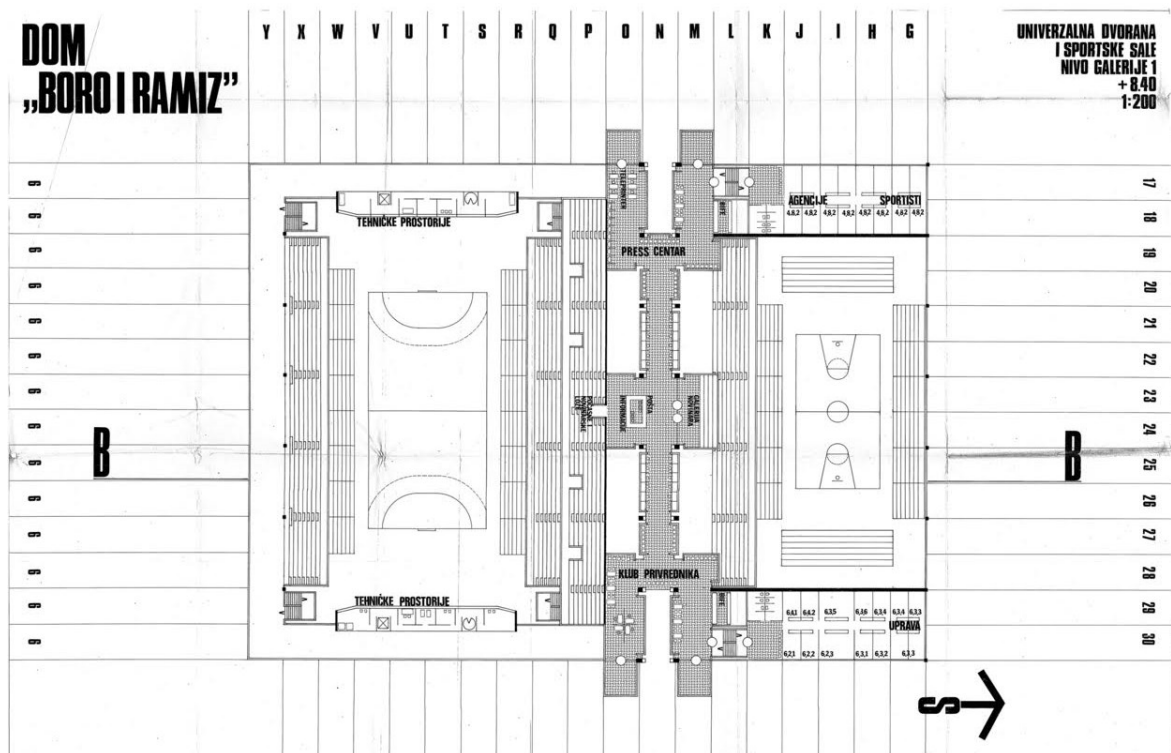
The exterior of the volume containing the two sports halls, contains the most interesting feature of the building. Its front and back façade were completely free of structural elements that supported the weight of the roof (which was supported on two side facades). Thus, the

steel ribbed beams covered in copper tin sheet, dominated the façade which was entirely made of glass [**Fig. 6.25**]. The glass façade softens the roof structure and creates the perception of a transparent and open public building (Sadiki, 2020; Kabashi & Gjinolli, 2015). In this context, the expressiveness and plasticity of the object gave it a completely original character. Other parts of the façade of the whole complex, including the shopping mall, were dominated by concrete, stones and glass. Yet, they were less treated than the one described above. A similar approach was followed on the exterior of the towers whose façade was covered with simple paint; or in the case of the "Youth Center", whose façade is a combination of large concrete opaque panels with glass openings in between [**Fig. 6. 26**].

Technological plan – In its final form, the Social and Sports Center manifests a structural and technological achievement. The size of the volumes, large glass panels and openings, as well as the combination of materials such as steel, concrete and glass, were very challenging and not common for the case of Prishtina. Thus, expect from the new technologies used during construction, it was also requested the involvement of renowned structural engineers such as Meha Karalic and the local supervisor Alaudin Behluli (Sadiki, 2020). It is also important to mention that all constructive works were caried out by the local "Ramiz Sadiku" social enterprise for construction, which at the time had extraordinary executive capacities, similar to other construction enterprises in former Socialist Yugoslavia.

Fig. 6.22. Živorad Jankovic, Halid Muhasilovic and Srecko Espak, *Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz", Masterplan*, Prishtina, 1977 (source: Prishtina City Archive, Fund: SO-KK, Box 1-4, Nr. 1303)

Fig. 6.23. Živorad Jankovic, Halid Muhasilovic and Srecko Espak, *Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz", Sports Hall*, Prishtina, 1977 (source: Prishtina City Archive, Fund: SO-KK, Box 1-4, Nr. 1303)
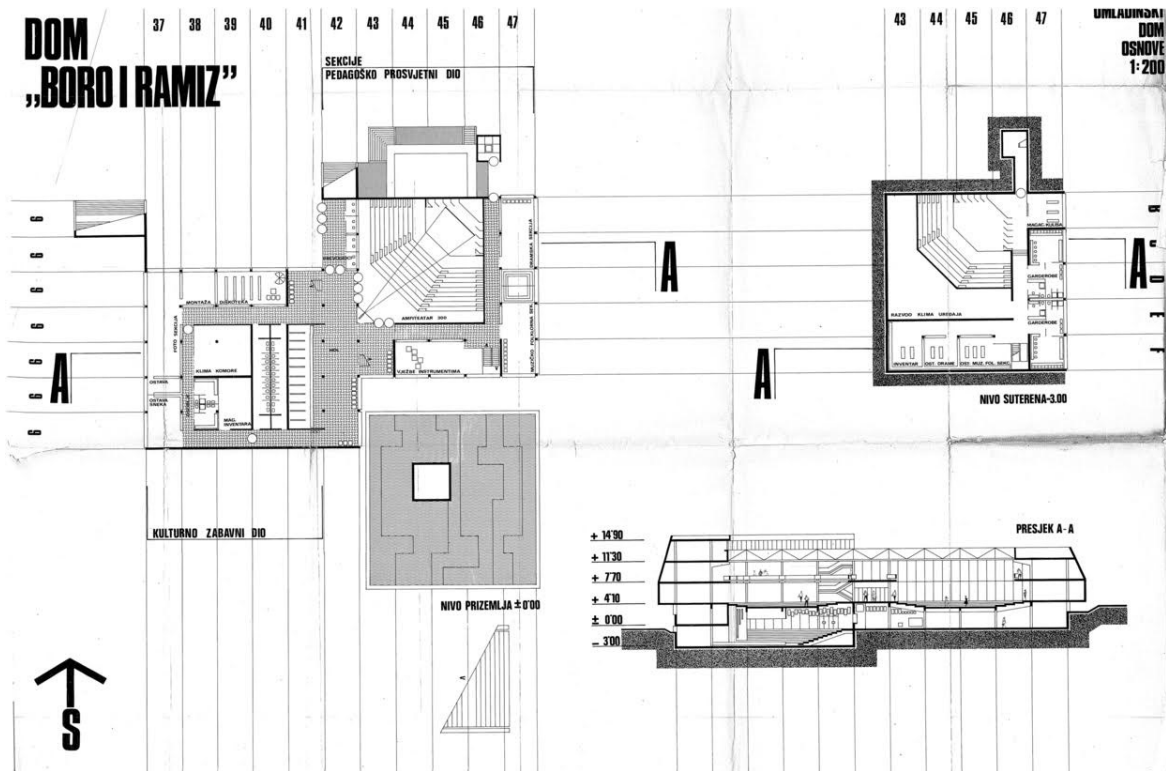
Fig. 6.24. Živorad Jankovic, Halid Muhasilovic and Srecko Espak, *Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz", Youth Center*, Prishtina, 1977 (source: Prishtina City Archive, Fund: SO-KK, Box 1-4, Nr. 1303)

Fig. 6.25. Živorad Jankovic, Halid Muhasilovic and Srecko Espak, *Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz", Back Façade, Sports Center,* Prishtina, 1977
(source: http://hiddenarchitecture.net/sport-and-recreation-centre-boro-and/)

Fig. 6.26. Živorad Jankovic, Halid Muhasilovic and Srecko Espak, *Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz", Façade, Youth Center,* Prishtina, 1977
(source: http://hiddenarchitecture.net/sport-and-recreation-centre-boro-and/)

6.4. IDEOLOGY OF ARCHITECTURE

6.4.1. Ideology, Politics and Architecture

The National and University Library (1971-1982) – The National and University Library of Kosovo "Pjetër Bogdani" is significant for is numerous values and representations (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017). It is significant to the history of Kosovo and its citizens' individual and collective memory, as one of "the major repositories of knowledge". As it is presented on the report drafted by Getty Foundation and Kosovo Architecture Foundation, the Library "*is one of the largest resources of publications in the Albanian language and also shelters historic materials from three periods: The Ottoman, Yugoslav and independent Kosovo periods*" (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 57). The building also has social value for individuals or small groups as a meeting point to study or visit the city.

The library has a number of historical and stylistic references, due to its architectural forms of cubes and domes reminiscent to both Byzantine and Islamic religious buildings, but it is also a reinterpretation of such forms in a modernist way, using modern materials and building techniques (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 57).

225

Its solid well-built construction follows the idea of an integral design: "*the finishes, furnishings, materials and details were thought of as a work of ideal art that is comprehensive in all its elements*" (Kosovo Architecture Foundation & Getty Foundation, 2017, p. 57).

Having a central position in the University Centre, this architectural work is a landmark of the "Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo's era" (1968-1989), aimed at visually stating the province's political and economic *power*, as well as its *equality* to other Republics within the Socialist Yugoslavia – pointing to the emergence and construction of Kosovo's own national identity. It is the form of the building that operates ideologically, in the sense that the form itself, represents a 'regional architecture' interrelated with the 'national identity': the emergence of Kosovo's state within Yugoslavia.

The metallic grid covering the concrete cubes as pure expression of brutalist architecture, and the glass surfaces as screens through which the internal and external communicate with each other, signify the new technologies and modes of building production (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023). As it is used to control the interplay of light and shadow, the grid as a techno-aesthetic and techno-artistic element, conceals the building's politico-ideological character: a character that represents Prishtina (and Yugoslavia) as bounded to a modern and socialist tradition, and a *utopia* through which the future was projected as a contradiction to the capitalist development and the emergence of postmodernism (Kumaraku & Pula, 2023).

What one can understand through the case of the "National and University Library" in Prishtina, is that architecture (re)produces the political, economic, social and cultural. By 'enclosing' a space whose function is the library as a representation of knowledge, education and social emancipation, the architecture of the building aimed at the (re)production of a modern society and state. Put differently, the position of building in the University Centre, creates a new centrality, rendering the importance of knowledge for the modern society of a "new", modern city and state.

The Library was designed and constructed in a period in which Kosovo's institution had the power for decision taking. Yet, it required a high domestic pressure to achieve this level of equality among other Yugoslavian entities. In fact, the site and the building were always bounded to domestic ideological and political events, as we understand from the 1968 and 1997 demonstrations, the imposed unfinished construction of the Orthodox Church in 1995, the war in 1998-1999, postwar and the independence. Besides this, international pressures were low since the Library's construction until the end of 1990s. They might have been

present through architectural schools and styles, but not imposed. With the Kosovo War, the international interest grew and all activities in the site of the Library (although not much) somehow had an international input.

What is interesting in the case of the Library, is that the buildings function and importance appears in every major ideological and political event in Kosovo's modern history, respectively in Prishtina. The Library can be considered the most sustainable form in the University Centre, which maintains the sustainability of the whole urban composition itself. The form and the function of the Library, does not allow the Orthodox Church to create a new centrality within the University Centre and consequently within the city of Prishtina, which was actually the aim of its construction. As a library, by function, it maintains the concept of the University Centre as was originally designed by Bashkim Fehmiu.

By form, through its domes and horizontal extensions, the building resists the domination of the dome of the Orthodox Church. Add here the fact that the Library's domes represent a regional element found in both churches and mosques, signifying the religious tolerance within a socialist state. Thus, the dome itself could be seen as an obstacle to the domination of a single religion, which was used by Serbian nationalist politicians to impose their power in the region. The communication of the Library with the Church and all the existing urban setting, is something that requires further analysis, because it could be considered as a premise for the discussion of Prishtina's current problems and the vision for the future development of the city's urban space.

The Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz" (1977-1981) – Through the massive and elaborate Social and Sports Center is communicated the "ideology of brotherhood and unity", also fostered by its name "Boro and Ramiz". According to a widespread interpretation from the late 1970s, the central volume which is composed of two sets of eight beams rising sharply at the roof top, represented the two Yugoslav heroes "rising to glory in brotherhood and unity" (Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018). The eight visible structural beams are also often related to the eight so-called constitutional entities of former Yugoslavia, namely six republics and two provinces (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016). The building is constructed at a time when its main and most important architectural element was meant to demonstrate and represent a strong and united Yugoslavia.

The phase of design and construction also relates the building to a new and emerging political condition in Kosovo that came as a result of the adoption of the "Constitution of

1974", according to which Kosovo was granted a high-level autonomous status within Socialist Yugoslavia. Thus, Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz" is also a landmark of the "Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo's era" (1968-1989). As it was the case with the National and University Library, the Social and Sports Center also represents a 'regional architecture' interrelated with the 'national identity'. In terms of 'national identity', there are also indications that this building is not without regional, traditional or even nationalist characteristics. The two sets of asymmetrical beams were on many occasions interpreted as the eagle's wings, with the eagle being the symbol of Albanians' national flag (Jashari-Kajtazi, 2016, p. 121). Yet, there is proof that this was the original intention, as it was rather an interpretation by the citizens that are identified with that building.

In his interpretation of the Yugoslav Pavilion for the Expo 1958 in Brussels, Vladimir Kulić highlights that "*political messages, rather than architectural features or other qualities of the building, were interwoven into its design and, by extension, the positive as well as negative public perceptions of the pavilion*" (Kulić, 2012, pp. 161). For instance, the ground floor of the pavilion was completely open and had no doors, suggesting Yugoslavia's open borders and its emergent international policy of peaceful active coexistence (Kulić, 2012, pp. 161-184). Similar to such interpretations are also the interpretations made to the architecture of the Social and Sports Center in Prishtina. And as Kulić notes: "*when such a frame of mind exists, other qualities of the building are not noticed or interpreted*" (Kulić, 2012). In this context, the Social and Sports Center is also a signifier of modernist architectural languages and the openness of former Yugoslavia towards the architectural and stylistic debates of the time. This again is related to politics as through architecture is manifested the political direction of former Yugoslavia after the events of 1968.

As it is the case with the National Library, the Social and sports Center was also designed and constructed at the time when Kosovo's authorities within Yugoslavia had the power for decision taking. In order to put the Social and Sports Center within the model of the interplay of architecture with ideological and political forces, below are defined the high and low domestic and international pressures, and the proxies, related to the construction of this building.

6.4.2. Contextualization of the Model

Critical Junctures

The National and University Library (1971-1982) – The National Library was presented for the first time in the Masterplan for the University Center, drafted in 1971. In the same year, the Croatian architect Andrija Mutnjaković was invited by Bashkim Fehmiu to design the project for the Library. This is included in Critical Juncture 3 – 1968 Student Protests. At this time, as a result of internal ideological and political changes of 1968, Kosovo was building its substantial autonomy as a Socialist Province in the Socialist Republic of Serbia within former Yugoslavia, what was officially achieved in 1974. Thus, in 1971, Kosovo had a better position in the domestic political scene, being part of the decision making. Although there were high domestic pressures for achieving the condition of post-1968, these pressures were low in 1971. As for the international constructs, they were also low. At the time, former Yugoslavia was more open towards the western world and the impacts were considered as a form of collaboration, not as imposed policies (cf. Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2).

Construction works for the Library started in 1974, when, following the constitutional reforms, a complete autonomy for Kosovo was achieved. This is within Critical Juncture 4 – 1974 Constitution, in which domestic as well as international political pressures continued to be low. The Library was opened in 1982, in the Critical Juncture 5 – The 1980s domestic tensions. With the 1981 demonstrations in Kosovo, demanding the formation of the "Socialist Republic of Kosovo" as separate entity within former Yugoslavia, domestic political pressures increased. However, as the situation calmed down quickly, there were no particular following events that could risk the opening of the Library in 1982. International pressures in this juncture, were low too.

In 1989 the Library was out of use as a result of the rising political tensions between Albanians and Serbs, followed with the constitutional adoptions of 1990 which indicated that Kosovo's status had to be returned to that of pre-1968. While domestic pressures were high, the international scene was staying neutral, thus there were no specific pressures. The 1990s are conceived as one critical juncture, as there were no specific events that changed the existing situation. Within this juncture (Critical Juncture 6 – The revocation of Kosovo's autonomy in 1989), the Library risked its central position within the University Center, due to the construction of the Orthodox Church in the same complex.

The Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz" (1977-1981) – The debate for building a Social and Sports Center started as early as in 1970 within Critical Juncture 3, at a time when Kosovo was not completely autonomous but was determined in the extension of its autonomy. We are once again dealing with a condition in which domestic as well as international pressures are low. Local authorities had the total right and freedom to commission large public buildings which would communicate the new status of Kosovo within Yugoslavia. In 1974, within Critical Juncture 4, was selected the project for the building, through an architectural competition.

Construction works started on 1977. As in the previous juncture and in the case of the National Library, domestic and international political pressures continued to be low. The international presence was only existent in terms of the architectural discourse. Construction works continued until 1981. Here we pass to Critical Juncture 5. As we already know, in 1981 domestic political pressures increased. At this time, construction works stopped, the project was not completed, and it was open in the same year before the planned time. As it seems, there was a tendency to open the building, otherwise it would have been left a working site. Although the situation calmed down later, the project was never completed as in the original proposal.

High and Low Domestic and International Ideological and Political Pressures

The National and University Library (1971-1982) – At the time of its design and construction (1971-1982), the National and University Library is put in the model of the interplay between ideology, politics, architecture and city planning, within the combination of low domestic and low international ideological and political constructs. But, as this building appears as an important structure in other critical junctures – distinguishing the constitutional changes of 1989 and the installment of the parallel system, – it is than placed within the combination of high domestic and low international pressures. This happens due to the construction of the Orthodox Church next to the National Library, which aimed to decentralize its position by creating a new centrality within the University center.

In term of domestic ideological and political constructs, there was one dominant ideology which was promoted by the federate and was equally accepted and followed by all political groups within it. Socialism was the fundamental premise of this ideology, while it aimed the creation of a progressive and modern state, until it shifted to nationalism after 1989. Modernism was the aesthetical language of socialism. The political scene was unified

under two main ideas: the creation of national identities for each entity and simultaneously the maintenance of a strong Yugoslav identity.

International pressures during the design and construction of the Library were low. There was a significant impact of the global architectural debate of the time. Architectural languages emerging in Europe and USA– such as structuralism and critical regionalism, - were formative for the architect of the Library. Yet, this presence of foreign stylistic references was a result of the rapprochement of former Yugoslavia with the West. This impact was not imposed and thus cannot be interpreted as a pressure. It simply positioned Yugoslavia within the global map of modern architecture.

The Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz" (1977-1981) – At the time when the decision for the construction of the Social and Sports Center in Prishtina was made, and during the process of designing and constructing the project, there were low domestic political pressures. As it was the case with the National Library, the domestic political scene was unified under the principles of socialism and modernism as its aesthetical manifestation. At times, there were tensions between social groups, especially among Albanians and Serbs, but they were not strong enough to dominate the politics of the time. What is worth mentioning is that the rising of these tensions from 1981 and onwards reflected on the social and economic dimension, as well as in architecture. In the case of the Social and Sports Center – as the complex opened in 1981, the same year when the students' demonstrations in Kosovo occurred – , it resulted on the lack of funds and will to complete the initial project. During the period with which the Social and Sports Center is related, international pressures were also low. The international discourse that impacted the domestic scene, was only at the level of shared values and experiences, expressed through an open debate on architectural developments.

Proxies

The dominant analytical features of the General Urban Plan of 1953 impacted by the combination of domestic and international ideological and political pressures, within the categories of *centrality* and *perceptibility* are: ideological and political influences, size / scale, style, cost and finances, and location. Considering the scale and character of the architectural projects, other proxies are not applicable or cannot be measured (cf. Chapter 1, Section 1.2.2).

The National and University Library (1971-1982)

1. Size: The spatial extension of the building, the expressivity and the large dimensions of the cubes and domes, make the National Library a distinguished structure within the city.

2. Style: In a collaborating discourse between domestic and international power forces, the architecture of former Yugoslavia during the 1970s and 1980s is part of an open debate on global modernist architectural developments. Thus, there is an exchange of linguistic features in the discipline of architecture and not a forced presence of them. Most importantly, as it is understood from the above analysis, the use of regionalism itself is an indicator of the creation of Kosovo's own identity as an autonomous province within Yugoslavia.

3. Finances: As Kosovo had the right in decision making and was building its own institution and budget, the finances were managed by domestic authorities for the purpose of the realization of the structure. The project was directly financed by Kosovo Assembly, and due to the low domestic pressures, there were no opposition towards the decision of the authorities.

4. Location: A characteristic of the Library is its central position within the University Center and the city of Prishtina. This location was selected from local authorities for such an important building for the statehood of Kosovo, as they had the power to do so, and their decision was not opposed. After 1989, the centrality of the Library was challenged by the Orthodox Church constructed at the side of it, although the creation of a new centrality was never achieved.

The Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz" (1977-1981)

1. Size: The Social and Sports Center appears as a landmark building with extravagant dimensions. It is considered as a "megastructure" with a characteristic horizontal and vertical extension, created through the combination of large and asymmetrical volumes.

2. Style: On one side, considering the fact that the political authorities had a complete control in domestic affairs, the architecture of Social and Sports Center is seen an interpretation on Yugoslavian power. On the other side, the presence of stylistic references from the West as well as Japan, through the use of languages such as functionalism and metabolism, is a sign of a collaborating, rather than conflicting, international ideological and political discourse.

3. Finances: As it is the case with all centralized political systems, the finances were managed by domestic authorities for the purpose of the realization of the structure. Considering the lack of tensions in domestic scene, the authorities and the citizens were both engaged in a public investment. Although the contributions from the citizens were not

sufficient for the construction of the building, the authorities always had the possibility of receiving large funds in the form of loans from state banks. Thus, the public finances were in the service of creating a large architectural structure, with contemporary materials and building technologies.

If we compare this, to the situation created after political changes in 1981, we understand that with rising domestic tensions between different political and social groups, due to the lack of a complete control in public funds from local authorities, the construction of the Social and Sports center was interrupted, and the original project was never completed (there were few projects that were finished, such as the National Library, which were directly financed by the Kosovo Assembly).
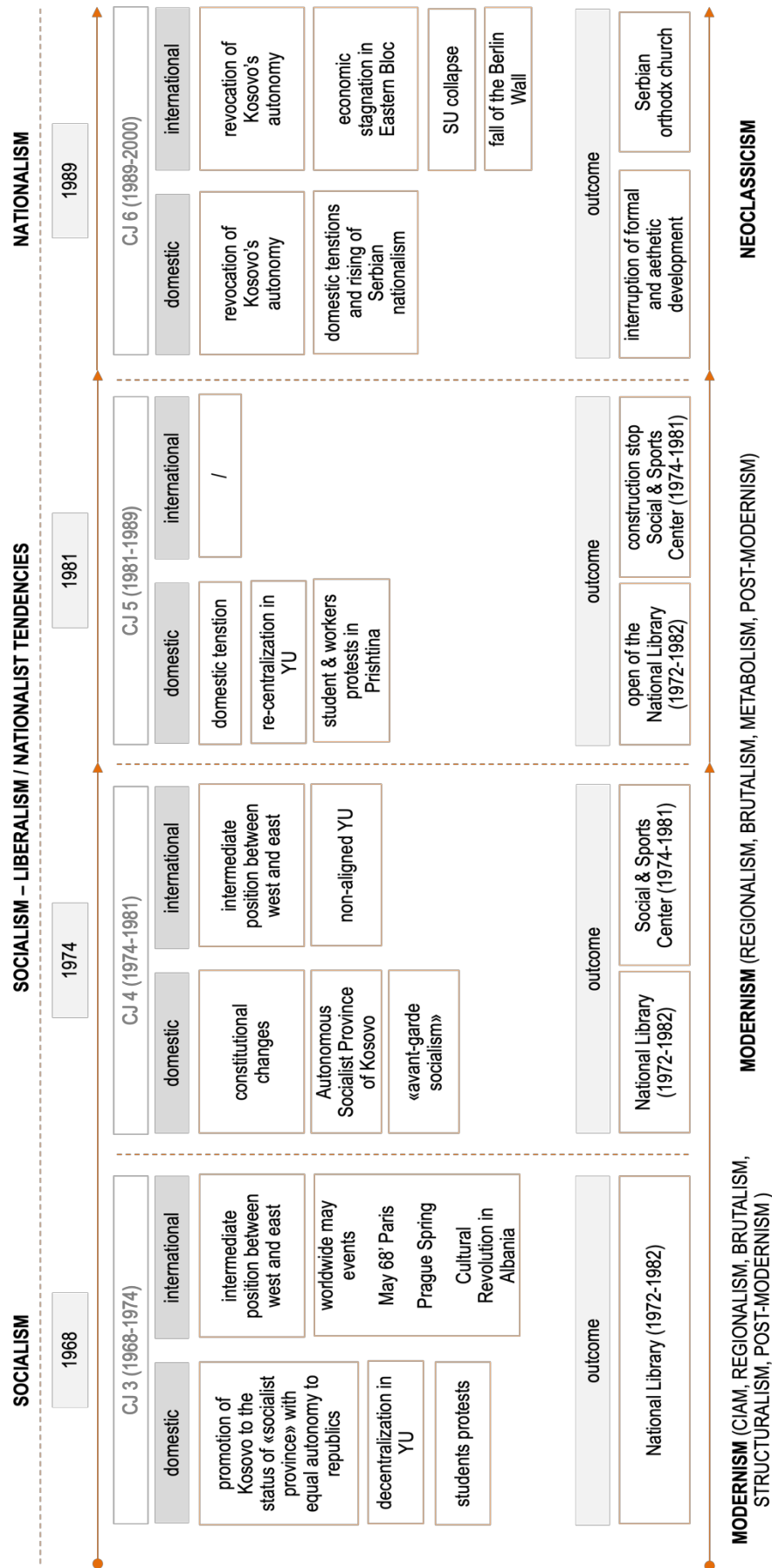
Fig. 6.27. *Diagram of ideological and political, domestic and international forces & Prishtina's architecture* (source: author)

Fig. 6.28. *Diagram of high and low domestic and international pressures* (source: author)

235
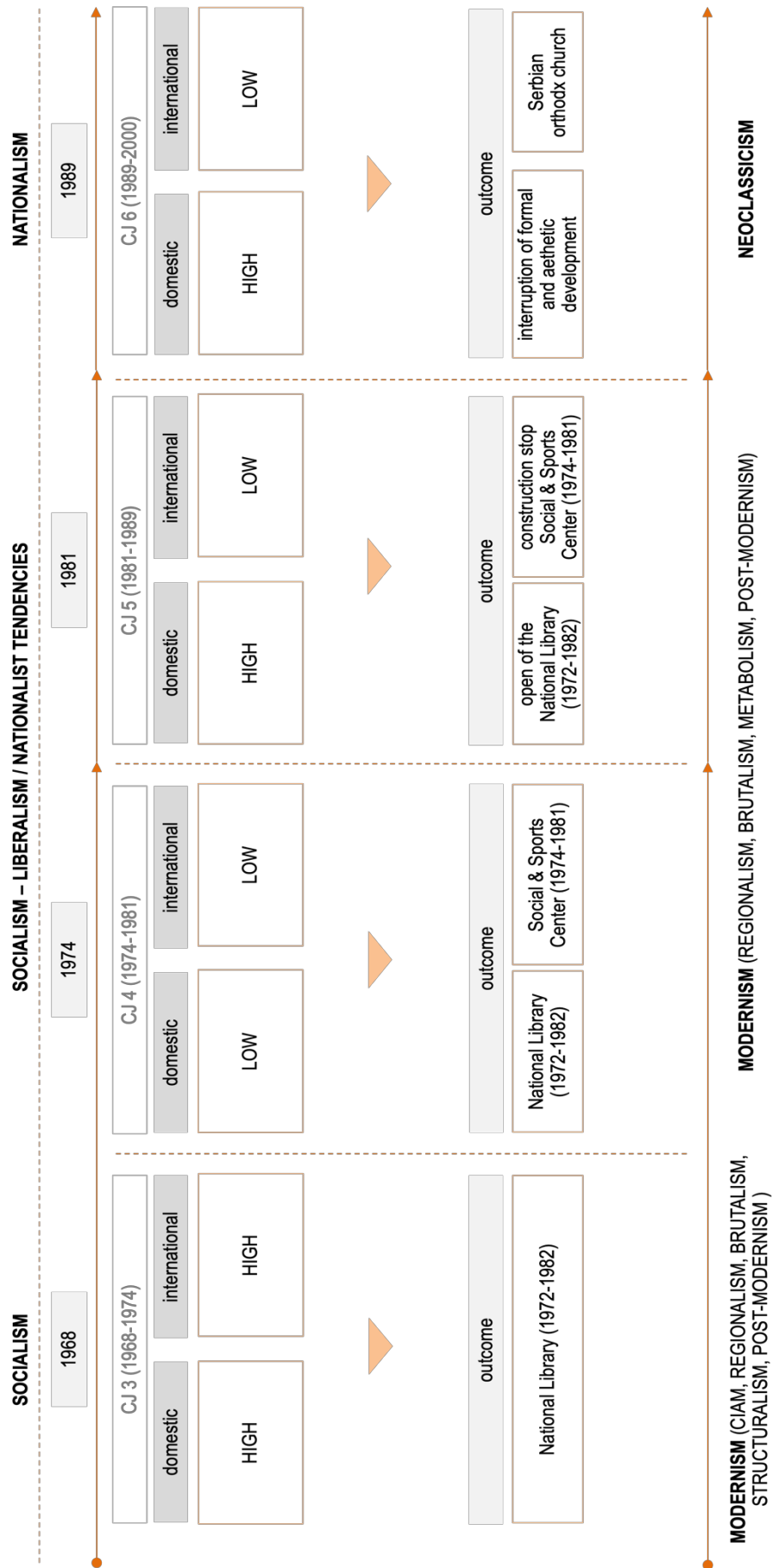
CHAPTER 7.
RESULTS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This last chapter brings together all the elements of the research, aiming to create a coherent reading and interrelation of the analyzed and interpreted theories, concepts, models and case-studies. It will present both the results and concluding remarks of the study, and possible recommendations for the application of the results in practical scenarios, or for further studies on the discipline and episteme of architecture. The chapter first presents an overview of the compatibility of each section by combining their results, in order to continue with specific conclusions on each relevant concept through which we understand the ideological and political operation of an architecture and urban setting.

From what we can understand so far, architecture is not an "isolated discipline" but is one of the "manifold manifestations" of the human activity. It is effectively capable of transmitting different ideological and political meanings, and can provoke various social and cultural responses. Within this context, architecture uses its formal and aesthetic modalities to frame the city space, its image and the human activity occurring there. Thus, architecture has always contributed as a signifier of the ideology of political power, embodying in itself the fundamental components of a political will. In this context, specific architectural styles or languages are used to express the premises on which the left or the right constructed their ideas regarding to the political as well as social, economic and general cultural development. Thus, architecture is a representation of the material existence of the society – the time, form and space of this existence – expressed essentially in a spatial dimension, by signifying historical events from the past, intervening into an existing condition and simultaneously structuring a vision for the future.

Dealing with past, present and future, with heritage, intervention and (re)creation, the discipline of architecture is in constant interplay with the concept of history. On one side, aspects of a building such as form, style/language and technology, which constitute the *material* in architecture, are exposed to changes and transformations imposed by the temporal and historical phenomena. On the other side, the city – expresses in this research as an architectural work – is the spatial, formal and aesthetical outcome of political, economic, social and cultural forces which have operated before or are currently in play. The implication of architecture with the historical discourse which imposes on it a set of normativities, influences and pressures, necessitates a re-reading of different architectures and urbanities from the lens of critical theory.

Reflecting on modern architectural works as political instruments, offers the possibility of dealing with some fundamental issues on the discipline of architecture itself, such as its emergence from ideology and the ability to resist it, the interplay with power forces, the import of international models and their adaption to local contexts. From the cases presented here, we are able to unfold multiple layers of twentieth century modernity, as well as dominant political discourses that are put in play in the processes of city planning and building production. As a result we have power forces such as fascism and socialism, emerging differently in different political contexts and producing specific architectures and urbanities, each conveying particular (either different or similar) modernist architectural languages occurring simultaneously. From the discussion presented here, we understand that architects are an integral part of the power structure, and the discipline of architecture is in constant interplay with the forces deriving from both domestic and international political discourses.

In fascist Italy, modern architecture was introduced within the frame of Italian Rationalism, oscillating between modernist European influences, abstract classicism and monumentalism, while in fascist Germany was completely rejected, and in the Soviet Union was the fundamental premise of constructing socialism and improving the conditions of the working class. In the post–World War II period, the Soviet Social Realism was in search of a national aesthetic model which was not influenced by foreign architectural theories and practices, but would rather compete with them. A similar development occurred in Albania, where the only stylistic exchanges with the outside world were those with the Soviet Union and China, during short periods of time. While in Socialist Yugoslavia, the architectural discourse was open to the international debate, importing models from both the East and West, while generating an original and individual modern style.

Through the case of Prishtina, we can first conclude that architectural ideology is expressed and developed through three plans: 1) Political-economic plans in architectural and urban development; 2) The episteme of architecture, presented by morphology, style and technology; 3) The operation of architecture as ideology and the "concealing" of this operation. Second, architecture and city planning are rendered a fields of contending or collaborating domestic and international ideological and political discourses. Third, changes in the intensity and pressures of such discourses, create new conditions for the urb-architectural form and language.

ON ARCHITECTURAL IDEOLOGY

If ideology is a system of representations that "regulates the relationship between the visible and non-visible, between imaginable and non-imaginable, as well as the changes in this relationship" (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.1); the architectural and urban practice (re)create the relationship between the physical environment – i.e. real world represented by the city space – and the world of ideas – i.e. imaginary world represented through utopia. This relation is expressed in and through the *Plan*.

As architecture is treated as an efficient ideological agent, it is particularly through the formal, aesthetic and technic modalities, that an architectural work conceals its ideological and political character. This practice of "concealing" has been interpreted as an "ideological practice" that positions (post-)modern architecture as an ideological state apparatus.

Architecture cannot be safe from ideology, rather it is a prey of ideology. But not all architectures resist and react equally to ideology or operate ideologically and the same way. In the case of Prishtina's urban plans and architectural works, this resistance is deciphered through the model of the definition of conflicting ideological and political discourses, and the *critical junctures*, as major events or developments with a particular time frame. Thus, within a *critical juncture*, the specific combinational of high and low domestic and international ideological and political instances, is influential in the changes within existing architectural and urban configurations or the production of new architectures and urbanities.

ON POLITICS

Critical junctures are essentially depended on the ideological and political conditions of their time. But this thesis concludes that more than simply being a product of political decisions, the architectures emerging in these junctures, are used as instruments to signify ideology and to *determine* future politics. Thus, we accept that architecture is not an autonomous and self-referential practice, but rather, it is conditioned by, and it also conditions an ideological and political reality. In this context, both the architectural and urban plan, are forms of representation (i.e. ideology), and organization and administration (i.e. politics). The understanding of this function of the plan should be central to the architectural, as well as the political discourse, in order to develop future scenarios for the city space.

The organizational differences in left or right regimes are completely visible in the architectural discourse financed by political actions throughout the history, particularly in the twentieth century, which is in focus of this research. While in some cases there is a heteronomic component, made possible by the openness and exchanges with the outside

world, the main characteristic of architecture in certain states was formal and propagandistic autonomy, generating a strong self-referential style, outside the main stylistic debates of the time. Examples of these modes of reflection of power, in particular moment of their history, are for instance the Soviet Union, Fascist Italy, Socialist Kosovo and Yugoslavia.

ON (POST-)MODERNITY

Modernity presents both a "formal temporal structure" and the "diverse range" of its historical instances – past and present, – whose reinterpretation and critical reading can stimulate possible future scenarios for urban spaces, or the understanding of specific developments related to them. It does not imply any distinction between past, present and future time, but has its foundations on the "temporal continuity of past, present and future", where different events are understood as consecutive and interrelated. Therefore, there is no one modern time, only a plurality of them.

This conclusion on *modernity* is compatible both to the periodization of modern architecture introduced by Manfredo Tafuri, and the definition of Postmodernism by Friedrich Jameson. According to Tafuri, modernism is a unitary development in which changes occur in terms of socialist and capitalist ideological and political systems, or in the function of an architecture or an urban setting. While for Jameson, the urb-architectural products of capitalism, emerging from the 1960s and onwards, are placed within what he defines as postmodernism. In this context, *modernity* takes the form of both modern and postmodern architecture and city planning, and has a multiple dimension related to different contexts and producing different types of urban-architectural products.

Based on the above conclusion, this thesis has adapted the notion of the "(post-)modern" to describe a condition defined by theories and principles of *modernity*, which at times oscillates between socialist and capitalist systems, signified by modernist and postmodernist discourses. The terms also refers to the cases in which we do not have a clear transition from one condition to the other, as it is Prishtina.

ON IDENTITY

Architectural identity is deciphered through three plans: formal, stylistic or linguistic and technological. This architectural identity produces a particular urban image. Urban images are something with which individuals identify themselves. They signify a historical or current ideological, political, economic and cultural condition with which the individual is

associated. They do not have an internal identity, but one constructed on the identity of the urban forms and architectures.

In the case of Prishtina, the plan of 1953 included only few areas within the city centre which underwent radical transformation and provided the general framework only for some new constructions distributed in fragments. The plan did not project a 'new' city, as it was the case with the extension of existing cities in Belgrade or Skopje, nor did it create a vision for the future, as the modernist architectural ideology indented. On the others side, dealing with concrete works of architecture, in particular with the National and University Library, Fehmiu's plan aims at the (re)creation of the city of Prishtina through landmark architecture, positioning architecture as a determiner of the destiny of the city. This approach was also followed in all construction activities in Prishtina, in which we distinguish a strong presence of landmark public architecture but a lack of an overall plan for the vision of the city as a whole.

ON FRAGMENTS

The lack of a vision to "project the future from the present", which according to Tafuri (1963/1967), has to be the main objective of "the plan", led to the recreation of the city through landmark architecture, differently put, the construction of landmarks without a city (i.e., without being part of an overall urbanization). The city in this case is constructed by a spatial concept made up of various episodes, determined by singularities and peculiarities of place, related to a particular object or spatial configuration. Being connected to each other in a formal continuity as urban patterns, these episodes determine the formation of the "image of the city" as a whole. They represent different phases of the modernist urbanization of the city of Prishtina, interrupted by the installment of the parallel system after the revocation of Kosovo's autonomy (1989) until the Kosovo War (1998-1999). This led to the creation of parallel urbanities within the city, determining a reorganization of the urban space.

The interruption of the city's modernization resulted in the unfinished modernist urbanization of Prishtina. The urban space, time, architecture and the state are manifested in fragments, which are developed between the influences of socialist, capitalist, or nationalist forces. At some times these fragments represent the great narratives of socialism and modernism, while at other times they abandon them in favor of a conception of the city as a simple collection of architectures (small narratives), and not a whole and coherent organism.

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER ACTIVITIES

By defining the *critical junctures* of Prishtina's modern history, the dominant domestic and international ideological and political pressures, and their urban and architectural outcome, this thesis has introduced a set of events as different time sequences, which represent a past connected to the present and the future, and unfold multiple layers of modernity in the city space. Thus, we are introducing a structure in which different stages of modernity and different ideologies are put in play in the unfinished process of the city's modernization.

First, the modern image of Prishtina is informed by the architectural works presented in this research, each conveying specific (at times, different) modernist architectural languages, occurring simultaneously and reflecting the multiplicity of modernity. Secondly, modernist architecture and urban spaces in Prishtina reflect the character of modernity as a temporal continuity of past, present and future, being an interrupted and incomplete process, and not a temporal endpoint. What was presented as novelty in the socialist city of Prishtina is today an unfinished vision for the future of the city.

The problem of "unfinished modernist urbanization" remains the greatest challenge for the city of Prishtina, which can be regarded as a specific case to comprehend and interpret. The modernity and the form are unfinished. The space is informed by filling the fragments without integrating them. What follows in the aftermath of socialism, – with the installment of democracy and capitalism, and replacement of modernism with postmodernism, – is an overlapping of fragments, with the same methodology. Due to this fragmentation and unfinished modernization, the city is impossible to be planned as a continuous and unitary whole.

The urban fragments – landmark buildings and urban settings – in this case can be used as a tool to regenerate the city, by promoting diversity and multiplicity, and stimulating the development of the surroundings. This is compatible to Also Rossi's suggestion regarding the "image of the city" (1984), according to which the city is made up of fragments with a principle of individuality, which evolve in time and can be brought back to autonomous facts, to evoke a past we can still experience. To this extent, it would be important to develop a multidimensional relationship between the city and the architectural works. Using the multi-scale concept in Prishtina allows for the discovery of a new sustainable design approach concerning the relation between the architectural work and the urban/spatial plan, within the framework of *modernity* as a whole and continuous historical process.

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LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Fig.2.8. Frank Gehry, *Guggenheim Museum and its urban setting (left) and the urban setting before 1997 (right),* Bilbao, Spain, 1997 (source: https://www.guggenheim-bilbao.eus/en/the-building).

Fig.2.9. Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo*, Prishtina, Kosovo, 1971-1982 (source: ©Samir Karahoda).

Fig.2.10. Mies van der Rohe, *German Pavilion*, Barcelona, 1929 (source: https://miesbcn.com/the-pavilion/).

Fig.2.11. Mies van der Rohe, *German Pavilion*, *Ground Floor,* Barcelona, 1929 (source: https://miesbcn.com/the-pavilion/).

Fig.2.12. a) Haussmann, *Urban Plan of Paris*, 1853-1870 (source: https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/mar/31/story-cities-12-paris-baron-haussmann-france-urban-planner-napoleon); b) North Macedonian Government, *Skopje 2014 Plan*, 2014-ongoing (source: https://www.archdaily.com/802489/skpoje-2014-is-a-controversialproject-aimed-at-remodeling-the-european-city).

Fig.2.13. Joseph Poelaert, *Palace of Justice*, Brussels, 1883 (source: https://heritagedays.urban.brussels/en/programme/brussels/palace-of-justice/).

Fig. 2.14. *Paris City Center*, Paris (source: https://www.theguardian.com/world)

Fig.2.15. Kenzo Tange, *Government Building*, Tokyo, 1988 (source: https://www.gettyimages.com/photos/tokyo-metropolitan-government-building).

Fig.2.16. Charles Barry and Augustus Pugin, *Westminster Palace*, London, 1060/1870 (source: https://www.gettyimages.com/photos/uk-parliament-building).

Fig.2.17. a) Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Stephen T. Ayers, et al., *United States Capitol*, Washington D.C, 1793-1800 (source: https://washington.org/DC-faqs-for-visitors/how-can-i-tour-capitol-how-can-i-see-congress-session); b) Andrey Voronikhin, *Kazan Cathedral*, Saint Petersburg, Russia, 1811(source: https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2018/06/01/a-short-history-of-st-petersburg-a61807).

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Fig.2.19. Gottfried Semper, et al., *Ringstrasse*, Vienna, 1865 (source: https://www.wien.info/en/sightseeing/ringstrasse).

Fig.2.20. a) Ernesto B. L. Padula, Giovanni Guerrini and Mario Romano, *Palace of the Italian Civilization,* EUR, Roma, 1943 (source: https://www.walksinrome.com/eur-rome.html); b) Raffaello Maestrelli, *Palazzo Littorio,* Rome, 1937-1939

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Fig.2.23. Iktinos and Kallikrates, *Parthenon, Ground Plan*, Acropolis, Athens, Greece, 447-438 BCE. (source: author).

Fig.2.24. Iktinos and Kallikrates, *Parthenon, Perspective drawing*, Acropolis, Athens, Greece, 447-438 B.C.E. (source: author).

Fig.2.25. William Thornton, *The US Capitol*, 1800, Washington D.C, US. (source: https://fineartamerica.com/art/drawings/us+capitol+building).

Fig.2.26. James Hoban, *The White House*, 1800, Washington D.C, US. (source: https://www.whitehousehistory.org/architecture-1790s-1840s).

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Fig.3.5. Le Corbusier, *Plan for Buenos Aires*, 1937 (source:

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Fig.3.14. *Berlin Wall in 1989,* Berlin, 1961 (source:

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Fig.3.18. Gani Strazimiri, *Plan of Tirana's City Center*, 1953, Tirana, Albania (source: Albanian Central Archive).

Fig.3.19. *Skanderbeg Square in Tirana and Socialist Landmarks*, Tirana, 1960s (source: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316313873_Place_Attachment_in_a_Tirana_Nei ghborhood_The_Influence_of_the_Rebirth_of_the_City_Project/figures?lo=1).

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Fig.3.21. *Nowa Huta*, Kraków, Poland, 1950s (source: https://culture.pl/en/article/nowa-huta-the-story-of-the-ideal-socialist-realist-city).

Fig.3.22. Residential Blocks in New Belgrade, 1960s (source: https://videohive.net/item /belgrade-aerial-brutalist-architecture/23453287).

Fig.3.23. Vladimir Potocnjak, Anton Urlih and Zlatko Nojman, Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia, 1947-1959 (source: https://architectuul.com/architecture/palace-of-serbia).

Fig.3.24. Lúcio Costa, *Plan Piloto for Capital Brasilia*, Brazil, 1957 (source: https://arquiscopio.com/archivo/2012/07/21/plan-piloto-de-brasilia/?lang=en).

Fig.3.25. Oscar Niemeyer and Lúcio Costa, *View of Capital Brasilia*, 1960s (source: https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/28_1/brasilia.htm).

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Fig. 3.27. Frank Gehry, *Family House Project, 3D Model,* Santa Monica, California, 1977-1978 (source: https://www.moma.org/collection/works/1020).

Fig. 3.28. Frank Gehry, *Family House Project, View from entrance*, Santa Monica, California, 1977-1978 (source: https://www.archdaily.com/67321/gehry-residence-frank-gehry).

Fig.4.1. *Critical Junctures within the combination of dominant ideologies and politics, and architectural languages* (source: author).

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Fig.5.4. Ljiljana Babić, *Conceptual Urban Solution for the new center of Prishtina*, Prishtina, 1967 (source: Arhitektura i urbanizam (63), 1970, pp. 26-27).

Fig.5.6. *Old Photographs of Prishtina city center showing the destroyed structures during the mid-1940s and mid-1950s* (source: Jerliu and Navakazi, 2018, p. 64).

Fig.5.7. *Modernist housing typology inside traditional quarters*, Prishtina, mid-1950s (source: Jerliu & Navakazi, 2018, p. 64).

Fig.5.5. Dragutin Partonić, *General Urban Plan of Prishtina*, 1953 (Source: Prishtina City Archive, Fund SO-KK, Box 1/1-21, No.587-589).

Fig.5.8. *Modernist buildings along former Marshal Tito Boulevard*, Prishtina, 1950s (source, Sadiki, 2020).

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Fig.5.10. Miodrag Žarković, *Brotherhood and Unity Monument*, Prishtina, 1959 (source: https://archipelagopr.com/2-the-islands-title-post-lorem-ipsm/).

Fig.5.11. Juraj Neidhardt, Regional People's Committee Building, Prishtina, 1960 (source: https://archipelagopr.com/2-the-islands-title-post-lorem-ipsm/).

Fig.5.22. Spasoje Kruniq, *plan of the Orthodox Church in Prishtina, relation to the Library and current view of the building*, Prishtina, 1990s (source: left – Koha Ditore Daily Journal; right – https://architectuul.com/ architecture/the-political-church).

Fig.5.13. *View of the University Center including the National Library, the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Faculty of Education*, Prishtina, 2019 (source: https://www.artforum.com/news/manifesta-14-chooses-pristina-capital-of-kosovo-as-next-host-city-79726).

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Fig.5.18. *Diagram of ideological and political, domestic and international forces & Prishtina's urban planning* (source: author).

Fig.5.19. *Diagram of high and low domestic and international pressures* (source: author).

Fig.6.1. Frank Lloyd Wright, Hanna House, Ground Floor, Stanford, California, 1937 (source:

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Fig.6.5. Richard Rogers, Renzo Piano, Gianfranco Franchini, *Centre Pompidou*, Paris, 1971-1977 (source: https://www.surfacemag.com/articles/centre-pompidou-renovation/).

Fig.6.6. Georgi Konstantinovski, *Rilindja Publishing House*, Prishtina, 1972-1978 (source: https://architectuul.com/architecture/priting-house-rilindja).

Fig.6.7. Zoran Zekić, *Former Ljubljanska Bank*, Prishtina, 1984 (source: https://www.e-flux.com/announcements/31379/at-your-service-art-and-labour-at-the-technical-museum-in-zagreb/).

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Fig.6.9. *Map of the location of the University of Prishtina Centre, with the Library at its centre,* 2021 (source: google maps, retouched by the author).

Fig.6.10. Andrija Mutnjaković, *Project Proposal for the Library in Sarajevo*, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1970s (source: Mutnjaković, 1987, p. 37).

Fig.6.11. Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo, Structure*, Prishtina, 1971-1982 (source: author).

Fig.6.12. Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo, Ground Floor*, Prishtina, 1971-1982 (source: author).

Fig.6.12. Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo, First Floor*, Prishtina, 1971-1982 (source: author).

Fig.6.14. Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo, Facade*, Prishtina, 1971-1982 (source: www.socialistmodernism.com).

Fig.6.15. Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo, Dome Structure,* Prishtina, 1971-1982 (source: www.socialistmodernism.com).

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Fig.6.17. Andrija Mutnjaković, *The National and University Library of Kosovo during construction*, Prishtina, 1971-1982 (source: Facebook community page "Prishtina e Vjetër")

Fig.6.18. Moshe Safdie, *Habitat 67*, Canadian Pavilion, 1967 World Exposition, 1967 (source: https://www.archdaily.com/404803/ad-classics-habitat-67-moshe-safdie).

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Fig.6.21. Živorad Jankovic, Halid Muhasilovic and Srecko Espak, *Social and Sports Center "Boro and Ramiz",* Prishtina, 1977 (source: http://hiddenarchitecture.net/sport-and-recreation-centre-boro-and/).

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