



**Renata de Figueiredo Summa**

**Enacting everyday boundaries in  
post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina:  
disconnection, re- appropriation and  
displacement(s)**

**Tese de Doutorado**

Thesis presented to the Programa de Pós-graduação em Relações Internacionais of PUC-Rio in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doutor em Relações Internacionais.

Advisor: Prof. João Franklin Abelardo Pontes Nogueira

Rio de Janeiro  
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## Renata de Figueiredo Summa

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To my grandfather, Luiz  
(in memoriam)

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## Abstract

Summa, Renata de Figueiredo; Nogueira, João Franklin Abelardo Pontes (Advisor). **Enacting everyday boundaries in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina: disconnection, re-appropriation and displacement(s).** Rio de Janeiro, 2016. 267p. Tese de Doutorado – Departamento de Relações Internacionais, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro.

This work looks at everyday places in order to understand how boundaries are enacted and re-employed, shifted and displaced in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. Post-Dayton boundaries correspond to practices of demarcation that may or may not entail geographic delimitations and that have been reorganized by the Dayton Peace Agreement in ways that have assured them a more prominent role in sociopolitical life in BiH. While engaging in an effort to conceptualize borders and boundaries, this thesis argues that boundaries are dependent on practices, which confers upon them a precarious status and indicates that they might be changed. Boundaries may thus be re-employed (in the sense of diverting its original meaning and employing a different one); shifted and displaced, but also much more, as it will be exposed here: crossed, minimized, subverted, dismissed, disdained, but also reinforced, reaffirmed and celebrated. It is thus looking at the everyday that this work makes sense of those boundaries, knowing, however, that they are permeated with contradictions and may be enacted in different ways by different people. The everyday, which usually receives our ‘daily inattention’, will be considered here a relevant analytical category through which undertake this research. Indeed, the everyday cannot be reduced to the unimportant or the banal, as mere residual or the remnants of the political. Rather, it is profoundly related to all activities, and encompasses them with all their differences and their conflicts; it is their meeting place, their bond, their common ground” (Lefebvre, 1991: 97), and it thus provides for connection and mediation between categories often presented as dichotomies such as public and private, the exceptional and the routine (Lefebvre, 2008: 16). It is in and through the everyday that those tensions are played, the disputes are fought and appropriations and even transformation take place. The research was undertaken in Sarajevo and Mostar,

two of the main cities in BiH. More specifically, this research looks at ‘everyday places’ within these cities, such as schools, streets, squares, cafés, coach station and shopping malls, which might be enacted as the very (ethnonational, local/international) boundaries or the arena in which those boundaries are diverted and displaced. This thesis, therefore, provides for an alternative account to more official narratives about ethnonational divisions, as well as questions clear-cut distinctions between the local and the international in post-Dayton BiH.

## **Keywords**

Bosnia-Herzegovina; everyday; boundary; post-war; place; Dayton.



## Resumo

Summa, Renata de Figueiredo; Nogueira, João Franklin Abelardo Pontes. **Práticas cotidianas de demarcação na Bósnia-Herzegovina do pós-Dayton: desconexões, re-apropriação e deslocamento(s).** Rio de Janeiro, 2016. 267p. Tese de Doutorado – Departamento de Relações Internacionais, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro.

Este trabalho examina ‘lugares cotidianos’ para entender como demarcações são efetuadas, empregadas, alteradas e deslocadas na Bósnia-Herzegovina do pós-Dayton. Analisaremos aqui práticas de demarcação que podem ou não envolver delimitações geográficas e que foram reorganizadas pelo Acordo de Paz de Dayton de formas a lhes assegurarem um papel mais proeminente na vida sociopolítica da Bósnia e Herzegovina. Ao promover um esforço para conceituar fronteiras e demarcações, esta tese argumenta que estas são dependentes de práticas, o que lhes confere um status precário e indica que podem ser alteradas. Assim, elas podem ser reempregadas (no sentido de se desviar de um significado e receber um significado diferente); alteradas e deslocadas, mas também muito mais, como será exposto aqui: minimizadas, subvertidas, desdenhadas, mas também reforçadas, reafirmadas e celebradas. É, portanto, olhando para o cotidiano que este trabalho busca entender o(s) sentido(s) atribuído(s) a essas demarcações, sabendo, no entanto, que elas são permeadas de contradições e podem ser empregadas de maneiras diferentes por pessoas diferentes. O cotidiano, que geralmente recebe nossa “desatenção diária”, será considerado aqui uma categoria analítica relevante através da qual realizaremos essa pesquisa. Na verdade, o cotidiano não pode ser reduzido a práticas sem importância ou ao banal, como o mero resíduo do político. O cotidiano está, na verdade, profundamente relacionado com todas as atividades, e as engloba com todas as suas diferenças e conflito (Lefebvre, 1991:97) e, portanto, possibilita conexões e mediações entre categorias frequentemente apresentadas como dicotomias, como o público e o privado, o excepcional e a rotina (Lefebvre, 2008:16). É, portanto, no e através do cotidiano que essas tensões são negociadas,

as disputas têm lugar e apropriações e até transformações são realizadas. Esta pesquisa foi realizada em Sarajevo e Mostar, duas das principais cidades da Bósnia-Herzegovina. Mais especificamente, esta pesquisa analisa “lugares cotidianos” dentro dessas cidades, como escolas, ruas, praças, cafés, estações de ônibus e shoppings, que muitas vezes atuam como a própria materialização dessas demarcações (etnonacionais, entre o local/internacionais) ou a arena na qual essas demarcações são reconfiguradas e deslocadas. Esta tese, portanto, proporciona um relato alternativo em relação a narrativas mais oficiais sobre divisões etnonacionais, bem como questiona as categorias ‘local’ e ‘internacional’ na Bósnia do pós-Dayton.

## **Palavras-chave**

Bósnia-Herzegovina; cotidiano; demarcação; pós-guerra; lugar; Dayton.

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## Abbreviations

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| <b>ARBiH</b> | Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina   |
| <b>BBI</b>   | Bosnia Bank International  |
| <b>BiH</b>   | Bosnia and Herzegovina   |
| <b>BSC</b>   | Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian language  |
| <b>DPA</b>   | Dayton Peace Accords   |
| <b>EU</b>    | European Union   |
| <b>EUFOR</b> | European Union Forces  |
| <b>FBiH</b>  | Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina   |
| <b>GFA</b>   | General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (also known as Dayton Peace Accords) |
| <b>HDZ</b>   | Hrvatska demokratska zajednica - Croat Democratic Union  |
| <b>HR</b>    | High Representative  |
| <b>HVO</b>   | Hrvatsko vijeće obrane - Croat Defense Council   |
| <b>ICTY</b>  | International Criminal Tribunal for the Former   |
| <b>IDP</b>   | Internal displaced person  |
| <b>IEBL</b>  | Inter-Entity Boundary Line   |
| <b>IFOR</b>  | Implementation Force   |
| <b>IMF</b>   | International Monetary Fund  |
| <b>JNA</b>   | (Jugoslavenska narodna armija) Yugoslav People's Army of the former Yugoslavia                       |
| <b>KM</b>    | Konvertibilna Marka – Convertible Marks  |
| <b>KS</b>    | Kanton Sarajevo – Canton Sarajevo  |
| <b>NATO</b>  | North Atlantic Treaty Organization   |

|                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| <b>NGO</b>      | Non-Governmental Organization  |
| <b>OHR</b>      | Office of High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina                             |
| <b>OSCE</b>     | Organization for Security and Co-ordination in Europe                                |
| <b>PIC</b>      | Peace Implementation Council, an international body guiding and legitimizing the OHR |
| <b>RS</b>       | Republika Srpska   |
| <b>SCC</b>      | Sarajevo City Center   |
| <b>SFOR</b>     | Stabilization Force  |
| <b>SFRY</b>     | Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia   |
| <b>UN</b>       | United Nations   |
| <b>UNESCO</b>   | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations                    |
| <b>UNHCR</b>    | United Nations High Commission for Refugees  |
| <b>UNPD</b>     | United Nations Procurement Division  |
| <b>UNPROFOR</b> | United Nations Protection Force  |
| <b>USAID</b>    | United States Agency for International Development                                   |
| <b>VRS</b>      | Vojska Republike Srpske - Army of Republika Srpska                                   |

## 1 Introduction

“The tragedy of Dayton was that we created a state that was defined in terms of the people who created the war; and they defined the war ethnically; and they defined the state ethnically. And that, I don’t think, was the primary appellation ordinary Bosnians would use” (James O’Brien, (one of the Americans responsible to formulate the Dayton Accord), apud Toal and Dahlman, 2011: 164)

In 1989, while the Berlin wall was being demolished, a famous humorist group from Sarajevo imagined the end of Yugoslavia and the division of the city in two. In the episode ‘*Podjela Sarajeva - Sarajevski Zid*’<sup>1</sup> (Divided Sarajevo - Sarajevo wall), a wall has been built in the middle of Sarajevo, dividing it into *Zapadno Sarajevo* (West Sarajevo) and *Istočno Sarajevo* (East Sarajevo), as it had been the case in Berlin. Although it was recorded and broadcasted in 1989, the episode suggested that the action was taking place in 11 November 1995 – a date when, indeed, representatives of the warring parties from Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) would sit at the negotiation table in Dayton, Ohio (USA), along with leaders from the United States, France, Germany, United Kingdom, Russia, Croatia and the Yugoslavia (now Serbia), to discuss precisely, among other topics, the division of Sarajevo.

Two of the main issues to be agreed by the parties during those 21 days of fierce negotiations, was ‘the new Bosnian map’ and the future of around half of BiH’s population at that time (4,4 million people), who were driven from their homes<sup>2</sup>, many through practices that have been denominated ‘ethnic cleansing’.

---

<sup>1</sup> This episode from *Top Lista Nadrealista* can be found on YouTube under the name: Podjela Sarajeva (Sarajevski Zid). Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nt9cMJAAwPA&list=RDnt9cMJAAwPA#t=3> (Last accessed on 26 November 2016)

<sup>2</sup> By 1995, after almost four years of war, it is estimated that 1,1 million were internally displaced persons and 1,259,000 had fled the country and became refugees in nearby European states or even in other continents (Bringa, 2002)

What emerged from these negotiations – the Dayton Peace Agreement - was an ambivalent response.

On the one hand, the ethnic cleansing campaigns<sup>3</sup> were sanctioned, when an internal Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL) was agreed upon, dividing BiH into two entities and “confirming a *de facto* ethnoterritorialization of what was once simply Bosnian shared space by all” (Toal and Dahlman, 2011:6). The division of BiH in two political entities - the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to be divided in ten cantons between Bosniaks<sup>4</sup> and Croats, and the Republika Srpska for the Serbs<sup>5</sup> - was based on the territories conquered during the war by each group at the moment

---

<sup>3</sup> “Ethnic cleansing” is a term that was forged in the Bosnian war (Bringa, 2002; Toal Dahlman, 2011). It has been defined by the UN as “a purposeful policy designed by one ethnic or religious group to remove by violent and terror-inspiring means the civilian population of another ethnic or religious group from certain geographic areas” (Commission of Experts Established Pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolution 780). A UN Report from the United Nations Commission of Experts, in 1994, states that “ethnic cleansing has involved means such as the mass killing of civilians, sexual assaults, the bombardments of cities, the destruction of mosques and churches, the confiscation of propriety and similar measures to eliminate or dramatically reduce” the presence of other groups in a certain territory. According to the report, “ethnic cleansing by the Serbs has been systematic and apparently well-planned”. While acknowledging that Croat forces, too, have engaged in ethnic cleansing practices, the UN Final Report of the United Nations Commission of Experts states that Muslims have not engage on such practices: “Croatian forces in the Republic of Croatia and BiH have engaged in «ethnic cleansing» practices against Serbs and Muslims. Croats, for example, have conducted «ethnic cleansing» campaigns against Serbs in eastern and western Slavonia and in parts of the Krajina region, as well as against Muslims in the Mostar area. The UN concluded that, while Bosnian Muslim forces have engaged in practices that constitute «grave breaches» of the Geneva Conventions and other violations of international humanitarian law, they have not engaged in «ethnic cleansing operations”. Available at: [www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/comexpert/anx/IV.htm](http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/comexpert/anx/IV.htm) “Ethnic cleansing”, however, is not a juridical category, and the crimes committed under this label have been judged either as “Crimes against Humanity” or “Genocide” by the International Criminal Court for the Ex-Yugoslavia.

<sup>4</sup> “Bosniaks” and “Bosnian” are terms that refer to two distinct categories. While the former refers to the group which identifies itself (and/or are identified by others) as ‘Muslims’, here comprise people who are not religious, the latter refers to all people who have the citizenship of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

<sup>5</sup> Those three are the major ethnonational groups that compose Bosnia and Herzegovina. Differently from the other federations that integrated Yugoslavia, BiH was formally constituted not by one, but by three so-called ‘constituent people’ (Bosniaks, Serbians and Croatians), since none of the three was truly majoritarian.



when the DPA was signed. Negotiations in Dayton thus operated “on the assumption that (...) war could be ended by a cartographic fix” (Ibidem, 149). The drawing of the IEBL and, consequently, the institutionalization of this ethnoterritorial logic, created several difficulties for those who suddenly found themselves living “on the other side” – and were called ‘minorities’. The Dayton Peace Agreement reduced spaces and places to matters of ethnonational ownership (Campbell, 1998: 115), and was followed, in the first months after its signature, by a renewed practices of ‘unmixing’ of Bosnia and Herzegovina, this time led by ‘minorities’ moving towards their ‘proper’ entity. On the other hand, the DPA states that “the early return of refugees and displaced persons is an *important objective of the settlement of the conflict*” and that “all refugees and displaced persons (...) to freely return to their homes of origin” (General Framework Agreement<sup>6</sup>, 1995, Annex 7).

Dayton, thus, provides a “schizophrenic” normative framework: while it foresees the re-mixing of Bosnian population, it also reinforces and legitimizes the driven to homogenization of spaces produced during the war. That ambivalence was for a longtime reflected on the policies of return of refugees and internally displaced persons. While the United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) have mobilized, from 1996, efforts to assure the returns, returnees were, especially in the first years, often met with animosity and even violence by certain groups, especially in Republika Srpska, that wanted to maintain the recently achieved status quo. Sparks of violence led NATO’s Implementation Force (IFOR) – responsible to secure the DPA’s Military Annex – to declare a halt to returns by establishing checkpoints in the IEBL and, thus, “giving it materiality (...) guarding Republika Srpska from ‘incursions’ and putting Annex 7 on hold for the first years after Dayton (Toal and Dahlman, 2011: 170).

Homogenization was, however, never achieved, and, as I will argue through this work, it can never be achieved. Through the years, the returning process was

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<sup>6</sup> The General Framework Agreement is the name of the document signed during the Dayton Peace Accords, and that is still in force today, working as the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

resumed, although it is difficult to precise the extent it has reached<sup>7</sup>. For those who would find themselves as a ‘minority’ in the villages or cities where they were born or spent a part of their life, there were few incentives to ‘go back’ (Brubaker, 2013; Halilovich, 2013). Due to displacements and disruptions on the social fabric, many found themselves lacking on familiar bonds and connections, which are not only important for social life, but also in order to find a job, for example<sup>8</sup>. Moreover, just as the Bosnian map has been reduced to matters of ethnonational ownership, many aspects of life were also ‘remade’. The DPA has taken ethnonationality as the primary category around which to organize political life in BiH and many services on the everyday life have been reorganized accordingly, such as the health and schooling system, universities and the media. That has represented a shift for Bosnians, who were used to categories such as religion and ethnonational affiliations to be considered a personal matter and mainly relegated to domestic life. For the generations that grew up in Yugoslavia after the Second World War, “being Bosnian was growing up in a multicultural and multireligious environment, an environment where cultural pluralism was seen as intrinsic to the social order” (Bringa, 1993:87). There were differences on how this multiculturalism and multireligious was organized and lived, according to regions and, also, from one village to another. This distinction, however, was sharpened in what concerned rural and urban areas. In rural BiH, Bringa (2002) suggests, kinship was the primary bond of loyalty. Because interethnic marriages are rare in rural areas even before the war, “kinship overlaps with ethnicity”, although it is ‘kinship and not ethnicity that held the primary emotional appeal and is the mobilizing factor’. In the cities, especially among ‘mixed families’<sup>9</sup> and those who considered themselves

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<sup>7</sup> One way this is measured is by identifying how many houses and apartments were reclaimed by refugees and displaced persons. However, many only reclaimed them in order to sell, exchange or rent those apartments.

<sup>8</sup> On the role of “connections” in Bosnia and Herzegovina, please refer to Jansen (2015) chapter 6.

<sup>9</sup> I use ‘mixed families’ and ‘mixed marriage’ with a quotation mark because this is also a contested categorization, often employed in a derogatory way. Especially during the war, but also after it, many ‘mixed families’ experienced situations of mistrust from their neighbors, becoming in some *millieus* an unacceptable social category, with children from such marriages considered particularly unacceptable by nationalist groups.

communists or Yugoslavs, ethnonational categories would barely make sense<sup>10</sup> and people would live intermingled, dwelling in the same buildings, attending the same schools etc.

There is something very personal and intimate about the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and part of it relies on what it takes to ‘unmix’ people who live together. Employing a strong image here, we could say that war in BiH called its victims by something as personal as their names, in the sense that, most of the time, someone’s name is the only way to distinguish between Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks<sup>11</sup>. A myriad of accounts describe how people would recognize neighbors, colleagues or ancient teachers – familiar faces – among their tormentors. Thus, during and after the war, many marriages, friendships and neighboring ties were reconfigured (Maček, 2009) and the enactment of boundaries in Bosnia and Herzegovina became strongly related to spheres of life understood as private or personal.

Another episode from *Top Lista Nadrealista* deals with this question. In 1991, the group produced a sketch that would become symbolic in the years to come, named ‘*Rat u familiji Popuslic*’<sup>12</sup> (War in Popuslic’s family). In the video, a building in the city of Sarajevo is on fire, and there is a ‘war’ going on in one of its apartments. A couple is about to divorce due to their ‘differences’. The woman, standing behind the trenches and holding a rifle, says she has conquered “the kitchen, the big room and a smaller room”. She then yells to her future ex-husband, who is behind the trenches from the other side of the apartment, that she has “historical rights, historical rights” on those “territories”. As in the metaphor of the divided apartment, ‘everyday places’ have become more visibly politicized and contested.

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<sup>10</sup> Many of my interlocutors and friends have described how they have only ‘found out’ to be (Serbian, Bosniak or Croat) during the war.

<sup>11</sup> In many cases, however, names are more neutral and ambiguous, making hard to automatically place someone in one of these three groups.

<sup>12</sup> Top Lista Nadrealista, Episode “*Rat u familiji Popuslic*”, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0-EvhjGG29I> (last accessed on 26 November 2016)

However, it is also in the everyday life that we find cracks in this segregation and homogenization logic. Toal and Dahlman (2011), in their monumental effort to provide a portrait of this process of ‘ethnicization of spaces’ in BiH, suggests, in their conclusion, that:

“Ethnic cleansing (...) has been the most powerful force in the remaking of Bosnia over the last two decades. Contemporary Bosnia has an ethnonterritorial structure it previously never had. Formerly entwined human geographies have largely been uprooted and destroyed. Ethnically mixed communities with strong neighborhood identities have been transformed into far more homogeneous communities characterized by divisions among locals, displaced settlers, and returnees. What was previously a marginal spatial form on the palimpsest of Bosnia-Herzegovina – so-called ethnic enclaves – has become the dominant pattern. *Examine the details, however, and traces of a more complex human geography are visible*” (p. 307, my emphasis).

Here, I decided not only to ‘examine the details’, but to look elsewhere, in order to understand how boundaries – which will be treated here as a process and dependent on practices – are not only produced and reproduced, but, especially, subverted and destabilized. I turn to the everyday as an onto-epistemo-methodological choice, by claiming that the lived space of the everyday is full of contradictions, and those contradictions are precisely where we must look at in order to capture alternative practices that provide for a different narrative of post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. As Gupta and Fergsun (1992) suggest, “important tensions may arise when places that have been imagined at a distance must become lived spaces” (p.11). Thus, one of the questions of this work might have been: What people ‘make-do’ of Dayton and its boundaries in their everyday lives? Such question, however, gives a false impression that those realms are detached from each other, and that dwelling and imagining are in opposition to each other.

The main concern that will guide this thesis is, therefore, to understand how post-Dayton boundaries are enacted and re-employed, shifted and displaced in the everyday of Sarajevo and Mostar. Each of these words has a crucial role on this work, and will be explained in what follows.

The **post-Dayton** period will be privileged here, although I will have to recur many times to the ‘pre-Dayton period’. I also acknowledge other forms of

periodization that are widely employed in BiH, such as ‘before’ and ‘after’ the war. Insisting in employing ‘post-Dayton’ to refer to this period is a way of pointing that I am more concerned with the ‘solutions’ that were designed to address what came to be conceived as the problems of BiH, rather than focusing on the causes and trying to provide a solution to the problems myself. Moreover, ‘Dayton’ has a meaning in BiH that goes much beyond the peace treaty. The term ‘Dayton’ is often employed to designate a particular spatiotemporal location, one that is marked by a dysfunctional or abnormal system or yet, the lack of a system, and which is perceived to be ‘not going anywhere’ (Jansen, 2015: 123). In terms of years, this thesis thus mainly encompasses the period ranging from 1995/6 to 2016. During this work, I will make clear that this period is not a homogeneous block, and that many practices have been changing through this period.

**Boundaries** are related to the practices of demarcation and will not be limited here to its geographical aspects or spatial features. Post-Dayton boundaries will thus correspond to sets of boundaries that may or may not entail geographic delimitations and that have been reorganized by the DPA in ways that have assured them a more prominent role in sociopolitical life in BiH. The term **enacted**, in its turn, denaturalize the concept of boundaries, highlighting that boundaries are dependent on practices and conferring upon them a precarious status and points to possibilities of change. Boundaries may thus be **re-employed** (in the sense of diverting its original meaning and employing a different one); **shifted and displaced**, but also much more, as it will be shown on here: they may be crossed, minimized, subverted, dismissed, disdained, but also reinforced, reaffirmed and celebrated.

It is thus looking at the **everyday** that I make sense of those boundaries, knowing, however, that they are permeated with contradictions and may be enacted in different ways by different people. I have made my research in **Sarajevo** and **Mostar**, two of the main cities in BiH, making a clear choice to study urban environments. My choice of opting for cities relies on the notion that they “pose the general question of our living together, in a manner more intense than many other kinds of places” (Massey, 2005:167). My intention here is not to compare both cities, but to delve into ‘**everyday places**’ within those two cities in order to search

for the patterns I have highlighted – and to provide for (attempts) of answers to the questions outlined.

These efforts are organized as following. **Chapter One**, entitled “Enacting Boundaries”, launches an effort to conceptualizing boundaries, demarcating it from the concept of borders. The chapter discusses the main recent contributions on the discipline of International Relations in borders and boundaries study. After discussing the concept of boundaries in light of post-Dayton BiH, the chapter proposes to focus on boundary enactments, while explaining the consequences of this approach for the broader analysis with which this thesis engage.

**Chapter Two**, “The Place(s) of Everyday and Everyday Places”, provides a contribution to the study of the everyday in order to understand international politics. It makes an invitation to look at the everyday, while explaining this onto-epistemo-methodological choice. After examining a broad literature that analyzes the everyday, this chapter provides a working concept of the everyday. It, then, discusses the methodological implications of taking seriously the everyday as a field of analysis, and presents the concept of ‘everyday places’ which are crucial to this work. It also discusses methods such as estrangement, displacement and curiosity as ways to denaturalize and problematize the everyday.

**Chapter Three**, “Politics of (Im)mobility (or everyday practices around a coach station)”, provides for an incursion in a suburban area of Sarajevo which has been administratively divided by the Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL) into Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo (Eastern Sarajevo). By paying attention to everyday practices and everyday places such as a coach station, a beauty salon, an informal market area and schools, I discuss how boundaries have been changing through time and the many meanings that it has acquired in the everyday life of dwellers of this area. While paying attention to questions such as crossing and immobility, strategy and tactics, this chapter also advances the notion of boundaryzone as a meeting place.

**Chapter Four**, “Boundary displacement and displacement as boundary (or Saturday afternoon in a kafana)”, wonders how the narrative of the ‘divided city’, frequently attributed to Mostar, changes when we take a closer look to places where

those boundaries are being enacted. By taking seriously everyday practices in places such as an avenue, a square, a pub and a school, the chapter approaches concepts such as ‘places’ (placing) and ‘displacement’ (displacing) and suggests alternative narratives for Mostar.

**Chapter Five**, “Meeting at BBI (or on shopping malls, the local and the international)” looks into the city of Sarajevo – and more precisely, to the shopping mall BBI Centar and its square, in order to examine how boundaries between the ‘local’ and the ‘international’ are practised, enacted or dissolved in the urban everyday.

Before we turn to these chapters, however, there is a need to make a point about the linguistic issues surrounding this thesis. While making the necessary points, I will also connect those linguistic issues to practices of making and unmaking boundaries.

## 1.1.

### “Gladni smo na tri jezika!”<sup>13</sup>

This thesis was written in English by someone whose native language is Portuguese, about a place where no one fully agrees on the name of the language spoken there. Since 1993, Bosnia and Herzegovina has three official languages: Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian. Without going through all the details about the formation of this (these) language(s), which has already been done elsewhere<sup>14</sup>, claims about the existence of those three as fully, separated and independent languages are both very recent and very old. Mentions to ‘Croatian language’, ‘Bosnian Slavonic’ and ‘Serbian’ can be found as early as the 17th century

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<sup>13</sup> “We are hungry in all three languages”, a phrase exhibited in signs during February 2014 protests

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Tomasz Kamusella (2009) “The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe”. Palgrave MacMillan and Brigitta Busch and Hellen Kelly-Holmes (2004), “Language, Discourse and Borders in the Yugoslav Successor States”. Multilingual Matters.

(Kamusella, 2009:221). Since then, they have been through successive attempts to either unify and standardize them in a single language (usually known as Serbo-Croat or Croat-Serbian), or, on the contrary, to differentiate them and tell them apart. As such, the first reference to Serbo-Croat dates back to 1867, the same year where it becomes official in Croatia. Similarly, Serbia adopted Serbo-Croat as its official language in 1886; Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 1907, and Montenegro, in 1923. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbo-Croat has supplanted the official language in place since the last decades of the 19th century, simply called 'Bosnian' (Ibidem).

As it would happen to the 'Bosnian', 'Croatian' and 'Serbian' languages in the 1990s, Serbo-Croat was part of a political project and, as such, it has been the subject of countless meetings, discussions and efforts to formalize it and standardize it. This project gained strength after the Second World War, fueled by an even stronger project, Tito's Yugoslavia. At that time, as Bugarski (2004) states, 'there was a growing feeling that in the new community of friendly nations it (Serbo-Croat) should really once more be instituted as a single language common to several of these and hence a welcome bond among them' (p.28). The most important attempt in this sense was the meeting of the leading Serbian and Croatian linguists and writers at Novi Sad (Serbia) in 1954, where the basic unity of the language was reaffirmed. Throughout Yugoslavia, movements of dissent also emerged, especially in Croatia, where, in 1974, there was an attempt to declare that 'Croatian' could not be the same language as Serbian. In BiH, however, the focus of this thesis, the terminology 'Serbo-Croat' was used officially, although in the 1991 census, on the eve of war, most citizens of BiH chose 'Bosnian', instead of 'Serbo-Croat', as their native language, on the advice of the primarily Muslim Party of Democratic Action, which led the movement for Independence the following year (Carmichael, 2000: 226<sup>15</sup>). After many decades in which the political project in place stressed and promoted the 'Serbo-Croat' terminology, claims about the existence of three different official languages instead of one were, therefore, rather new for people living in BiH in the eve of Bosnian war.

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<sup>15</sup> Stephen Barbour and Cathie Carmichael (200) 'Language and Nationalism in Europe'. OUP



It is not surprisingly, therefore, that the end of a political project also engendered the end of a project of an unified language. Indeed, on the eve of the war, the popular humorist show already mentioned, “*Toplista Nadrealista*” made a sketch in which the host explains that there were now six different languages in the region of (now former) Yugoslavia <sup>16</sup>. Then, they showed a clip of everyday situations where individuals suddenly no longer understood each other and needed a dictionary or an official translator, to make fun of the absurdity of this language barrier.

I am not a linguist and it is not my scope here to analyze if the differences between those three now fully official languages are ‘enough’ to justify their separate existence. Neither do I have a sufficient knowledge of them in order to state that, in other places, those differences would be treated as regionalisms, dialects or accents (although I would be inclined to say so). Therefore, I can only make assessments based on what I read, what I heard, what I was told and what I experienced. In fact, what I want to observe, as an “*arrière-pensée*” of this thesis, is how the diversity of languages involved in this work both enabled and limited it, and how those different languages had an important role shaping how I came to think about it.

Reflecting about language(s) and boundaries, I came to identify three main points in which “language” as such is important to this thesis. Hence, my first point is to discuss how the concepts I employ in this thesis relate to the language in which this text was written (English), the language in which I use to think about this thesis (Portuguese) and the language in which the practices analyzed here take place (Bosnian? Serbian? Croatian? Serbo-Croat?). Second, I would like to make it clear how my knowledge of those various languages have shaped - enabling and limiting – what I could do and understand, with whom and in which situations I could speak, how people would respond to my approach and in which ways would people talk to me. Third – and this, more than the previous two, adds to the reflections on

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<sup>16</sup> The episode is available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dtKQJhJKI58>

everyday boundaries – is how my interlocutors relate to this/these language(s). How do they call it and what does it mean to call it like they do?

Writing about the first point came as a necessity. For a handful of reasons, I decided, since the beginning, to write this thesis in English. I was a visiting PHD student in the UK when I started writing the first chapter of this thesis, one that discusses, at one point, the distinction between ‘border’ and ‘boundary’. This distinction has been proven crucial to my overall argumentation. However, through the years, while discussing my thesis in Brazil, it was not always easy to find the exact words in Portuguese for ‘boundary’. I have tried employing many words that, in my opinion, do not fully grasp the meanings of ‘boundary’ (and that, sometimes, express exactly the opposite of what I argue a boundary is): *limite* (limit), *demarcação* (demarcation), *linha* (line), *divisão* (division); while ‘border’ would be better translated as *fronteira*.

Little did I know back then that Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian language(s) experienced the same shortage of words to describe ‘boundary’. *Granica* is used in both cases, to designate ‘border’ and ‘boundary’. That is usually how my interlocutors would call the boundaries I am researching: *granica*. And this is also the reason why I employ ‘border/boundary’ when translating interviews that were done in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian – because, at that point, my interlocutor has used the (very imprecise) word *granica*. A few times, however, my interlocutors reacted in a negative way when I employed this word. Some of them have even argued: “but there is no *granica* anymore”. Indeed, there are no checkpoints, no ID check.

Once, however, I interviewed a very well educated 27 year-old man living literally five meters from the Inter-Entity Boundary Line, in Istočno Sarajevo. Since he spoke English fluently, the interview was entirely conducted in this language. I was relieved that I could finally use the word ‘boundary’ instead of a more imprecise word such as ‘*granica*’. As I pronounced ‘boundary’ in the middle of a question, nevertheless, he promptly corrected me: “border”. I tried again, “...boundary...”. And he quickly interrupted me again: “border!”. Intrigued, I asked him ‘why’. Why do you call this a border? To what he replied: “‘Boundary’ is less

suggestive. Border is the word used for borderlines between countries, it is much more for real borderlines between some cultures, nationalities etc.”<sup>17</sup>

Hence, I am deeply aware of how deeply related are concepts, languages and contexts. The very ‘Inter-Entity Boundary Line’, drawn on a map by the predominantly English-speaking so called ‘international community’, and which will receive a lot of attention in this thesis, receives a different name in Bosnia/Croatian/Serbian: *Međuentitetska linija* - Inter-Entity Line. Thus, there is no sign, whatsoever, of the general concept of ‘boundary’, even more important to this thesis than the IEBL itself.

However, even though the word ‘boundary’ does not find an immediate equivalent in the ‘local reality’ or in the ‘local language’, I still have decided to use this concept instead of a more rigid term such as ‘border’. In chapter One, I present the theoretical arguments that justify this choice. Moreover, as I will show in chapters Three and Four, although everyday life does usually ‘happen’ in the ‘local language’ and, therefore, I investigate how people make sense of those *granice* (borders, boundaries) that are *located somewhere*, the former have been imagined and materialized by countless actors coming from different places, speaking different languages with different accents. For example, the IEBL, drawn and redrawn upon maps over tables in the United States, Paris, Ireland, Serbia (by then, Yugoslavia), Croatia and BiH, is as much a ‘local’ feature as it has been imagined internationally, in a multiplicity of languages.

The second point I would like to make in this acknowledgment is about the obstacles and opportunities that a foreign language can impose or offer. This thesis is only what it is because of the languages that I can speak, and because of the exact level of Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian I have. Had I been fluent in this language, the thesis would have been different. Had I not spoke one single word of Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian, the result would be yet another. Hence, I fully acknowledge that, unfortunately, many things got ‘lost in translation’. I write about that with more details in Chapter Two. What I would like to stress here, however,

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<sup>17</sup> Interview with N., April 12, 2015. Istočno Sarajevo. Interview conducted in English.

is how language can create a sense of belonging, if not trust, among people who share them. Not surprisingly, one of the best interviews I made (with more details, opinions, confessions) was conducted in Portuguese, with a woman living in Istočno Sarajevo who had long worked for a Portuguese mission in BiH and spoke the language fluently. Another one was with a young woman who studies French at the university, and was very pleased to spend a whole afternoon and a few evenings discussing with me in French about her life, boundaries and the problems of BiH. It does not come as a surprise, therefore, that a shared language is usually perceived as central element of imagining communities.

This takes me straight to my third point: the very use of language as boundary(ies) itself. As I have mentioned, BiH is officially composed not only by three ‘constituent peoples’, but also by three official languages: Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian. Here I will not go through the history of this (these) language(s), as this would amount into another thesis, and this work has already been done as I have indicated before. I will, however, tell two short stories to illustrate my point:

In preparation for my fieldwork, I joined a Croatian language course in September 2014 at the University of Westminster, in the UK. The teacher, born and raised in Belgrade, explained that she had majored in Serbo-Croat studies, a language that, officially, no longer exists. She then divided up the class between those who were there to learn Croatian to the left side, those who were learning Serbian to the right, and the few who were learning Bosnian had to pick a side. Despite the Cyrillic script used by Serbian language, that constitutes a clear visible and symbolic distinction from Croatian, the teacher kept underplaying and making jokes about the differences between the languages. Probably the most important one after the script is the distinction between the ekavian/ljekavian<sup>18</sup> variants of the language. In short, that means adding or not a *j* (/j/) in the middle of a series of words, such as, for example, *ovde/ovdje* (“here”, respectively, in the ekavian and jekavian variants). Sometimes, after adding a *j* using a different color mark at the

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<sup>18</sup> A third form would be ikavian, although it is not widely used in BiH.

blackboard in the middle of some word, she would ironically state: ‘and this, ladies and gentlemen, is the big difference between Serbian and Croatian’.

From my experience, the emphasis on the sameness or difference of the language is closely related to one’s political orientation and views of what BiH should be: a multicultural state or, alternatively, divided in either two or even three entities<sup>19</sup>. Once, a pensioner from Sarajevo who moved to Istočno Sarajevo, after explicitly telling me that he did not want to live among Muslims anymore, took a piece of paper and wrote the word coffee in the three languages (Kafa, Kahva, Kava) to make a point that they spoke different languages, and therefore, they were not the same people at all<sup>20</sup> (See Fig.1).

The practice of reinforcing differences through language was especially acute during the war, when people experienced changes in pronunciation, vocabulary and greetings (Maček, 2009: 136). Indeed, before the war, religious greetings were restricted to private situations or religious festivities. During the war, however, choosing the ‘right’ greeting in official and public situations began to have material consequences. Maček (2009) suggests that, “in the hospital, using the appropriate ethnoreligious form of greeting would increase a person’s chances of getting good medical treatment” (p. 143). Those greeting practices are still performed today: more than once I saw friends visibly and openly bothered by the use of *selam alejkum* as a greeting. In order to reinforce a Bosnian language distinct from both Serbian and Croatian, linguist Senahid Halilovic stated that Bosnian language is inseparable from Islamic culture (Maček, 2009: 144). While Croat linguists would resort to ancient words in order to create a language as distinct as possible from the Serbian, Bosnian linguists adopted many ‘Turkisms’, and introduced the letter ‘h’ to several words. Maček (2009) reports that, at the beginning, people would still employ those new grammar rules in many different ways: “Eager Muslim speakers overused the letter ‘h’, putting it into words where

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<sup>19</sup> Some groups do claim a third, Croatian, entity.

<sup>20</sup> Interview with DM., 11 April 2015, Istočno Sarajevo. Interview conducted in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzimusic.

it did not belong. People who were more relaxed about their language responded in a joking manner by sticking an extra ‘h’ in every possible word” (p.143).

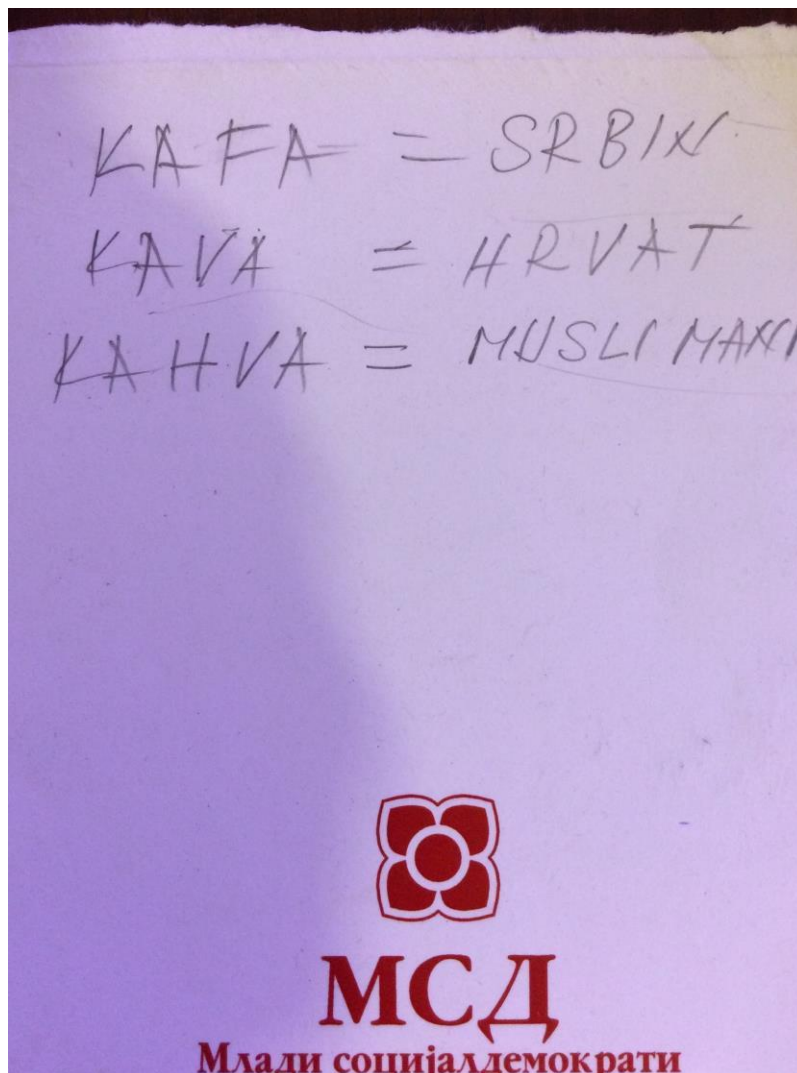


Figure 1

As such, the demarcation of ‘language boundaries’ and the affirmation of ‘language community’ were not only central concepts in political and media discourse in the disintegration phase of Yugoslavia, as Busch and Kelly-Holmes (2004:3) demonstrate, but it is also a resource used, until today, to demarcate ‘us’, at this side of the city, from ‘them’, at the other side.

Similarly, a woman living also in Istočno Sarajevo mentioned that one of the reasons she would not live in the Federation side of the city, although she worked there, was that she wanted her kids to be schooled in Serbian language<sup>21</sup>. As it will be discussed further, like in many other areas, Bosnian schooling system experienced segregation between ethnonational groups during the war, when each local area adopted its own curricula and schoolbooks. With the Dayton Peace Agreement, many political functions, education included, were relegated to local levels. Although there is a Federal Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport, the cantonal ministries in Federation and, in the other hand, Republika Srpska are responsible to make decisions concerning educational subjects. One of the main claims that sustain a divided educational system is based on the right of each ethnonational group to be taught in its respective national language.

This year, however, yet another controversy emerged when Republika Srpska decided that all of its primary schools should officially change the name of the language ‘Bosnian’ to ‘Bosniak’. After protests by Bosniak students and parents living in this entity, Republika Srpska president, Milorad Dodik, responded by reiterating his claim that ‘Bosnian language does not exist’<sup>22</sup>. Name changing, in this case, can be understood as a form of further isolating and alienating non-Serbs that live in Republika Srpska.

In a different tone, a high-school student at the Catholic School, in Sarajevo, told me: “We study in our school Croatian, but nobody in my school speaks pure Croatian... we all speak this mixture of everything (Croatian, Serbian and some Turkish words, as she explained earlier). I seriously doubt that even our professors speak Croatian...that language issue has always been pointless to me”<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> Interview with D., 15 April 2015, Istočno Sarajevo. Interview conducted in Portuguese, my translation.

<sup>22</sup> Panic, Katarina. “Bosnian Serbs’ Renaming of Language Angers Bosniaks”. *Balkan Insight*. 15 June 2015. Available at: <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/bosnia-s-serb-entity-change-of-language-name-upsets-bosniaks>

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Stella, 7 May 2015, Central Sarajevo. Interview conducted in English.

Language, therefore, might enact an everyday boundary, when used and claimed in such a way as to reinforce ethnonational divisions in BiH. However, the association between ethnonational identification and language is not so automatic. An Ipsos report from October 2011, that organized a survey with 1,518 people living in BiH, found out that, while 98% of those who consider themselves ‘Bosnians’<sup>24</sup> state that their mother tongue or native language was ‘Bosnian’, 20% of the ‘Croats’ and 10% of the ‘Serbs’ also said that their language was called ‘Bosnian’. Moreover, 4% of ‘Serbs’ and 19% of ‘Others’ – a category usually claimed by those who come from ‘mixed families’, Roms, or those who are against the ethnonational categorization as such – claim to speak ‘Serbo-Croat’, a language that, officially, no longer exists (See table below)

### What is your mother-tongue / native language?

Base: Total target population

|                | Total | Gender |        | Age   |       |       |     | Education          |           |                       | Current occupation |            |               |                       | HH income per HH member |             |              |         | Ethnicity |        |       |       | Entitet  |                       | Settlement type |       |
|----------------|-------|--------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-----|--------------------|-----------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------|-----------|--------|-------|-------|----------|-----------------------|-----------------|-------|
|                |       | Male   | Female | 18-29 | 30-44 | 45-60 | >60 | Elementary or less | Secondary | College or University | Employed           | Unemployed | Student/pupil | Pensioner/ho usewives | Up to 100 eur           | 101-150 eur | Over 150 eur | Refusal | Bosnians  | Croats | Serbs | Other | Fed. BiH | RS and Brčko District | Urban           | Other |
| N              | 1518  | 729    | 789    | 336   | 391   | 431   | 361 | 513                | 826       | 179                   | 540                | 247        | 156           | 571                   | 407                     | 426         | 371          | 315     | 766       | 206    | 544   | 2     | 931      | 587                   | 858             | 660   |
| sig            |       | 0.38   |        | 0.55  |       |       |     | 0.09               |           |                       | 0.01               |            |               |                       | 0.20                    |             |              |         | 0.00      |        |       |       | 0.00     |                       | 0.03            |       |
| Bosnian        | 55.7  | 52     | 59     | 55    | 53    | 53    | 63  | 62                 | 52        | 52                    | 45                 | 57         | 56            | 64                    | 59                      | 57          | 47           | 60      | 98        | 20     | 10    | 22    | 81       | 16                    | 59              | 51    |
| Serbian        | 30.8  | 32     | 29     | 33    | 31    | 35    | 24  | 23                 | 34        | 38                    | 40                 | 32         | 30            | 22                    | 30                      | 31          | 31           | 32      | 1         | 85     | 21    | 0     | 79       | 29                    | 33              | 33    |
| Croatian       | 11.0  | 13     | 9      | 12    | 14    | 9     | 10  | 12                 | 11        | 7                     | 11                 | 9          | 13            | 11                    | 10                      | 10          | 18           | 5       | 0         | 79     | 0     | 13    | 18       | 0                     | 8               | 14    |
| Serbo-croatian | 1.8   | 2      | 1      | 0     | 1     | 3     | 1   | 1                  | 2         | 2                     | 3                  | 1          |               | 1                     | 1                       | 2           | 2            | 1       | 0         | 0      | 4     | 19    | 0        | 4                     | 2               | 1     |
| Albanian       | 0.2   | 0      | 0      |       | 1     | 0     |     |                    | 0         | 1                     | 1                  | 0          |               |                       | 0                       | 0           | 1            |         | 0         | 1      |       |       | 0        |                       | 0               | 0     |
| Italian        | 0.2   |        | 0      | 0     | 0     |       | 1   | 0                  | 0         | 0                     | 0                  |            |               | 0                     | 0                       | 0           | 0            |         | 0         |        |       |       | 0        | 0                     | 0               |       |
| Bulgarian      | 0.2   |        | 0      | 0     | 0     |       |     | 0                  | 0         |                       |                    |            | 0             | 0                     |                         |             |              | 1       | 0         |        | 0     |       | 0        | 0                     | 0               | 0     |
| Roma language  | 0.1   | 0      |        |       |       |       | 1   | 0                  |           |                       |                    |            |               | 0                     |                         |             |              | 1       |           |        | 0     |       | 0        | 0                     | 0               |       |
| Turkish        | 0.1   | 0      |        |       | 0     |       |     |                    | 0         |                       | 0                  |            |               |                       |                         |             | 0            |         | 0         |        |       |       | 0        |                       | 0               |       |
| Greek          | 0.0   |        | 0      |       | 0     |       |     |                    | 0         |                       |                    | 0          |               |                       |                         |             |              | 0       |           |        | 0     |       | 0        |                       | 0               |       |
| Montenegrin    | 0.0   | 0      |        |       |       | 0     |     |                    | 0         |                       | 0                  |            |               |                       | 0                       |             |              |         |           |        |       | 25    | 0        |                       | 0               |       |
| Total          |       | 100%   |        |       |       |       |     |                    |           |                       |                    |            |               |                       |                         |             |              |         |           |        |       |       |          |                       |                 |       |

Figure 2: (Source IPSOS Strategic Marketing, ‘Nation Building –BiH’ – October 2011).

<sup>24</sup> In this report it is not clear why they use the terminology ‘Bosnian’ (that would designate a citizen from BiH) instead of ‘Bosniak’ (the ethnonational group formed by ‘Muslims’). It is not clear if that was a translation error or a conscious choice, even though it is clear that respondents understood it as ‘Bosniaks’.



Hence, not only linguistic and ethnonational categories do not match perfectly but also, in everyday life, many people avoid to name ‘this language’. Some of the tactics employed by them are to refer to *it – it* being Bosnian, Serbian or Croatian –, for example, as ‘this language’ or ‘local language’. An inclusive way to call ‘this language’ is by employing the terminology BSC or B/S/C (*BSH*) – Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian, which is the terminology I used on this thesis. A yet more common way to designate ‘this language’ without having to name it is by employing the term ‘our language’ (*naš jezik*), avoiding, therefore, possible embarrassing situations. This practice is also not properly recent. Some texts from the 1920s and 1930s already show that this was a common practice in order to avoid official designations of the language. In 1932, for example, the Linguistic Society of Belgrade launched a professional journal of language cultivation called ‘*Naš Jezik*’, in search for a more ‘neutral’ approach to the language issue in the region. The journal is still published today under the same name (Bugarski, p. 26)<sup>25</sup>.

In BiH, the official division of its population in three different linguistic groups reinforced the political implications of not explicitly referring to ‘this language’ as either ‘Bosnian’, ‘Serbian’ or ‘Croatian’. In everyday interaction and dialogues, people redraw those official boundaries by employing the term ‘*naš jezik*’, or ‘*naš*’ (ours) even more frequently than they talk about ‘Bosnian’, Serbian’ or ‘Croatian’ languages. By employing ‘*naš jezik*’, the boundary is displaced, configuring a larger space where the organizing categories are not ethnonational and not even national. Because it is vaguer, it is also much more inclusive. At the same time, by mobilizing this larger concept, a new binomial is formed in this case, no longer along ethnonational lines, but between people from the ‘region’ and foreign (*stranci*), allowing for a different imaginary of ‘us’ and ‘them’.

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<sup>25</sup> Bugarski, Ranko (2004) Language and Boundaries in the Yugoslavian Context, in Brigitta Busch and Helen Kelly-Holmes ‘Language, Discourse and Borders in the Yugoslavian Successor States. Multilingual Matters.

## 2 Enacting Boundaries

“A boundary, like the human skin, may have diseases of its own or may reflect the illness of the body” (Jones, 1945:3)

“The point is, precisely, where do you draw the line separating one life from the other? Politics is about that border. It is the activity that brings it back into question” (Rancière, 2004: 303)

### 2.1. Introduction

Étienne Balibar once wrote that “the idea of a definition of what constitutes a border is, by definition, absurd”. Indeed, as the philosopher goes on explaining “to mark out a border is, precisely, to define a territory, to delimit it (...) Conversely, however, to define or identify in general is nothing other than to trace a border, to assign boundaries or borders”. Thus, the very representation of the border is the precondition for any definition (Balibar, 2002: 75).

In this chapter, I embrace the challenge of a similar absurd task. Even if I do not intend to propose a definitive and closed concept of border by showing *what constitutes it*, I will expose how it has been conceptualized elsewhere, and how it will be employed in this thesis. An important part of this effort will be precisely to demarcate the notion of ‘border’ from that of ‘boundary’ – which, by itself, might be understood as a broader practice of demarcation than a border.

Although borders have been increasingly depicted as borderscapes and understood to have been dislocated from their traditional place (from the shore of the state) to more diffuse sites either inside or outside the state, they are still presented as intimately related to statist territorial practices. A border can move inward and become a policy of denial of rights to migrants and refugees, Soguk (2007: 285) suggests. Or it can fold outward and translate into a policy of intercepting refugee ships and forcing them to return to worlds of insecurities (Ibidem). However, they still operate mainly by a territorial logic, entailing

processes of belonging and non-belonging, inclusion and exclusion of a certain state.

Following Walker (2016) I suggest that boundaries are a broader category that can be defined as practices of spatiotemporal demarcation and differentiation, which may or may not entail geographical delimitations, may or may not be backed up by administrative or legal regulations and may or may not be expressed materially. Thus, while every border is also a boundary, not all boundaries are borders.

This chapter, however, is not only a theoretical exercise to conceptualize boundaries and to examine in detail how they operate. Indeed, trying to conceptualize borders and boundaries came as a necessity in order to understand socio and political practices of demarcation advanced as a peaceful solution to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995). The concern for those boundaries, which have been strongly translated into spatial practices, is behind the conceptual efforts made in some sections of this chapter.

Here, I will launch my efforts to understand how those boundaries operate. Although this effort will be present in all other chapters of this thesis, here I would like to lay the bases to start this quest. First, I expose how boundaries have been presented as a solution to the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and what were their consequences in the making of a new state. Then, I make an effort to demarcate borders from boundaries, and to frame a working definition of the latter. Next, I analyze how the discipline of International Relations has been studying borders and boundaries, and I suggest that borders have been increasingly depicted as boundaries. Finally, by claiming that boundaries are highly dependent on practices that (re)produce them, I propose to focus on practices and on how boundaries are enacted.

## 2.2.

### **Dayton Peace Accords: boundaries as solution?**

During four years of intense war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), there was rarely a peace proposal formulated by Western officials that did not

include the redrawing of boundaries aiming to reorganize the political and social space in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The four main international plans aiming to bring war to an end - i. e., Cutilero Plan (March 1992), Vance-Owen plan (January-February 1993), Contact Groups Plan (July 1994) and Dayton Accord (November 1995) – foresaw some degree of internal division of the Bosnian territory along ethnonational lines, while preserving the territorial integrity of BiH. The boundaries proposed by those international sponsored peace plans apparently sought to fix in the ground the results of ethnic cleansing practices that were one of the main characteristics of the Bosnian war. Indeed, the proposals validated, to a greater or lesser extent, nationalist claims according to which such differences were a problem and, therefore, people should live separately in discrete, ethnicized spaces. According to this idea, peace should be achieved by the proliferation of boundaries within Bosnia and Herzegovina, following what were believed to be ‘the new ethnonational realities on the ground’.

While police-makers were discussing the most effective ways to draw (internal) lines in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order, according to their understanding, to bring peace and avoid territorial partition, public debates in Western countries at the time often evoked a different solution. While this other solution was also presented in terms of drawing new lines, those lines would be international borders, dismantling, therefore, Bosnia and Herzegovina in two or three different states. In a series of texts published in daily newspapers in the United States, Mearsheimer (1993, 1995, 1997, 2000), for example, argued that the international presence in BiH should “serve not to force people to live together”, but to organize a peaceful partition of its territory. A few years earlier, the same author argued in favor of the transfer of whole populations in a way that “ethnonational identities would perfectly match” the new international borders he was proposing. Mearsheimer’s ‘solution’ would probably not only infringe human rights and international laws but would also be impossible to be carried on in places like BiH, where a considerable percentage of the population finds difficult to identify themselves with one ethnonationality exclusively. One character in Dauphinee’s book (2013) illustrates how partitioning BiH in three with the aim of creating homogeneous states would affect him: “Do you have a chainsaw in your briefcase? (...) Because you will have to cut me in half if you partition my country.

I am half a Serb and half a Muslim. To which entity do you suppose I belong?”, said one of the audience participants to the professor who had just given a conference to support BiH’s partition in 1997 (p.23).

Redrawing lines, boundaries and borders was mainly the outcome sought by Serb nationalists and some of their Croatian counterparts during the war. For instance, in May 1992, Radovan Karadzic, then president of the self-proclaimed Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, presented six strategic goals for its new army that would transform multicultural Bosnia and Herzegovina into three separated entities created by the ‘unmixing’ of Bosnian communities and the partition of its territory (Toal and Dahlman, 2011:5). The first goal would be the prime directive for ethnic cleansing: Bosnia and Herzegovina’s main ethnonational communities, or more precisely Bosniaks<sup>26</sup>, Serbs and Croats<sup>27</sup> - who, until then, lived intermingled - should be geographically separated (Donia, 1994). In the long run, according to the plan, Bosnia and Herzegovina would be split into three fully independent states.

Karadzic’s plan was never completely fulfilled, but the ethnic cleansing campaigns have profoundly altered space in BiH<sup>28</sup>. Although the Dayton Peace Accords (1995) assured territorial integrity, one of the main features of the peace agreement was the creation of the Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL), dividing Bosnia and Herzegovina internally into two<sup>29</sup> political entities – the Federation of

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<sup>26</sup> “Bosniak” and “Bosnian” mean two different things. While the former refers to the group that shares a Muslim identity, here comprise those people who are not religious, the latter refers to all people who have the citizenships of Bosnia and Herzegovinian state.

<sup>27</sup> Those three are the major groups that form BiH’s population.

<sup>28</sup> Either by human distribution, ethnonational diversities but also by new meanings ascribed to certain spaces. It will probably take a long time until ‘Srebrenica’ is not automatically associated to massacres, for example.

<sup>29</sup> Although the IEBL agreed at Dayton divided BiH into two political entities, nowadays, the state is composed of the two entities and the Brčko district. The status of Brčko – a considerably rich port city located strategically by the Croatian and Serbian borders - was left undecided at the Dayton negotiations, because no agreement of each warring parties could be reached. US mediators persuaded the parties at Dayton to accept that the final status of Brčko should be the product of ‘international arbitration’ through an international, private, arbitration tribunal. In 1999, the tribunal established that Brčko should become a

Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska. The IEBL, on the whole, runs along the cease-fire line established by the Dayton's Accords. In some places, the boundary has been a visible line with the Dayton agreement securing demilitarized 'zones of separation'; in others, it is virtually invisible (Global IDP Project: 2004). According to the Annex 2 of the General Framework for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, NATO's Implementation Force Commander had the final say on boundary-line changes (Dayton Accord, annex 2). In the first few years after Dayton, the IEBL functioned as a *de facto* border as Toal and Dahlman (2011) describes:

"Key bridges had been intentionally demolished by the armies to separate their areas of control. Railways had been similarly sabotaged. Landmines were a constant danger (...) Where infrastructure permitted movement, local authorities erected barriers. Across Republika Srpska, police moved quickly to harden the IEBL" (p. 172-173)

The Dayton Peace Accords – and, more specifically, the IEBL – played a preponderant role in shaping a new ethnoterritorial configuration in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina and consolidating the ethnic cleansing that took place during the war. Indeed, Bosnia and Herzegovina's population composition went through major transformations. Immediately before the war, in 1991, BiH's population counted 4,374 million people, from which 43,7% considered themselves Bosniaks, 31,2%, Serbians, and 17,3% Croats and 5,54% Yugoslavs. Therefore, differently from the other federations in Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina was formally composed not by one, but by three so-called constituent people (Bosniaks, Serbians and Croats), since none of the three formed a majority. On the other hand, the 2013 census revealed that Bosnian population shrunk to 3,829 million. Bosniaks now make up 50,1% of the population, Serbs, 30.78 % and Croats, 15,43%. Some 2,7% percent of the population are categorized as "others", the

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'district', supervised by an international supervisor. Hence, Brčko does not belong to any of the two entities. It is considered a *de facto* 'city-state' (Parish, 2010:xii).

official term for national minorities and people who do not identify with any of the three constitutive peoples.

Moreover, and more relevant to the point I emphasize in this section, those different groups are nowadays distributed spatially along ethnonational lines. Indeed, the two entities that compose post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina have a clear ethnonational structure: 92,1% of all those who consider themselves Serbs live in Republika Srpska, 91,3% of Croats and 88,2% of Bosniaks live in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina <sup>30</sup>. This represents a major shift not only regarding population composition but also in the imagination of BiH space. Spaces have been ethnicized during the war, and they continue to be.

Those official lines were followed by the multiplication of many other less institutionalized boundaries. For instance, while the IEHL has divided the country internally into two political entities, many other boundaries have emerged, permeated and shaped social, political and spatial life in post-Dayton Bosnia. Hence, cities like Sarajevo and Mostar have been pervaded by invisible but very performative boundaries, which organize urban spaces mainly in ethnonational terms. Particular places, neighborhoods and even buildings inside those cities have also been crossed by similar boundaries. Many schools were divided, with students from different ethnonational backgrounds entering the building from distinct doors, or having classes and breaks in different hours of the day to avoid contact between them. The health system also suffered a similar fate.

Other forms of boundaries are not as easily grasped spatially. Thus, where there used to be one official language (Serbian-Croat), now there are three (Serbian, Bosniak, Croatian)<sup>31</sup>. English is also widely used among international officers, and many official documents are produced in English, also. Radio stations, TV channels and soccer clubs also emerged in post-Dayton BiH aiming to represent specific ethnonational categories. Nowadays, most political parties also identify themselves with a specific ethnonational affiliation. The important and widespread presence of

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<sup>30</sup> According to 2013 census, available here <http://www.popis2013.ba/>

<sup>31</sup> See Introduction.

“international workers” aiming to construct a Bosnian state, especially in bigger cities such as Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Brčko, produces yet other forms of boundaries<sup>32</sup>.

Bringa (1993) argues that ethnonational groups demarcated themselves during the pre-war period, but those boundaries were not enacted in a conflictual way, and they varied a lot from each other in different social spaces. In some mixed villages, before the war, the two ethnonational groups<sup>33</sup> had their defined village area, for example, each end of the village or each side of a river, although that was not always the case (Bringa, 1993: 82). Also, in rural areas, people from each group usually dressed differently, had different customs and holy days, but those differences were respected by the other group and considered to have the same legitimacy as their customs and holy days (Ibidem: 83). Communities usually cooperated in all kinds of secular activities and interacted at all secular times (Ibidem). Nevertheless, the ultimate boundary between the groups in the village was intermarriage – this practice being very rare in rural environments, or even considered “non-negotiable” (Ibidem: 84).

In cities, those boundaries were negotiated differently. In cities such as Sarajevo, Mostar and Tuzla, according to the 1991 census, up to 30% of the marriages were ‘mixed’. Intermarried couples would usually choose “neutral” first names for their children, and neighborhoods and residential buildings were mixed. People from all ethnonational groups used to live intermingled in Sarajevo. Sarajevans and inhabitants from rural areas alike acknowledge that, in the capital, ethnonational belongings were not very important in everyday life and usually were not the first source of one’s identity. In many cases, class, background and perceived cultural status mattered more. Sarajevo was also the place where the number of people who declared themselves “Yugoslavian” was higher: 16,43% in the center of Sarajevo, according to the 1991 census. No ethnonational group was majoritarian in the capital.

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<sup>32</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>33</sup> Usually villages were composed mainly either by Muslims and Serbs or Muslims and Croats. That was different in the cities.



A different aspect constituted the main boundary of demarcation between insiders and outsiders in Sarajevo. The boundaries were drawn between who considered themselves modern, civilized and urban and those who were called *papci* (or, literally, “pig feet”), indicating a rural origin (Toal and Dahlman, 2011: 72).

In the city, nationality categories were hybrid, fluid and confused: it was not possible to reliably affix nationality by appearance and accent (it was easier to affix cultural status). Nevertheless, even if there were only certain moments and spaces where ethnonationality “happened” or where residents “did” ethnicity, citizens were interpellated by nationality categories by birth, and it was constantly “called out” by institutions and “hailed” in bureaucratic contexts. (Toal and Dahlman, 2011: 73).

Through the war, nevertheless, ethnonational boundaries were mobilized in a way that being in one side or the other could be a matter of life or death. Undeniably, those ethnonational boundaries have become more pervasive and rigid, and have emerged as the driving characteristic that organizes social, political and spatial life in post-Dayton Bosnia, although they are not the only one (Bose, 2002; Bougarel, Helms and Duijzings, 2007; Bringa, 2002; Toal and Dahlman, 2011; Ullen, 2013). Ethnonational categories have become the backbone of post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina state organization and, since then, have shaped political life, state institutions, spatial configurations and urban realities (although, as I suggest in this thesis, we should not reduce life to this particular practice of demarcation).

Before boundaries are drawn or ethnic cleansing practices are adopted, spaces needed to be imagined in ethnic terms, as if they “belong” to a certain group in the form of a historical or spiritual homeland (Toal and Dahlman, 2011: 5). From there, what followed in BiH, was the expulsion or extermination of individuals from the other groups.

By drawing boundaries in BiH’s official map, the Dayton Peace Agreement institutionalized the results of the ethnic cleansing process and, in some cases, it allowed for enhancing it, for many people who suddenly became a ‘minority’ crossed boundaries to live at their ‘proper’ entity. In many occasions, therefore,

boundaries agreed at Dayton played a role of performing the nationalists' project (never completely achieved) of homogenizing spaces in BiH.

More than twenty years from the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement, the IEBL is still an everyday reality in BiH though it no longer constitutes an internal barrier to free movement, as it happened in the first few years after the war. Its materiality has changed through time, and so the meanings Bosnians attribute to them, and the practices and relations Bosnians undertake around and towards them. The IEBL acquires a very strong meaning because it crosses 42 municipalities in the whole BiH<sup>34</sup> and, as such, it becomes intimately connected to the dwellers' everyday life in those municipalities. The Bosnian capital is one such example: the Inter-Entity Boundary line runs through Sarajevo, splitting the city into Sarajevo and East Sarajevo (hereafter, Istočno Sarajevo).

Official administrative boundaries are only the most visible and striking aspect of post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina, where many geographical, temporal and epistemological boundaries have been enacted. Those boundaries continue to be reproduced through practices of demarcation, and shape great aspects of Bosnian's everyday life up until today. However, boundaries are also shifted, redrawn, resignified, displaced and resisted in the everyday life. The main categories that are inferred from the Dayton Peace Agreements around which Bosnian political life is supposed to be organized – ethnonational categories, but also categories such as the international and the local – are also contested, disputed or displaced into other categories.

As Walker (2016) suggests, studying boundaries might be interesting either because of where and when they are situated, or because of how they are produced and its effects (p.15). The boundaries that were chosen in this thesis fulfill both criteria. They are interesting to be studied because of where they are (usually in the middle of a city) when they are (drawn after the war following the war frontline

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<sup>34</sup> Karabegovic, Dzenana. "Međuentitetska linija: Dnevni boravak u Federaciji, spavaća soba u RS". Radio Slobodna Evropa. 23.02.2012. Available at: [http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/međuentitetska\\_linija\\_jos\\_se\\_ceka\\_na\\_crtanje\\_karti/24494227.html](http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/međuentitetska_linija_jos_se_ceka_na_crtanje_karti/24494227.html)

and, representing, in many ways, a vestige of “the time of the war”). They are also interesting to be studied because of how they are produced and its effects, questions that expose those boundaries not only as expressions of a particular form of politics but also as a form of producing and reproducing these forms of politics (Walker, 2016: 1), but also open up for countering it. Therefore, they should not be considered only in their geographical character, or as a mere demarcation between places, for the politics behind them involve broader connotations (p. ix).

Whereas those deployments will be carefully analyzed in the next chapters, it is paramount, first, to discuss the concept of borders and boundaries and its usages in International Relations. We now turn to this.

### 2.3.

#### **Conceptualizing borders and boundaries**

In this thesis, the adoption of the term boundary, instead of a border, is not casual. In disciplines ranging from Political Geography to International Relations, many scholars have not undertaken efforts to distinguishing between the terms “border”, “boundaries” and “frontier” (Rankin and Schofield, 2004: 1). Those concepts have been, therefore, often used interchangeably. In this thesis, nevertheless, those terms do not represent the same thing, and this distinction should be outlined. However, this is not an easy task because, among those who tried to define those terms clearly, the meanings attributed to them vary considerably. In this section, I aim at presenting some classical conceptualizations of boundaries and borders to introduce the concept of boundary that I will employ in this thesis.

Sennett (2011) draws from the natural ecology to formulate a concept of borders and boundaries within a city. For Sennett, this distinction between borders and boundaries as it is conceived in nature may also be applied to human communities (p. 326). He argues that “borders are zones in a habitat where organisms become more interactive, due to the meeting of different species of physical conditions”. On the other hand, “boundary is a limit, a territory beyond where a species does not stray”:

“For instance, in the border-edge where the shoreline of a lake meets solid land there is an active zone of exchange, here organisms find and feed other organisms. The same is true for temperature layers within a lake: where layer meets layer, defines the zone of the most intense biological activity. Whereas the boundary is a guarded territory, as established by prides of lions or packs of wolves. The border has more energy than the boundary (...) borderland is full of time. To the contrary, a boundary is static space in time, because there is less exchange” (324).

Whereas Sennett employs the natural metaphor to distinguish borders from boundaries, arguing that the first is much more flexible and has much more porosity than the latter, Walker (2016) draws from similar examples, but reaches almost opposite conclusions. Indeed, Walker compares boundaries in human communities to the skin or the seashore: very busy places, in which coexist and interact a myriad of life forms (p.3). Walker argues that boundaries are a more encompassing and more open term than either border or limit. For him, borders “refer to forms of bounding that somehow have physical expression, and that are most easily identified in conventionally geographical terms” whereas limits refer to legal principles (p. 15). Besides, Walker employs the term boundary broadly to refer to

“practices of spatiotemporal differentiation; geographical or territorial borders; delimitations of socio-cultural norms and claims to citizenship through stipulation of legal and illegal status; historically, culturally and socially specific procedures through which the modern world has learnt to draw the line, both subjectively and objectively, not least in designating what counts as objectivity and subjectivity; post-Kantian accounts of the conditional – delimited, and thus critical – character of knowledge as the necessary but unlimited ungrounded ground of political freedom, equality, security and authority; and practices of discrimination that work simultaneously as claims about spatiotemporal crisis and the possibilities of critique and political engagement” (Walker, 2016:2).

In his book “Frontiers”, Malcom Anderson defines the term frontier to designate an international boundary, and boundary itself to refer to internal divisions at the sub-state level (Anderson, 1996 apud Rankin and Schofield, Ibidem). More broadly, the Oxford English Dictionary defines boundary as “that which serves to indicate the bounds or limits of anything whether material or immaterial; also the limit itself”. According to the same dictionary, frontier means

“a line of border separating two countries”, while border is defined as “a line separating two countries, administrative divisions, or other areas”.

In this thesis, boundaries will be understood in the broader sense highlighted by Walker (2016). Boundaries, thus, are considered here as practices of spatiotemporal demarcation and differentiation, that may or may not entail geographical delimitations, may or may not be backed up by administrative or legal regulations and may or may not be expressed materially.

By contrast, both frontier and border have usually been employed in a more accurate way, and have often been associated with geographical and territorial divisions, whereas boundary has been defined as a broader concept, applied to a vast range of spatial, symbolic and cultural realms. In this thesis, the term border will be used to indicate exclusively international boundaries between two states. Hence, boundaries are a more encompassing term than the more limited one, border. Thus, while all borders are to some extent boundaries, not all boundaries are borders.

Nevertheless, drawing this line between borders and boundaries entails already a substantial degree of simplification and homogenization. Borders, and the very notion of border, has a history of its own. Since embryonary notions of state, city-states and empires, borders have represented “lines or zones, strips of land, which are places of separation and contact or confrontation, areas of blockage and passage (or passage on payment of a toll). Fixed or shifting zones, continuous or broken lines” (Balibar, 2002 77). However, they have never had the same function, even under continuous efforts of nation-states in developing a legal corpus of rules, bodies and practices to regulate borders and its functions (Ibidem). Thus, saying that borders are an “international boundary between two states” is a simplification, and it is evident not enough if the aim is to understand how borders work. However, this is not the purpose of this thesis, where I propose to dwell on the broader and more encompassing term of boundaries.

Having delineated the specificities of borders and boundaries as they are used in this thesis, it is necessary to understand how they operate. First, however, I will show how International Relations, a discipline traditionally concerned about

(international) borders, have been increasingly embracing and studying boundaries (in the broader sense) and what are the consequences of doing that.

## 2.4.

### **International Relations: from borders to boundaries?**

Much has been written about the formalized boundaries in International Relations, especially on issues that represent formal interstate borders. In IR, a discipline that has been traditionally built on the imaginary of the Westphalian system - characterized by the notion of territorial sovereignty and which defines the state as the center of political life -, boundaries have often been associated with territorial states' borders. According to this 'cartographic imaginary' (Shapiro, 2007), the world is composed of discrete and independent units (states) separated by fixed borders; each state defines a universe of its own; and citizens, defined congruously with their state, constituted the people participating in democratic life. This imaginary is expressed in well-known metaphors in International Relations that depict states as 'black-boxes' or "billiard balls"<sup>35</sup>, a world thus divided into discrete and mutually exclusive blocks of space (Agnew, 1995: 14). In this imaginary, states are the basic units of international relations, like-units whose interactions form the structure of the international system (Waltz, 1979: 93-95). They are depicted as a brute fact of international reality and understood as a given object of knowledge, or a second nature (Bartelson, 1998:298). Moreover, they are often presented as bounded objects of knowledge, as the metaphors exposed here reveal: they are 'units', 'boxes', 'balls', 'blocks' and, as such, international borders are the most important boundary to be studied, according to them. The metaphor of the billiard ball is particularly telling since it implies that states not only frequently clash, "but because billiard balls are solid such that their internal properties do not vary and, above all, do not affect their external behavior" (Hobson, 2000:23).

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<sup>35</sup> For a further discussion of the black box and the billiard ball, please refer to Singer, "The Level of analysis Problem in International Relations", pp. 81-83.

Therefore, in mainstream International Relations, the geopolitical separation of territorial communities in space is taken not only as a *fait accompli*, but also as a necessary condition to maintaining a particular kind of (desired) order. However, Agnew (1995) argues that “there is nothing natural about a world simply divided up into territorial states” (p. 5). Although the state is taken as a natural and universal political entity, historical processes that also encompass bordering practices have produced them. Indeed, as Lapid (2001) acknowledges, acts of bordering (i.e., the inscription, crossing, removal, transformation, multiplication and/or diversification of borders) invariably have consequences for political ordering at many levels.

Borders have been historically depicted as official territorial lines entailing processes of inclusion and exclusion. Hence, they are not neutral lines of separation: borders between nation-states not only demarcate belonging and non-belonging, but they also authorize a distinction between norm and exception (Rajaram and Grundy-War: ix). Indeed, looking at interstate borders has been considered by critical scholars as an important way to shed light on the state’s mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion (Bigo, 2000; Parker, Vaughan-Williams et al, 2009; Rajaram and Grundy-Warr, 2007).

According to traditional perspectives in IR, therefore, intrastate or immaterial boundaries would hardly matter in order to understand international relations (Waltz, 1979). However, IR scholars have been attempting to problematise some of the foundational premises of the discipline, showing precisely that the idea of the territorial state has been changing. The growing reference to globalization and the changing nature of the world political order have also raised significant questions concerning the role of territory and borders in a ‘post-Westphalian world’ (Newman, 2000: 17).

Some authors predicted the obsolescence of the nation-state as separated units through increased interdependence or internationalization and even the possibility of the emergence of new forms of states, or an international state (Hoffmann, 1966; Wendt, 1994:391; See also discussion in Bartelson, 1998: 310-311), which would entail a world with weaker state borders. Other authors argued that borders remain, even in a globalized world, more important than ever. Seeking

to avoid this dichotomy, another group of scholars affirms that borders are neither disappearing nor stronger than ever: they are, in fact, being transformed. Hence, a group of critical border students launched an agenda to investigate the changing realities of the border. (Parker, Vaughan-Williams et Al, 2009).

As Parker, Vaughan-Williams et Al (2009) highlight, critical border studies starts from the idea that the relation between borders and territory is becoming ever more complex (p.583). While international borders, especially those related to economic processes, may be dissipating, other kinds of (social, gender, class, culture) boundaries are being created and multiplied (Jiron, 2010; Newman, 2000:18, Soguk, 2007). Nowadays, borders are not only found at identifiable territorial sites such as ports, airports, etc., but also are becoming increasingly ephemeral and/or impalpable, located in zones that defy a straightforwardly territorial logic (Bonditti, 2011, Parker, Vaughan-Williams et al, 2009:583; Newman, 2005). Bordering practices have been dislocated from the traditional territorial borders to more diffuse sites either inside or outside of the state, challenging fundamental concepts of the discipline such of sovereignty, authority and politics (Balibar, 2002; Bigo, 2007; Bonditti, 2011; Doty, 2007; Walker, 2016). Soguk (2007) also highlights that “borders are not simply found in a fence or a ditch but also in the resourceful and ever-shifting border practices permeating space both within the confines of fences and across the barbed wires in everyday sites” (p.285). Thus, borders are not where they used to be; they have been decentred.

As such, critical border scholars challenge the notion of a border being mainly a material, territorially fixed, a rigid line that clearly demarcates the inside from the outside. Rather, they claim that borders have both material and symbolic dimensions, and suggest investigating “the ‘territorial trap’ in which the state is assumed to be an immutable spatial framework of political order, rather than a historically unique political geography formation” (Agnew, 1994; Shah, 2012). Brenner and Elder (2009) analyze what they call “the territorial effect” (p. 354), or “the state’s tendency, through its territorial form to naturalize (at once to mask and to normalize) its own transformative, intensely pattern effects upon social-spatial relations”.



However, while borders are said to become more ephemeral, fluid and dynamic, we witness an increasing tendency of erecting fences and walls between states. Fences or walls were built at borders between U.S./Mexico, Egypt/Gaza, Thailand/Malaysia/, China/North Korea, Spain/Morocco, Hungary/Serbia, just to cite some well-known examples. Walls, presented as “security barriers” have been increasingly used inside states as well, such as in Israel and North Ireland, but also in the Italian city of Padua, where a wall was constructed to separate white middle-class neighbourhoods from the so-called “African ghetto” inhabited mostly by new immigrants; or in Baghdad, where the United States military built walls around Sunni neighbourhoods with the intent to stop sectarian violence (Brown, 2010: 19). Hence, walls are proliferating with the aim to deter a myriad of people, ‘things’ and flows - migrants, asylum seekers, poor people, contraband, ethnic or religious mixing – although there is something in common among all those initiatives (Ibid, 20). For instance, walls are not built to prevent attacks from other states or other invading armies, but to control transnational movements and issues. As such, they represent three major paradoxes (p. 21). The first paradox that emerges with the wall regards simultaneity of opening and blocking: although cosmopolitans claim a borderless world, ‘nation-states exhibit a passion for wall building’. Second, even within democracies, there are a priori discrimination and segregation at the border; thus, universalization coexists along exclusion and stratification. And, third, physical barricades such as a wall coexist with the increase on network and virtual transitions and ‘treats’ (Brown, 2010:20).

As such, Brown (2010) concludes, a wall

“... both performs and undoes a sovereign boundary function, just as it performs and undoes sovereign stability, legislative power, decisionism, and endurance. The Israeli wall, like the others, features a complicated dependence on an ideal of nation-state sovereignty whose very deterioration the Wall redresses, yet whose historical eclipse the Wall also consecrates. If the Wall is a bid for sovereignty, it is also a monstrous tribute to the waning viability of sovereign nation-states. From certain angles, it appears as an eerie monument to the impossibility of the nation-state sovereignty today (...)” (p. 34)

However, walls and fences do not stand by themselves. As Soguk (2007) underlines, “they are consequential only where and when border practices are at work, making a border out of a fence or digging a border pout of a ditch. Thus understood, borders are always ephemeral, never eternal” (p. 284).

Migration studies have also acknowledged the complexity of official borders: they can be at times porous, stiff or elastic, depending on the situation. Irregular migration can challenge them, while they are produced by the same official border practices that select and decide who can be inside and who should stay outside (Squire, 2011). Squire (2011) thus applies the concept of ‘borderzones’, constituted by political struggles in which irregularity is contested (p. 3). Those scholars also challenge the dichotomy inside/outside, showing how ‘international borders’ have been enacting inside the territory through what is usually understood as ‘internal’ practices, such as policing and raiding (Inda, 2011; Bigo, 2011).

Within this literature, there was a shift to a more practice-oriented analysis on how divisions between entities appear, are produced and sustained. It suggests treating borders as a series of practices (Parker, Vaughan-Williams and all, 2009: 583; Newman and Paasi, 1998). The emphasis on the notion of ‘bordering’ as ongoing practices - and thus as more fluid, dynamic, contested and susceptible to changes than usually depicted by more traditional international relations and geopolitics accounts of how the state system works – opens new possibilities to question old assumptions of who draws borders and how they work.

Therefore, both critical border studies and migration studies have been challenging the concept of the border as a fix, static and rigid geographical line, which clearly demarcates the outside from the inside. Although the geographical character of the border is still present, we witness a growing concern with aspects of the border that are neither physical nor material, even though they carry physical and material consequences. Newman and Paasi (1998) argue, for example, that ideas of border, borderland, border-crossing and transgression of a border “are increasingly employed in a metaphoric sense so that they do not inevitably refer to the material spaces with which geographers typically deal” (p. 188). Instead, they are “complex social institutions, which are marked by tensions between practices

of border reinforcement and border crossing” (Pablo Vila apud Mezzadra & Neilson, p. 3). Borders have also been conceptualized as “a set of practices and discourses that ‘spread’ into the whole of society” (Paasi, 1999, 670). By making those moves, and taking into account the distinctions between borders and boundaries presented in the previous section, it is possible to conclude that borders are increasingly turning into boundaries in International Relations, whereas, in other cases, internal boundaries are being enacted as international borders.

Although the given and almost immutable ‘nature’ attributed to borders by earlier debates inside Political Geography and International Relations has been deeply challenged in the past years, nearly all the examples exposed until now use ‘borders’ mainly making reference to institutionalized and official set of practices and discourses that demarcate one state from another. Although borders have thus become more broadly defined, as it was demonstrated, it still retains a strong reference to interstate borders or territorialized borders between governing and political entities. In the meanwhile, much less attention has been paid to how everyday practices are organizing less territorialized boundaries. This thesis seeks to make a contribution by working on the concept of everyday boundaries. My aim is to make a less ‘statist’ and territorialized analysis. Therefore, I will employ almost exclusively the more broadly defined term ‘boundary’, which is less dependent on statist divisions.

Indeed, boundaries can be understood as a much more fluid and dynamic category, that allows moving away from the metaphor of the line. From the metaphor of the line, we pass, with boundaries, to the metaphor of a gray zone. Although it can be instituted and backed by political authorities, boundaries are not necessarily clearly identified to interstate borders. Even though they produce, shape and organize space, they can be of multiple types: symbolic, social, linguistic, cultural, urban, spatial etc. Being less institutionalized, their crystallization or transgression depend, to a larger extent, on a series of everyday practices.

Hence, I place my analysis among those authors who have displaced the focus from the traditional territorial international border to a more pervasive and diffuse complex of boundaries. Shifting the focus from international borders to everyday boundaries will help to shed light on a series of practices of demarcation

usually ignored or under-theorized by International Relations. Moreover, it represents a strong ontological and epistemological claim of what constitutes - and what we should look at to understand - the international. Although many ‘international relations’ happen and are produced by/at international borders, they are certainly not restricted to this particular site. In the specific case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, I intend to look for those boundaries in cities, where, in everyday life, people reinforce or renegotiate them.

Cities have increasingly become contested sites and offer a particularly challenging environment for border/boundary studies. Pullan (2014), for example, argues that we witness a substantial transformation when borders are getting re-shifted to the inner fabric of cities in the form of enclaves, fragments or frontiers, which may exacerbate conflicts (p. 127). This move we might, once again, understand as borders becoming boundaries. Moreover, Pullan (2013) adds, dynamics around low-populated areas of state borders are considerably different from the complexities of urban situations.

While the vocabulary of inclusion and exclusion is often associated with the idea of the border, boundaries, as I understand it, operate in a more flexible way and require a more complex and dynamic conceptual language than that which sustains images of walls and exclusion. Thus, I suggest that boundaries operate mainly by promoting connections and disconnections. As it was argued concerning dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, connection and disconnection can also be understood as part of the same movement, and not as opposed to one another. That is because boundaries overlap, connect and disconnect in often unpredictable ways, contributing to shaping new forms of relations (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013: vii).

The constitution of relations, Coward (2015) argues, is where politics is located. Politics is, thus, “less disagreement (...) and more a contest over the manner in which relations can be formed and dissolved” (Coward, 2015:97). As such, struggles around connections and disconnections on the urban settings are necessary to determine the political dynamic of inclusion and exclusion. The concerns with establishing those “who count” are replaced by questions about those who are connected – and by the acknowledgment that one is usually counted because s/he is connected (Ibidem).

Hence, if we want to understand political life and conditions today, we ought to focus on the production of boundaries (Walker, 2008: 3). Indeed, boundaries should not be understood as mere lines separating two territories inside which political life is made possible. They should not be seen as pre-given contours that limit political life. They shall be understood as practices of demarcation, political moves that entail a myriad of political consequences. Hence, those practices of demarcation are understood here as political practices, while boundaries are no longer considered as the “shores of politics but the space of the political itself” (Balibar apud Parker, Vaughan-Williams and all, 2009: 583).

Thus, it is paramount to pay attention to both sides of a boundary, “as well as to the relationship between specific forms of bounding and the practices that constitute those forms rather than a presumption that boundaries simply record a distinction, and choice, between one side or the other” (Walker, 2016: 2). By doing so, many general ideas about where politics is supposed to occur and who should be part of it are disturbed (Ibidem, 1).

“Thus where conventional wisdom, and too much scholarly analysis, remain hostage to accounts of boundaries as mere lines distinguishing already existing entities (...) (this essay) assumes that boundary produce, reproduce and sometimes transform phenomena that they also distinguish. A lot of politics comes out of a line from within practices that can be made to seem thin, empty and abstract as the edge of a triangle or days divided in some open ocean” (Walker, 2016: 1)

In short, I suggest a shift from the idea of the institutionalized border and the metaphor of the line with its mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion to a more flexible vocabulary of the boundaries. By starting at the boundaries, and not international borders or particular ideas of community, this thesis proposes to challenge already territorialized analyses of the Bosnian situation. By doing so, I also expect not to reify some specific notions of ethnonational identities that would be naturally or historically prone to conflict. Instead, by arguing that boundaries are always in movement, acquire different meanings and are enacted in various ways through space and time, I draw attention to the always-constructed character of the boundaries, even when they have been reinforced to a point where they are regarded

as a solid line that produces many spatial effects. Also, by stressing the idea that boundaries are enacted, I suggest that boundaries are dependent on practices, as it will be explained in the next section. Finally, by exploring the idea that boundaries disconnect and connect (and not only include and exclude), I hope to capture subtleties and possibilities that would remain silenced in more rigid forms of narratives.

## 2.5.

### **Making (violent?) boundaries**

Although boundaries might contain material qualities, as it was mentioned, not all of them are ‘visible’ to people who are not inserted in a specific context. Sometimes, boundaries are physically crystallized in walls, fences and checkpoints, but they do not represent and perform the same things to different people all the time. As Walker (2016) suggests: “There are many kinds of boundaries. They do many different things”. In fact, not only are there different kinds of boundaries that individuals belonging to different social groups experience in a variety of ways, but boundaries also simultaneously perform several functions of demarcations (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013: 4). This *polysemy* character (they never exist in the same way for individuals belonging to different social groups) and *heterogeneity* of boundaries (several functions of demarcation are always fulfilled simultaneously by them) (Balibar, 2002: 79) is particularly rich in urban environments, where there is often no clear ‘inside’ and ‘outside’. Thus, as it will be discussed in chapters three to five, the meanings attributed to boundaries are always contingent, intrinsically related to the practices that produce them (Soguk, 2007: 284).

While for some, post-Dayton boundaries are considered an anomaly and a powerful reminder of war, for others, they are celebrated as the fulfillment of sovereign claims over a particular space. By the same token, where some people completely dismiss and minimize any impact boundaries might have in their everyday life, others admit that those boundaries have shaped their lives to a certain extent – either because they dedicate a certain amount of their lives to reinforce it or to counter it. Where some understand boundaries as a threat to peace and

prosperous future as a single state, others feel protected by it and claim that ‘good fences make good neighbors’. As it was mentioned, boundaries are enacted in different ways and with different intensities through time. Because they are dependent on practices, they acquire different meanings and can fade or, on the contrary, can be exacerbated in such ways that produce violent relations.

Although this ‘polysemy’ of boundaries is important to be highlighted in to grasp the different meanings boundaries are given in the everyday, it is also paramount to stress that those boundaries were produced, at first, due and through violent practices. Also, because they are/were practices of demarcation, they might be understood as violent per se by some authors. Campbell (1992, 1998), for example, argues that all forms of demarcations of boundaries are a kind of violence. The nationalist imaginary might produce a violent relationship with the other, justifying, for example, the expulsion from a certain space of all those who come to be regarded as aliens or foreigners. This sort of violence is, in fact, at the very base of the norms of international society and, in particular, at the idea national communities require the nexus of demarcated territory and fixed identity (p. 13). If (ethnonational) identity has no ontological status, its authority always relies on a founding moment instituted by a *coup de force*, in the form of an interpretative act, a violent performance or a symbolic enactment (Campbell 1998: 27). It remains violence without ground, “since the origin of authority, the foundation or ground, the position of the law can’t by definition rest on anything but themselves” (p. 27). Thus, according to this reading, the very practices of boundary making are intrinsically violent.

Also, drawing boundaries usually requires a ‘reduction of complexity’ where one might find subjected to a forced definition, or to choose between ‘us’ or ‘them’ (Balibar, 2002: 76). The violent consequences of such processes are felt every day by many who feel discriminated.

Here, however, I would like to emphasize another dimension of violence. The boundaries we are looking at have primarily been produced by and through violent practices, here comprise physical violence such as the expulsion, raping, imprisoning and murdering, in campaigns that were judged as ethnic cleansing and genocide. Even if some groups and individuals celebrate today the existence of

boundaries, one cannot and should not forget that today those boundaries are seated over horrific crimes. The numbers, at this point, could never translate the multiple dimension of that violence. It is estimated around 100,000 people dead, between 12,000 to 50,000 victims of mass rape, and over 2 million of displaced people in consequence of the war. Topping those raw numbers we find a widespread feeling of disruption to what society had convened to consider the “normal everyday life”. Because boundaries played a considerably important role on those disruptions, redefining relationships and reorganizing spaces and past forms of living, I consider them, at least in their early days, to be enacted mainly as violent boundaries.

Moreover, by drawing boundaries some people seek to establish a static quality to space. When this happen in the urban space, as boundaries are (re)produced in the inner fabric of cities in the form of enclaves, not only the city become more fragmented but also the ‘the other side’ becomes strange and unknown, possibly somewhere to be avoided, and ultimately vilified (Pullan, 2013: 127), making relations more rare and difficult. Although I have until now insisted on the more flexible and fluid characteristic of boundaries, and have argued that boundaries work both by connecting and disconnecting, boundaries in conflict zones are widely envisaged to become more rigid, restricting mobility and deeply affecting the life of the city (Dumper and Pullan, 2010). As Pullan argues (2013), heavily bounded urban spaces “may seriously detract from everyday life which incorporated its own spontaneity and rhythms as well as its own surprises and messiness” (p. 127)

Violent practice related to boundary-making are precisely those attempts to disrupt, disconnect and restrict encounters, while seeking to achieve some homogenization of spaces, which, taken to the extreme might result in practices of ‘purification’ of space and ‘ethnic cleansing’,

Thus, violence is an important aspect of those practices of demarcation. For instance, many practices of demarcation today in Bosnia and Herzegovina seem to be embedded in memories of physical violence, or fear of physical violence recurrence. Moreover, some forms of categorization may also be linked to physical violence. For instance, during the war, under some circumstances, lying on one side of a definite boundary or the other could represent a matter of life and death. Hence,



the boundaries we are looking at were both produced by violent practices (although not only) and also enabled other kinds of violent practices.

Tilly (2003) stresses the violent consequences us-them boundaries may have. He employs the notion of ‘boundary activation’, which he explains as a “shift in social interactions such that they increasingly (a) organize around a single us-them boundary and (b) differentiate between within-boundary and cross-boundary interactions” (Ibidem). On the other hand, ‘boundary deactivation’ denotes the opposite shift, “towards new or multiple boundaries and toward decreased difference between within-boundary and cross-boundary interactions” (p. 21).

Coordinate forms of collective violence depend, to a large extent, on brokerage and activation of us-them boundaries (p. 17). According to Tilly’s definition, “brokerage operates (...) always connecting at least two social sites more directly than they were previously connected (...). For example, if brokerage connects factions on each side of an us-them boundary without establishing new connections across the boundary, then it facilitates polarization of the two sides” (p. 21). Thus, the author argues, “where brokerage and boundary activation loom large, the evidence will show, they commonly override previously existing social relations among participants” (Ibidem). This mechanism of ‘boundary activation’ may be helpful to understand the occurrence of violence. For example, one might interpret what happened in BiH (and Yugoslavia, in general) at the beginning of the 1990s as a phenomenon of ethnonational boundary activation, which was intensified by the war itself, through the form of the activation of ethnonational boundaries. In many ways, ethnonational demarcations persist until today, although when we look closer to the dynamics in place in BiH we identify a much more complex history, composed by the overlap of other kinds of categories and boundaries.

As such, the concepts of ‘boundary activation’ and ‘boundary deactivation’ cannot fully grasp in the dynamics analyzed in this thesis. Although Tilly’s concept of boundary activation allows for stressing the historical and social construct of violent forms of boundary, it relies on a large degree on dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, and on the metaphor of lines of separation. Focusing on the activation or deactivation of boundaries may be important to understand how they acquire

different meanings through time and space, but it might not be sufficient to explore boundary as grey zones, as places of dispute or even as meeting places – metaphors that translate the everyday of the places I have analysed with more precision. The risk of relying only on accounts of (ethnonational) boundary activation is reproducing the metaphors of the line and in dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. Indeed, Tilly's analysis relies on a clear-cut division between "us" and "them", leaving not enough room to exploring boundaries as a boundaryzone that also operate by connecting and disconnecting rather than only by including and excluding. Moreover, by not paying attention to the everyday practices that inform those processes, Tilly leaves little room for capturing alternative social practices that dispute the very meanings and places of those boundaries. Therefore, there is a need to move away from reducing 'boundary activation' to identitarian categories and thus also out of 'inclusion/exclusion' category as used in IR.

Indeed, if we interpret BiH through analytical categories in light of the Dayton General Framework Agreement, we must likely depict boundaries as rigid lines that divide one entity from the other, or one side of the city from the other, or, still, what is the international and what is the local. In this case, the Dayton General Framework Agreement would be considered a normative structure that informs everyday practices in today Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although I agree this is a valid and important interpretation, I believe that such analysis would lack a more complex and dynamic account in which the interaction between different kinds of actors informed by (sometimes) conflicting discourses would be seriously considered.

Nevertheless, it would be rather simplistic, if not incorrect, to depict ethnonational categories as the exclusive identification through which people organize their lives and relate to each other. Although many forms of categorization and identification that used to organize life in Bosnia and Herzegovina have been disrupted during and after the war, others have emerged. The massive displacement of the population has transformed the rural/urban divide and regional senses of belonging, disrupting, at the same time, personal and professional networks both in villages and in bigger cities. The economic transition during the 1990s affected previous notions of social classes, while some people benefited from a black market

economy and privatizations to attain a new social role in Bosnian society (Bougarel, Helms and Duijzings, 2007). On the other hand, new social groups emerged, such as displaced persons, returnees, war veterans or families of missing persons. At the same time, moral categories (victim/perpetrator; hero/coward/traitor etc.) shaped by war experiences continue to inform public discourses (Kolind, 2007; Ullen, 2013).

Moreover, a significant number of ‘internationals’ arrived in Bosnia by the mid-1990s. In 1998, it was estimated that 10,000 foreign nation-builders were living in Sarajevo<sup>36</sup> alone and at least 40,000 others were scattered across Bosnia, a significant number for a country of fewer than 4 million people (Chandler, 2000:2). Even if international military activities have diminished since then, “international workers”<sup>37</sup> are still responsible for a wide group of activities ranging from running elections, lending money through micro-credit programs, rebuilding houses, assisting trauma victims, demining land, creating state symbols, training nurses and doctors etc (Coles, 2007: 257). They are concentrated mainly in bigger cities such as Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Mostar, and their presence has contributed to foster other kinds of boundaries.

Hence, my point of departure shall not be ethnonational categories and how they have been organized spatially in post-Dayton Bosnia – a choice that would probably entail the reification of those very (contested) categories. The focus, instead, will rely on boundaries, but not on boundaries per se as if they stand by themselves. My interest relies mainly on the practices that produce or ‘do’ boundaries.

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<sup>36</sup> In a city of nearly 300,000 inhabitants.

<sup>37</sup> Even if I make a distinction here between “local” and “international” actors, I do not think that those are completely different or opposite categories. I believe that there is no “local Bosnia” waiting for the “international” to interfere. Instead, I argue that what we understand as the international presence is already constitutive of Bosnia. Still, I evoked this distinction because some actors claim to be ‘locals’, while others claim to be international or to act in the name of the ‘international community’. Thus, it is important to take note of this distinction made by those very actors in that it has a strategic place in a political discourse that privileges one over another. I will come back to this point in Chapter 5.

As such, in the next section, I will propose a different kind of analysis. I suggest analyzing those boundaries not (only) by looking at the map or by taking into account how they were conceived and institutionalized (mainly) by the ‘international community’ and ‘local’ leaders sat at the peace table. My primary interest, instead, is to understand what people ‘make do’ (Certeau) of boundaries, to capture boundaries in their everyday production, reproduction and displacements. Also, it is important to understand how they were brought to be, how they are sustained, and also, how they are transformed. I will focus, therefore, in everyday boundaries enactment.

## **2.6.**

### ***Enacting boundaries***

Boundaries are especially susceptible to naturalization and abstraction (Walker, 2016:2). To engage with boundaries not as a brute fact but as a series of practices that ought to be performed in order for them to ‘be’ (and, hence, to open up for possibilities of change, disputes and displacements) allows us to denaturalize boundaries and also to raise suspicions that they not (always) work as it is said they work. Analyzing practices allow for identifying at the same time the production of boundaries and the practices of destabilization of these very boundaries.

Since this thesis is interested in depicting what people “make do” with boundaries, I search for those practices in the lived spaces of the everyday. In the next chapter, I will expose in more depth this onto-epistemic-methodological choice and its consequences for this thesis. Here, however, I would like to lay the basis to make this connection between ‘practices’, ‘enactments’ and the ‘everyday’.

Choosing the everyday provides as an analytical category provides a framework to explore the dynamic character of boundaries. The focus on everyday life, also understood as “the way of operating or doing things” is, in fact, a focus on how people practice everyday life (De Certeau, 1984: xi). Indeed, “it is in and through practices – deeds that embody shared intersubjective knowledge – that social life is organized, that subjectivities are constituted, and that history unfolds” (Alder and Pouliot, 2011). Alder and Pouliot’s (2011) definition of ‘practices’ is important to highlight:

“Practices are competent performance. More precisely, practices are socially meaningful patterns of action, which, in being performed more or less competently, simultaneously embody, act out, and possibly reify background knowledge and discourse in and on the material world” (p.6)

As such, practices are not any action, but the concept of practices relies on the fact that they are ‘patterned’, that they are not isolated, and this differentiates them from action and behavior.

However, practices not only “embody, act out and possibly reify background knowledge and discourse in and on the material world”. Through practices, we also “do” objects and bodies. Mol (2002) argues that practices should be made foreground in analysis, which would also change the perception we have of what is an object. The focus, Mol argues, should be in the very practices that turn someone into an agent, and something into the object. For Mol, ‘things’ come into being – and disappear – with practices in which they are manipulated (p.4-5). If they *are*, it is because and through practices. Thus, Mol argues, “it is in the act, and only then and there, that something *is* – being enacted” (Mol, 2002:41). As such, Mol’s approach is more in line with Judith Butler, for whom “there need not be a ‘doer behind the deed’, but that the ‘doer’ is variably constructed in and through the deed” (Butler apud Mol, p.37).

Mol and Law (2010) explain the process through which objects are ‘done’. First, we do things by knowing them, where knowing is also considered a practice. There are not many ways of knowing something, but there are many ways of practicing it. Knowing something may lead one to intervene, to counteract and, thus, lead people to undertake other sets of practices such as measuring, avoiding, feeling, countering, producing. Those are all practices we usually do with our bodies. Thus, bodies act and are enacted, too, while they are measuring, avoiding, feeling, countering or producing. Thus, bodies and things are not well-defined wholes, they are not closed off, but they have semi-permeable boundaries. They thus interact and partly merge with its surroundings (p.13).

If practices make an object, then “each way of practicing stages – performs, does, enacts – a different version of ‘the’ object”. Therefore, we should always look at them – in this thesis, boundaries – in conjunction with the practices through

which they are enacted. This polysemic character of boundaries might lead to the conclusion that the boundary is more than one – it is, in fact, multiple (Mol, 2014). However, while boundary is enacted as multiple, its different versions still hang together. They are entangled with one another, so there are a limited number of forms they can assume. A boundary unfolds in many ways, though it does not fragment. Reflecting from an extract of Mol's book (2002) where she brilliantly reveals the many practices through which a disease is enacted in a hospital – and bodies are enacted because and in response to that disease - I find a similar process when and where boundaries are in question. Replacing the word 'disease' by 'boundaries', we thus have that:

“The *boundary* that ethnographers talk about is never alone. It does not stand by itself. It depends on everything and everyone that is active while it is being practiced. This *boundary* is being done” (p. 32).

That brings us back to De Certeau's concern about what people 'make do' and to the importance of looking at the everyday to seize those meanings, however precarious they appear to be. When a boundary is being *done*, we may suggest that it is *performed* in a specific way. However, the metaphor of performance carries a strong association with a duality between the stage and the backstage. This distinction is particularly highlighted by Goffman (1959), who argues that when people present themselves, they act as if they were on a stage; they perform. The concept of performance thus might suggest that there are two distinctive moments, the performative one –on stage – and the backstage, where the “real reality” is hiding. It seems thus to suggest that there is an essence of that actor hiding somewhere. Goffman argues that, where sociologists should study performances on stage, what happens on the backstage should be the object of study for psychologists:

“At one extreme, one finds that the performer can be fully taken by his own act; he can be sincerely convinced that the impression of reality which he stages is the real reality. When his audience is also convinced in this way about the show he puts on – and this seems to be the typical case – then for the moment at least, only the sociologist or the socially disgruntled will have any doubts about the 'realness' of what is presented” (Goffman, 1971:28).

Although Mol (2002) acknowledges that the term ‘performance’ has been used in other ways – Judith Butler’s work being a particularly strong example –, she expresses the need to adopt a word that carries a less heavy connotation than the one of performance, and that also stresses a ‘shift from epistemological to a praxiographic inquiry’. Hence, the word she chooses is *enact*, *enactment* (p. 32).

The term also exposes the precarious condition of the meanings acquired through enactments. Because it is “in the act, and only then and there, that something is” within a certain meaning, we need to look at those boundaries at the moment they are being enacted – and those moments can be quite fugacious. Thus, adopting this vocabulary of enactment will have three consequences for this work.

First, while investigating boundaries, I shall not isolate them from the practices in which they are enacted nor from the environment in which they are embedded. As it was argued, boundaries do not stand by themselves, alone. They depend on everyone and everything that is active while they are being practiced. Moreover, they are related to and partly merge with their surroundings. Second, my focus will rely less on the doer, the agent or the individual than on their practices. As such, I am not interested on ‘identity’ as a primary or essential, category, unless when it is tied to particular practices. Therefore, I am more interested on the situations where people ‘do’ ethnonationalities or other forms of belongings. That because while practices enact ‘things’, the person who practise them is also constituted through those practices. And, finally, I am interested not only at taking the everyday as an analytical field to grasp the fluidity of enactments of boundaries (thus, not what boundaries *are*, but how they are enacted, practiced, experienced, shifted, minimized, displaced), but I am also interested in exposing how the everyday, and places, are already a materialization of the enactment of boundaries in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. This last point will be explored in details in the next chapter.

## 2.7.

### Conclusion

In this chapter, I have undertaken an effort to conceptualize borders and boundaries, instead of using those terms interchangeably. I have also argued that International Relations as a discipline has been more concerned with interstate borders than with boundaries and I have claimed that this thesis, focus, however, on boundaries. Although borders and boundaries are not opposites – we might understand borders as a specific kind of boundary – this thesis deals with the broader concept of boundaries.

As such, I have embraced Walkers' (2016) metaphor of the boundary as a seashore, and, therefore, an ever-changing place of movement, and encounter. This metaphor expresses the movements I aim to make towards understanding how boundaries operate. As such, I have expressed a need to move away from statist territorial lines that work mainly by including and excluding towards a more fluid and dynamic category that operates also by connecting and disconnecting. Thus, from the metaphor of the line, we pass to the metaphor of a gray zone, where divergent practices take place and where it is never so clear where is the inside and where is the outside.

Boundaries also perform several functions of demarcation simultaneously (they are heterogeneous) and, as such, they are experienced differently by different social groups (they are polysemic). A boundary is thus never one; it unfolds in multiple meanings and functions depending on everyday practices that enact them. As it will be explored in more detail in Chapter 2, although the everyday might be the place of routine and repetition, it is also the place of creativity and appropriation (De Certeau, 1984; Lefebvre 2005, 2008). It is thus looking at the everyday that this thesis will make sense of those everyday boundaries.



## 3

**The Place(s) of Everyday and Everyday Places**

[...]“You can say something else.”

“What?” I asked helplessly. “I have already destroyed everything I wrote. Tell me what I should have said.”

“I don’t know,” he answered back with a note of frustration in his voice. “I just know it should be something else. I read the books on Bosnia. All these professors, building their careers on what I lost.” He looked closely at me, and said, “You are building your whole career on what I lost, and you never came to even ask me what that was like.”

“What would you like me to do?” I asked quietly.

“Say something else!” he repeated emphatically.

“What should I say?”, I asked defiantly, but I felt that I might cry soon.

“I don’t know. Say anything but what you’re saying now. Come and live inside my skin” (...) (Dauphinee, *The Politics of Exile*, 167)

“The hard part in writing a narrative of someone’s life is choosing from the abundance of details and microevents, all of them equally significant, or equally insignificant. If one elects to include only the important events (...) one denies the real substance of life: the ephemera, the nether moments, much too small to be recorded (...). But you cannot simply list all the moments when the world tickles your senses, only to seep away between your fingers and eyelashes, leaving you alone to tell the story of your life to an audience interested only in the fireworks of universal experiences, the rollercoaster rides of sympathy and judgment (Hemon, 2004: 41).

### 3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will argue in favor of the study of everyday both to understand international politics and, more precisely, the enactment of boundaries in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. The everyday, which usually receives our ‘daily inattention’ (Georges Bataille apud Highmore, 2002), will be considered here a relevant analytical category through which undertake this research.

This chapter will thus invite for unwrapping the everyday. For long deemed “essential and mundane” and thus “unworthy of thought” (Lefebvre, 2008:3), the everyday has been often taken as flat, homogeneous and unproblematic. Constituted as the realm of routine and repetition, the everyday was often dismissed as a possible site of creativity, politics and change. However, it is precisely those possibilities opened by the everyday that drive me to explore it. Thus, I draw on the work of authors such as Henri Lefebvre, Michael De Certeau and Cynthia Enloe in order 1) to show how important is to take the everyday seriously in a political analysis especially because 2) it is in and through the everyday that new possibilities emerge.

In order to ‘unwrap’ the everyday, however, there is a need to conceptualize it. This will be done, without, however, pinning down a stable and single concept of the everyday. It will be argued that this is not possible, for one of its characteristics is its elusiveness and the fact that it ‘escapes’ (Blanchot, 1993). However, I will plunge in an attempt to identify how the everyday has been depicted in the literature lately. I discuss four ways in which the everyday has been commonly depicted, and I will raise the problems and limitations of thinking about the everyday in those four terms.

Following Lefebvre (1991, 2008), however, I suggest a take on the everyday where the everyday is not the ‘weaker’ or the less dynamic side of the dichotomies to which it has been associated. Rather, the everyday will be conceived here as meeting place between so called lower and higher activities. Those arguments also open up for questioning the relation between the everyday and international relations. Traditional accounts of international relations and its metaphors usually dismiss the everyday as a relevant field of analysis. This work, however, argues that the everyday should be considered an important field of analysis for students of international relations because it gets rid of the metaphor of levels of analysis in a pyramidal form, while it also introduces new methodological possibilities when it is claimed that everyday life and everyday places are also sites in which the international is (re)produced and also destabilized. It makes possible a less statist account of international politics.

Taking the everyday seriously those imply in an onto-epistemo-methodological choice that entails implications on methods and techniques to conduct this research. The options and choices I undertake will be exposed and delineated. This encompasses developing a “curiosity” (Enloe) about the everyday, employing *snippets* to raising more heterogeneous voices and accounts and, finally, choosing reference points in order to avoid the trap in which the everyday becomes a category too broad to be analyzed. Those reference points will be four ‘everyday places’, to which I will look at to reflect on boundaries enactment in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### **3.2. An invitation to look at the everyday**

During interviews I conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina intermittently from December 2014 to November 2015, my questions about the everyday and my interest on everyday life have been, recurrently, met with astonishment and even suspicion. In a few cases, potential interviewees did not see the point on conducting research on the chosen places. At one particular school, close by the Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL), the pedagogue who I wanted to interview stated: “here is a normal school, like any other school in the world. The everyday is normal, like in a normal school”. In another school, from the other side of the boundary, I heard from the principal: “Why would someone from Brazil come here to study our school? This is not interesting”<sup>38</sup>. In many other occasions, my questions about aspects of someone’s everyday life were answered with shrugging shoulders and something along those lines: “well, it is normal”. Translating in Lefebvre’s words,

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<sup>38</sup> The names of teachers and staff of those schools in Sarajevo will not be mentioned here, since I was never granted an official permission to conduct research in those schools by the Ministry of Education of Kanton Sarajevo (for schools in Sarajevo) and the Ministry of Education of Republika Srpska (for schools in Istočno Sarajevo). Although I have applied for permission, I have never received a response. Those conversations have happened, thus, during my attempts to get permission to conduct research at those schools. I have only received permission to research two semi-private schools, the Katolik School Center (in central Sarajevo) and the United World College, in Mostar

they were saying that their everyday life, “essential and mundane, it was deemed unworthy of thought”(2008 3).

In other occasions, potential interviewees were intrigued, or even confused, about my research being on the contemporary everyday life, and not on the war period, as one could consider that its ‘exceptional’ character would draw more attention than ‘mundane’, ‘trivial’ or ‘boring’ activities. Indeed, initially, some people refused to talk to me before even listening to what the research was about by saying that they were “not here during the war”<sup>39</sup> or because they did not want to talk about the war period at all.

Living a ‘normal life’ has been a major concern to people in Bosnia and Herzegovina and, more precisely, Sarajevo and Mostar (Maček, 2009; Jansen, 2015) due, among other things, to all the disruptions that they have experienced during the war. Maček (2009), who conducted an ethnographical work on Sarajevo under siege, demonstrates how dwellers swung back and forth between concepts of normality and abnormality, which were usually connected to two points of reference, respectively, peacetime (before the war) and wartime. When Sarajevans spoke of normal life, she explains, “they meant prewar way of life and social norms that had been lost amid the violent circumstances of the siege. They saw the way of living that they had been forced to adopt during the siege as abnormal, yet it became strangely normal during wartime” (2009:9). This coping mechanism, in which normality and abnormality get mingled in a process deemed the “normality of the abnormal”<sup>40</sup>, was coined by Sarajevans as “imitation of normal life” (p.9), in which people negotiated ‘normality’ through the continuation of everyday activities (Jansen, 2015:37). Ethical dilemmas arose amid everyday struggles, such as “*what is an acceptable everyday normality? What is a decent human life? (...) Should they resist the impulse to run before the sniper? Should they cling to the*

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<sup>39</sup> For example, Interview with D. 12 April 2015. At Café Bla Bla, Istočno Sarajevo Coach Station. Interview conducted in French, my translation.

<sup>40</sup> Much has been written on this malleability of notions of ‘normality’, in which people get used to violent situations through routinization regarding, for example, war in Mozambique (Lubkemann 2008) and the intifada (Jean-Klein 2001). See also Jansen, chapter 1 (‘Normal Lives, or Towards an Anthropology of Yearning’).

*cosmopolitanism that, like their city, lay in ruins, or should they judge others on the basis of national belonging?” (p.9).*

Although “normality” has been associated, during the war, with the lives people lived before the war, and, as I have exposed, many people today told me their everyday was, nowadays, ‘normal’ as a first, fast reaction, a counter narrative permeates those places, and it regards an impression of a permanent state of abnormality in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. I heard several times from interviewees, acquaintances and friends that “no one here is normal”, “nothing in Bosnia is normal”, “nothing works in a proper way”. These claims were also reflected by the frequently employed expressions: “Only in Bosnia”, “only here” or “where does that exist?” (Answer: “only in Bosnia”), usually related to boundary-making practices, ‘trivision’<sup>41</sup> of almost all realms, or yet to a myriad of other questions concerning from the inefficacy of services the excess of bureaucratization to, for example, cars driving too fast at streets of Sarajevo. Hence, the discourse of ‘abnormality’ also marks the everyday.

Embedded in this framework of ‘abnormality’, there is an implicit acknowledgement that everyday life is not detached from big political events and is far from being a ‘pacified’ realm. The everyday cannot be reduced to the unimportant or the banal, as mere residual or the remnants of the political, as people who at first shrugged their shoulders seemed to indicate. It is also not “merely the humble and sordid side of life in general, and of social practice” (Lefebvre, 2008: 19). Rather, “everyday life is profoundly related to all activities, and encompasses them with all their differences and their conflicts; it is their meeting place, their bond, their common ground” (Lefebvre, 1991: 97), and it thus provides for connection and mediation between categories often presented as dichotomies such as public and private, the exceptional and the routine (Lefebvre, 2008: 16). It is in

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<sup>41</sup> Jansen (2015) coins this term of ‘trivision’ based on a joke where a journalist ask a Bosnian to comment on the political situation in his country. The Bosnian says ‘Mmmmm... I don’t know what to say, I am in three minds about this [*troumim se*]’. Like in English, Jansen explains, the more common phrase refers to being in two minds [*dvoumity se*]. Thus, the joke and the term refer to a structural feature of Dayton BiH: the organization of everything ‘by three’ (considering three constituent groups) (p.10).

and through the everyday that those tensions are played, the disputes are fought and appropriations and even transformation take place.

To say that the feeling of abnormality allows for looking at the everyday as a relevant category that should not be taken for granted or dismissed from (international) political analysis is not to say that the everyday experienced as abnormal is more political than those deemed normal (even because, as it was said above, there is usually an important malleability on what may be considered ‘abnormal’ and what can be consider ‘normal’). However, to frame the everyday as ‘abnormal’ causes a similar reaction to the ‘estrangement effect’ proposed by the German playwright Bertolt Brecht, 1964[2005]<sup>42</sup>. According to Brecht’s ‘estrangement effect’, “before familiarity can turn into awareness, the familiar must be stripped of its inconspicuousness; we must give up assuming that the object in question needs no explication. However frequently, recurrent, modest, vulgar it may be it will now be labeled as something unusual” (Brecht apud Highmore, 2002). Thus, the estrangement effect consists on taking distance from the familiar and looking at it as if it was something unusual; in order to bring it beyond the realm of the evident (Brecht, 1964[2005]p. 78).

Moved by a similar aim to investigate everything that is accepted as “natural”, “traditional” and that which have “always” happened, Enloe develops a “feminist curiosity” in order to expose power structures ‘inside households, within institutions, in societies, in international affairs’ that are dependent on our continuing lack of curiosity (Enloe, 2004: 3). In this work, I will side especially with Enloe in this ‘curiosity’, which will not be a feminist curiosity per se, but a curiosity about boundary enactments. Brecht’ method of ‘estrangement’ will also help me to raise many questions in this work. Although the aim here is not to depict everyday life in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina as something exotic (in opposition to a normative approach of what the everyday should be), making this

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<sup>42</sup> See also See also Lefebvre (1991) 10-28pp.

exercise of taking oneself back and looking at places (situations, relations, things) as if they were something unusual is productive for a research.

Thus, if we think about the everyday as a category through ‘curiosity’ and ‘estrangement’, the question that emerges is how what we call the ‘everyday’ became being perceived as realm in itself, detached both from public and political lives and naturalized as an hierarchically inferior site. As such, every time I use the term ‘everyday’, I must acknowledge that there is nothing natural about this category existing per se, and that a lot of work and power were required to make some everyday ‘things’ and ‘relations’ go on unnoticed and unquestioned.

Lefebvre says that “we perceive everyday life only in its familiar, trivial, inauthentic guises” and then asks “How can we avoid the temptation to turn our backs on it?” (p.133). In this section, I made an invitation to precisely not turn our backs to the everyday, and showing to productive ways in other to analyze it. Before I can continue to demonstrate how I will analyze the everyday in this work, there is a need to locate the everyday and to attempt to conceptualize it. We now turn to this.

### **3.3. Conceptualizing the everyday**

“The everyday escapes”. This statement by Maurice Blanchot (1993) suggests one of the main difficulties in giving a definitive definition to the ‘everyday’: “whatever its other aspects, the everyday has this essential trait: it allows no hold. It escapes” (p. 239-240). Blanchot goes about explaining the difficulty to grasp it: “In this consist its strangeness – the familiar showing itself (but already dispersing) in the guise of the astonishing. It is the unperceived, first in the sense that we have always looked past it, nor can we introduce it into a whole or ‘review’ it, that is to say, enclose it within a panoramic vision, for, by another trait, the everyday is what we never see for a first time but can only see again, having always already seen it by an illusion that is constitutive of the everyday” (p.40)

According to Blanchot's argument, therefore, to take the everyday out of its inconspicuousness would already transform the everyday into something else. However, scholars from different fields such as Philosophy, Sociology and History have precisely taken the everyday as an object of inquiry for a long time. It was during the 1970s and the 1980s, however, that this concept has started receiving a more special attention. Until then, the everyday was usually taken as something that is simply 'out there'; 'a palpable reality to be gathered up and described'; a 'self-evident' and 'readily accessible' category (Highmore, 2002: 1). In common, scholars such as Henri Lefebvre, and Michel De Certeau underline the elusiveness of the everyday, stating, nevertheless, that the everyday should be considered an important field of analysis. That because, instead of taking the everyday as flat, homogeneous and unproblematic, those authors highlight everyday ambivalences', especially in which relates to power structures and its underlining possibilities of contestation. As such, they take the everyday as problematic and changeable.

Moreover, Lefebvre argues that the everyday should be understood not only as an important object of inquiry and a site where disputes take place, but also as something to be transformed. The everyday, Lefebvre (2008) goes on saying, is precisely where the genuine changes take place. Although he compares the everyday with "almost stagnant waters", he acknowledges that "there have been mirages", and the illusions those mirages provoke, every now and then, achieve results, in the form of changes (1991: 137). Thus, because the everyday is a place not only of domination and reproduction, but also of changes, and where "the genuine reality (is) to be found" (Ibidem), disciplines such as History and psychology must become a study of everyday life, according to Lefebvre (p. 137). As such, the everyday should not be understood as a "benign, residual category that remained after the major institutions of society had been understood, but rather it was an important realm to study in its own right". Thus, because the everyday is where changes take place and also something to be changed, it "is at the same time the arena and the total stake" (Lefebvre, 2008 116).

De Certeau (1984) also stresses that the everyday contains an important component that allows for escaping not 'domination', but 'discipline'. In fact De Certeau argues that, if it is true that we must understand how the surveillance



network spread itself everywhere, it is even more urgent to find out how a whole society is not reduced to it (p. 41). There is a need, thus, to identify popular procedures (even if they are minuscule and apparently banal) that play with the mechanisms of discipline. Those practices, according to De Certeau, always contain a degree of creativity and appropriation of the prevalent culture, resulting, not rarely, in a re-employment of this ‘ready-made’ culture. They subvert this ‘ready-made’ culture not by rejecting them, “but by using them with respect to ends and references foreign to the system they had no choice but to accept” (De Certeau, 1984: xiii). As such, for De Certeau, it is in and through the everyday that new possibilities emerge.

The dominant culture economy is thus adapted by those who put it in practice, in order to fit their own interests and their own rule. This idea of creative resistance, that is by no means progressive or systematic, is central to De Certeau’s work. That is what De Certeau calls *tactics*: “the ingenious ways in which the weak makes use of the strong” (p. xvii). Most of everyday practices, De Certeau argues, are tactical in character. It is through a myriad of them that people (re)appropriate space and, thus, turn the everyday into political.

“A tactics insinuates itself into the other’s place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance (...) Because it does not have a place, a tactic depends on time – it is always in the watch for opportunities that must be seized ‘on the wing’. Whatever it wins, it does not keep. It must constantly manipulate events in order to turn them into “opportunities” (p. xix).

‘Tactics’ are thus movement in time, while ‘strategies’ are movement in space. Indeed, for De Certeau, strategy is the imposition of power through the disciplining and organizations of space (De Certeau; Crang. 137). This distinction made by De Certeau between strategy/tactics, space/time, and strong/weak represents, however, a problem in my analysis. Although I will employ De Certeau’s idea of the everyday as creative, treating ‘tactics’ as dependent only on time seems incomplete to how I deal with spatial categories in this work. As it will be argued later in this work, even small tactics ‘on time’ would shape space.

This very brief insertion on a particular take of the everyday by both Lefebvre and De Certeau allows to state, as an introduction, that the everyday, as an object of enquiry, promptly reveals its ambivalences, and any attempt to characterize it as homogeneous is easily dismissed. Indeed, questioning the ‘everyday’ allows for understanding it as a complex site, where relations of power and domination take place and, in some extent, are reproduced. On the other hand, and as it was exposed above, the everyday is also a productive and creative site. Independently from being a realm of domination and reproduction of power, or a realm of contestation and resistance (or, most likely, the relation between both), the everyday is a category that must be unwrapped and explored, instead of being taken for granted as an unproblematic and unchangeable component of social existence (Gardiner, 2000).

A first attempt to conceptualize the everyday requires that we locate it, both in space and time, to make clear what we are talking about. Lefebvre (2008), for example, argues that what we now understand as the everyday is intrinsically related to changes in means of production and on lifestyle. As such, there has been a shift in our understanding of what the term ‘everyday’ stands for. In the beginning of the 20th century the term was largely associated with the idea of “daily”, and it was used to refer to what was essential for day-to-day living or survival. More recently, however, the term has been shifted from “daily life” (*la vie quotidienne*) to the everyday (*le quotidien*). This shift follows an important move into modernity, when “the everyday” has acquired a broader connotation, referring to “the set of everyday acts, and especially the fact that they are interlinked, that they form a whole” (Lefebvre, 2008:2).

It also reflects a growing atomization and specialization of both the individual and the space that came along with capitalism. For peasants whose “workplace is all around the house; work is not separate from the everyday life of family”, and leisure time was not conceived in the same ways to ‘distract’ or ‘break’ the daily working routine (Lefebvre, 1991[1958] 30-31). It is with the advent of industrial capitalism and the growing importance given to the town, that the separation between those three – work, family/private life and leisure time – becomes more visible. That is because those spheres are relational to each other.

Take working and leisure activities as examples. As Lefebvre argues, they are, at once, united and contradictory. Listing a whole range of ‘everyday acts’, such as eating, drinking, dressing, and so on, do not exhaust everyday life for Lefebvre. What make them “everyday” is the fact that they are interlinked (2008 2) Indeed, the everyday is not restricted to one set of activities nor to one sphere of life. Thus, instead of asking where, in work, leisure or family life is the everyday to be found, we should understand them as an unit (Lefebvre, 1991. p. 30-31).

Hence, to insist that the everyday does not reside on work, private family life or leisure activities alone is an important move made by Lefebvre. In fact, those spheres are relational to each other, and they are, at once, united and contradictory. Those elements produce contradictions and, as such, they should not be studied in separate, as discrete elements. Rather, like all ensembles, they must be studied in terms of the interrelation of its elements (1991 p.40), precisely to identify its reproductive and creative features, on its rhythms, complexness and elusiveness. A good place to undertake such a research, Lefebvre argues, is a cafe. It provides “an extra-familial and extra-professional meeting place (...), where they can speak freely (...) and where if what is said may be superficial, the freedom to say it is fiercely defended; where they play. (p. 41).

The example of the café is important because the everyday practices should be attended in the context in which they take part, “the social relations within which they occur” (Lefebvre, 2). Everyday life should thus be thought as a totality (Lefebvre 1991, 1997), “the ‘connective tissue’ that gives the totality its structure and coherence” (Gardiner, 2000: 79).

“Everyday life is profoundly related to all activities, and encompasses them with all their differences and their conflicts; it is **their meeting place**, their bond, their common ground. And it is in everyday life that the sum total of relations which make the human – and every human being – a whole takes its shapes and form” (Lefebvre, 1991: 97)

Considering the everyday as a connective tissue or a meeting place of all activities allows for questioning the prevalent ways in which the everyday has been depicted in the literature so far. If we acknowledge that the ‘everyday’ is a changing

and contested concept, situated both on political and historical contexts, my aim here is not to pin it down and say what the everyday *is* and what it *is not*. Instead, in the next sub-section, I aim to summarizing and interpreting what I understand as the four most prevalent ways in which the ‘everyday’ life’ has been conceived in the literature so far. I will then explain both the interests and problems to think about the everyday in those terms. After doing that, I will return to the idea of the ‘connective tissue’ or ‘meeting place’ in order to explain how I use the concept in this work.

### 3.3.1.

#### **Four prevalent conceptions of the everyday and its critic**

First, and as a ‘common sense’ (Davies and Niemann, 2002), the everyday is described as which we presume to be mundane, familiar and unremarkable (Moran, 2005; Scott, 2009, Lefebvre, 2008 3)). By itself, however, this definition can be very imprecise, ambiguous and subjective: what is perceived to be trivial and familiar to some people can be quite the opposite to others. Nevertheless, this definition makes explicit the arbitrariness of the division between the everyday and so-called higher or nobler activities. For many decades, feminist scholars have been drawing attention exactly to this implicitly hierarchy that sustains the dichotomy everyday/higher activities. As such, the everyday and the mundane are usually depicted as the naturally invisible, a realm devoid of decision-making, a seemingly pre-political sphere (Enloe, 2011), in contrast to so-called higher activities. It has often been considered as a site, or a level, where “nothing happens” (Blanchot apud Sheringham, 2000: 188).

However, countering the idea that the everyday is relegated only to the mundane and to the unremarkable, Lefebvre argues that such divisions between lower/higher activities are not as clear-cut as it is usually depicted. In fact, for Lefebvre, the everyday receives the remains of ‘higher’ activities, but it is also their fertile soil that allows for higher things to grow (Lefebvre, 2008 11). In this sense, we can understand them as very dependent and embedded in one another.

“No so-called ‘elevated’ activity can be reduced to it (everyday life), nor can it be separated from it. Its activities are born, they grow and emerge; once they have left the nourishing earth of their native land, not one of them can be formed and fulfilled on its own account (...) It is at the heart of the everyday that projects become works of creativity” (Lefebvre, 1991[2002]:41)

Second, the everyday has been associated to that which so-called ordinary people do in ordinary places. As such, scholars interested on the everyday usually investigate the practices of ‘the weak’, ‘the margins’, ‘the subordinated’, ‘the workers’, in contrast to ‘great powers’, ‘elite actors’, ‘decision-makers’ and ‘international institutions’ (Hobson and Seabrooke, 2007:2). This is particularly the case in Social History, where to invoke the “everyday” is usually to take into account those who have traditionally been left out of narratives that privilege the elites. Thus, everyday ‘becomes shorthand for voices from ‘below’’: by choosing the approach, the researcher is usually siding with the dominated instead of with the dominants (Highmore, 2002: 1). If this approach has its merits of making visible the lives and voices of those who have traditionally been ignored from historical accounts, we should also be aware that not all attention drawn to it is harmless or beneficial. Indeed, as Foucault has demonstrated throughout his work, ‘the everyday has been continually invaded by a certain scrutiny for the effective governance of social subjects’ (Foucault apud Highmore, 2002:11):

“Thus any claim simply to suggest that the everyday evidences subtle and wily evasions to forms of domination would also need to recognize that the everyday has been the focus of scrutiny for centuries, and for the most part that scrutiny has accompanied the policing of everyday life. Sexual practices, hygiene, family life, work regimes, diet have continually been seen as the providence of governmental agents”. (Ibidem).

Besides, studying the everyday life is not necessarily about studying what ordinary people do in everyday places. Some authors do study the everyday of decision makers in governmental workplaces<sup>43</sup>. Nevertheless, most authors

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<sup>43</sup> See, for example, Carol Cohn’s “Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals”. *Signs*, Vol. 12, No 4, Within and Without: Women, Gender, and Theory.

engaged on the ‘everyday turn’ in IR choose to engage with people in the margins in less predictable settings to conduct their research than those mentioned above. The objective, they argue, is not to reify the agency of the ‘weak’ or to marginalize the importance of the elites (Hobson & Seabrooke, 2007), but rather to highlight that there are so many underestimated amounts and varieties of powers needed to sustain any given set of international relations (Enloe, 1996:186).

Third, the everyday is depicted as that which is routine, repetitive and rhythmic, and that in opposition to exceptional events. “We do the same thing, at the same places at the same time, day after day, and this is what reproduces social life. Everyday life is habitual in nature” (Scott, 2009:2). For some, this repetitive dynamics contributes to a form of alienation. According to Lefebvre, the routines in which we take comfort keep us trapped in a state of pre-reflective consciousness, which prevent us from realizing the true, exploitative conditions of our existence. Nevertheless, Lefebvre also challenges this understanding of the everyday as a mere repetition, a mechanical routine. For him, everyday life “represents a complex, multifaceted reality, a mixture of repressive and emancipatory qualities which have to be disentangled and analyzed via the application of dialectical reason, to ‘extract what is living, new, positive – the worthwhile needs and fulfillments – from the negative elements: the alienations” (Lefebvre 1991:42). Hence, for Lefebvre, the everyday is not just routine and repetition, at least not alienating routine or repetition. By deploying dialectics to analyze the everyday, Lefebvre opens it up as a site of politics, entailing the dismissal of alienation and the possibilities, instead, of emancipation.

Besides, if the everyday is perceived of that which is routine, exceptional events, crisis and global politics have their own everydayness. Crane-Seeber argues that war, usually perceived as an exceptional event, has its own routine for those who are involved in it. Indeed, “for those on a 12-month deployment overseas or unlucky enough to live near a foreign combat outpost, foot patrols, convoys, detentions, and checkpoints *are* everyday occurrences (...). Rendering the

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(Summer, 1987) pp.687-718, in which she immerse in the world of defense intellectuals and decision makers.

exceptional routine is the hard work required of combatants” (Crane-Seeber, 2011:470).

Another way an exceptional event such as war can become part of the everyday is by means of processes of militarization and, also, memorialization. Enloe (2010) argues that in order to build the current American military complex ready to fight in places such as Iraq and Afghanistan, many realms of civil society have been, in a way, militarized. American high schools become a site where the military goes to recruit young people, promising them a wage, the possibility to travel and maybe to attend college someday. The support of military wives and mothers are considered essential, not only for those men to succeed in the military, but also in the case they get injured and disabled: “it takes certain women to play certain roles in order to carry out their state’s war-waging operation” (Enloe, 2010:Xiii). Exceptional events are thus embedded in everyday practices. They should be considered as highly dependent of routines and mundane matters, instead of being the perfect opposite of the everyday.

At the same time, memorials, hymns, renaming of streets and other forms of memorialization can also inscribe the memories of war into everyday life and everyday places. In Sarajevo, scars of shelling on the pavement became ‘red roses’, after being filled with red wax. A red rose in the pavement means that at least three people have been killed in that place by victims of that projectile. They can be spotted in some of the city main streets’ and elsewhere. As Girani (2014) observes, “their mere presence and anonymous authorship interrupts the daily routines of walking in the city and suggest a change of path to avoid treading on them, a new symbolic ritual to respect their presence” (p. 38). Hence, those processes of memorialization, especially in contested cities such as Sarajevo, have both emotional and physical impacts, shaping everyday practices and everyday places. As Andreas Huyssen argues, the tension between the mental space of memories and the physical space of the city produces the construction of a mnemonic process that he calls ‘everyday urban imaginary’ (Huyssen apud Sinatra, 2014). Urban imaginaries are described as “the embodied material features of the ways in which people live, work, communicate and behave”, and it is thus deeply connected to everyday life.

Finally, the everyday has often been associated to that which is private or personal, or still, the realm of individual choices (Moran, 2005; Scott, 2009) in opposition to the public realm. However, as it has been already mentioned, since the 1970s, feminists have been challenging traditional ideas of ‘private’ and ‘public’ and how they relate to each other. A decade later, in the 1980s, there is a movement within German Social History, the everyday history (*Alltagsgeschichte*), that argued that ‘the daily experiences of people in their life-situations’ were usually left out of the analysis. The analysis, according to them, should focus both in the ‘material realities of daily existence’ and the ‘inner world of popular experience’ in their families, workplace, neighborhood. By doing so, they claim that “distinctions between the ‘public’ and the ‘private’ might be transcended” (Eley, 1989:315), and History would be more easily understood as a product of people’s daily appropriations (Bargetz, 2009).

As C. Whright Mills argued, to think sociologically is to relate ‘private troubles’ to ‘public issues’ – to look for social patterns reflected in the lives of the individuals (Mills apud Scott, 2009: 2). As such, the distinction between private and public becomes less clear. This is not to say that they become the same thing, but we should consider them as highly connected<sup>44</sup>.

As such, it was argued that one of the biggest problems of clear-cutting the private from the public was to locate politics at only in the later (Elshtain, 1993). Moreover, the slogan ‘the personal is political’<sup>45</sup>, advanced by radical feminists, challenge this clear-cut division between what is political and what is non-political,

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<sup>44</sup> For instance, there is a whole body of literature, inspired mainly by Foucault’s work, that shows how some of the realms traditionally considered as highly private become locus of biopolitical concern.

<sup>45</sup> For a critique of this claim, see Elshtain (1993) pp 217-228. The problem of such a claim, according to Elshtain, is that it does not state that “the personal and the political are interrelated in important and fascinating ways previously hidden to us by sexist ideology and practices; nor that the personal and the political may be analogous to one another along certain axes of power and privilege, but that the personal *is* political. What is asserted is an identity, a collapse of the one into the other” (p. 217). According to Elshtain, “if there are no distinctions between public and private, personal and political, it follows that no differentiated activity or set of institutions that are genuinely political, that are, in fact, the bases of order and of purpose in a political community, exist”. Thus, politics are not possible.



what is important and what can be dismissed as unimportant. This movement leads yet to another claim: if that which is deemed personal or private matters, the sites we need to look at in order to make sense of international politics multiply and diversify. If we are willing to understand how politics and power operates outside of the usual formalized political instances and institutions, we need to look at those sites where the everyday happen, usually depicted as somewhere private or intimal related to one's routine. Thus, a new range of places and relations could or should be considered worth of analysis. Moran (2005), for example, calls those sites 'quotidian spaces', which he divides in four types: workspaces, urban/mobile spaces, living spaces and non-places wherein one is suspended between two different contexts, such as bus stations (Moran apud Scott 2009:1). I will use another concept, which is more in line with my research: 'everyday places', a term that will be further developed in this chapter.

By taking those everyday places seriously, Enloe (2011) claims, we acknowledge that "the kinds of power that were created and wielded—and legitimized—in these seemingly "private" sites were causally connected to the forms of power created, wielded and legitimized in the national and inter-state public spheres—and, moreover, that state and economic elites each knew it, even if they rarely openly admitted it" (Ibidem, p. 467). Indeed, everyday practices are by no means neutral, they are constitutive and constitute power relations. The attempts towards a de-politicization of the everyday are already an important political move. Thus, according to Enloe, understanding the everyday as political calls for taking it seriously as an analytical field.

This sub-section has thus listed four ways in which the everyday has often been depicted. The everyday is considered mundane, familiar and unremarkable, in contrast to higher and elevated activities. The everyday is also frequently depicted as that which ordinary people do in ordinary people, in contrast to that which 'people of power' or the elite do in places of decision-making. The everyday is also considered as that which is routine, repetitive and rhythmic, and that in opposition to exceptional events. And, finally, the everyday has often been associated to that which is private or personal, or still, the realm of individual choices, in contrast to public spheres.

In this research, I will not adopt one of the four points I have presented above. The everyday here is treated as more than a specific site. It is also an important category through which categorical distinctions used to identify what matters politically and what does not matter are related and questioned. Thus I take the everyday not as a given, self-evident or a pacified realm. Rather, I aim to highlight the demarcation practices that shape the everyday, and the disputes that are entailed, making possible to highlight the political feature of the everyday.

However, I will not only study everyday practices as politically significant. Rather, my aim is to take from this a methodological implication that the everyday is a site in which to study precisely the connections between private and public; mundane practices and high politics; the routine and the exceptional; ordinary people and the elites. As such, the everyday, instead of representing the ‘inferior’ side of the dichotomies presented above, is precisely the category which allows for questioning this dichotomist way of understanding how politics, or international politics, work.

Therefore, moved by the hypothesis that the everyday life does not ‘perfectly mirror’ or a clear reproduction of peace agreements and policies formulated by the United Nations, NATO or other organizations, the aim of this work is precisely to reflect on how they are translated in everyday practices, what people ‘make-do’ of peace agreements and how boundaries are enacted. The focus is on the myriad of practices – elusive, precarious, tactical as they might be – that makes the everyday into something else that is not a fine reproduction of institutionalized policies. The approach here is therefore not top-down or bottom-up, but resides precisely on the articulations of those categories. In the next section, we will discuss those movements in the more specific field of international relations, which carry specificities of their own.

### **3.4. The international as everyday**

Where do international relations happen? Where should we look at in order to understand them? Traditionally, international relations are understood to take

place in ‘higher’ political spheres such as international organizations, governmental rooms, diplomatic meetings, international courts and the corridors of power, or in ‘exceptional’ events such as wars, conflicts, crisis and humanitarian emergencies, led, especially, by ‘powerful actors’ such as states, states’ representatives, international workers, military officers, financial elites or even humanitarian workers and NGOs. Many accounts on international relations make believe it is a higher, superior and independent sphere: it is a ‘realm’ (the highest), it is a ‘level’ (the last, final one), it exists in addition or opposition to the local.

It is therefore not surprisingly that the category of the everyday, although consolidated by authors such as Henri Lefebvre, Michel De Certeau and Erving Goffman, as we have seen, has not been more widely explored by students of international relations until more recently. At first glance, the everyday might be understood as exactly the opposite of where people should be looking at in order to understand and analyze international relations. Indeed, the everyday, often understood as the banal, the routine, in opposition to the “exceptional”, was until very recently not considered a source of interest in order to understand international relations. As it has often been associated to the private or to the personal, the everyday has been frequently excluded of those analyses in which the political is understood as related only to more or less formal institutions of government.

Indeed, mainstream International Relations are often metaphorically depicted in ways that either exclude the everyday as a relevant realm of analysis, or submit it to other realms as a less important level. Mainstream IR may divide the world in levels (the individual<sup>46</sup>, the state, the system of states; the international and the global) and argues that politics (and political analysis) happen in one of those levels<sup>47</sup>. It may also divide the world in higher/low politics and private life, and

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<sup>46</sup> In some analysis where the level of the individual is the privileged one, the everyday might become a relevant field in order to understand decision processes. This is particularly the case for some models that approach bureaucratic politics, where daily routines affect the perception and the role of agents.

<sup>47</sup> For critical analysis of level of analysis in IR, please refer to Onuf N (1998) Levels. In: *The republican legacy of international thought*. Cambridge: CUP, pp. 193-219 and Walker R B J (1993), “The territorial state and the themes of Gulliver”, In *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

argues that the former has priority over the later<sup>48</sup>. This schema, however, is an oversimplification of the IR field of study, and what I consider as “the everyday” is not fully absent from IR. Those contributions remain, however, limited, and even among those who do study the everyday, very few of them engaged with the political literature on the everyday. I intend to question both metaphors exposed above, while, at the same time, engaging with the political literature on the everyday. I claim that the everyday life should be considered a fundamental site to look for political mechanisms in International Relations.

Indeed, the everyday and the international are not two separated, opposite or excluding realms. Rather, what we came to understand as the international is highly dependent on performances or enactments of everyday routines (Dunn, 2009). Thus, the international is not something that happens “up there”, or “out there”. Rather, it is a category that is being produced, reproduced and challenged by many daily practices. Here I am not only claiming that we understand the international as a practice or a process. I am also arguing that the international “is not where it is supposed to be” or, at least, where it is perceived to be. Hence, I intend not only to make an ontological move, but also an epistemological and methodological choice.

Therefore, by focusing on the everyday, it is possible to get rid of some statist conceptual straightjackets and narrow understandings of how we should think the international. Even though I certainly not dismiss the importance of states, and I work specifically with ‘Bosnia and Herzegovina’ (an internationally recognized state), looking at everyday practices allows to understand the state not as much as a fixed and atemporal bounded actor, ‘The State’. Rather, the aim is to understand how those everyday enactments conflate and shape today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina. By doing that, I intend to show how boundary-drawing practices are

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<sup>48</sup> For an account that challenges this hierarchy, please refer to Tickner J. A. (1997). “You Just Don’t Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists”. *International Studies Quarterly* 41(4): 611-632.

a primary factor of constitution of what we understand by Bosnia and Herzegovina today. As such, the international is not a realm produced only at state borders or outside states, but also inside of the juridical borders of the State, within the city, in places that would be easily classified as ‘local’ – but also as ‘private’ and ‘personal’<sup>49</sup>.

To further investigate how the everyday relates to the international, I take practices of bordering and boundary-making as objects of study. Borders, and to some extent, physical boundaries, are usually conceived, planned and draw by official authorities in the name of the State or, as in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the ‘international community’<sup>50</sup>. However, this is not that simple. Bordering and boundary-making are usually not only the product of a political elite with a map in their hands. Those processes are embedded on everyday life. Thus, they are not only conceived and sustained by government bureaucracies and institutions, but also reproduced (and sometimes contested) in more ordinary places such as churches, mosques, schools, workplaces, backyards, living rooms and bedrooms. They can come from everywhere, but also everyone: “from Madeline Albright to Young skinheads in Germany to San Diego teenagers who take sport in beating up migrant workers to vigilante ranchers on the US/Mexican border” (Doty, 2003:12). From Serbian nationalists who claim Republika Srpska, to the US government representative Holbrooke<sup>51</sup>, who set-up the spatial-logistics of Dayton, to the Office of High Representative in Bosnia Herzegovina who mediated the drawing of a boundaries inside Sarajevo, to Diarmuid P. Sheridan, an international

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<sup>49</sup> Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* (2000:195)

<sup>50</sup> By international community I understand several different actors, even though some have shaped Bosnia more than others. For a long time, the Contact Group, formed by the United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia, Italy and Germany, and assisted by the EU Presidency, EU Council, European Commission and NATO, played a very important role. Also important is the role played by the UN through its various agencies, including the UN Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Also, its important to highlight the presence of the Council of Europe and of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Peace Implementation Council, an international body created in 1995 charged with implementing the Dayton Peace Agreement, also ought to be considered. It is composed by 55 countries and agencies, and it responsible to choose the High Representative to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

<sup>51</sup> Richard Charles Albert Holbrooke, an American diplomat. Holbrooke brokered the peace agreement that led to the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords.

independent arbiter who demarcated the boundary in the middle of a street that has since different names on each side, to the neighbor who displays a Serbian flag on his window, to the other neighbor who refuses to display signs in Cyrillic<sup>52</sup>, to the children who play “Serbian and Bosniak”, a more recent version of the “Cowboy and Indian” role-playing game. Hence, the (re)production of international politics is highly dependent on a myriad of relations and practices that permeates those everyday places.

If all those practices enact boundaries (or a boundary multiple), they are not all the same in terms of effect, and they rarely produce the same things. Indeed, Holbrooke and the cartographer map the space as a flat surface, a continuous surface, a completed product, a coherent closed system (Massey, 2005 106). By drawing boundaries on maps, they are enacting it as an ordered space, but they are acting in the representational sphere, since maps are a form of representation. Maps, however, are particular forms of representation of space and time and “through their codes and conventions and their taxonomic and ordering procedures, maps operate as a ‘technology of power’” (Ibidem). The dominant understanding of ‘ordinary’ maps in today West, Massey argues, carries the assumption that there is no room for surprises (p.111). Maps thus influence and inform everyday practices, although by no means everyday practices are reduced to them. Indeed, the everyday is precisely where there is room for surprises. Boundaries drawn on a map in a cartographer table in Dayton, Ohio, might deeply affect and disrupt one’s life in a Sarajevo suburb, but might also be enacted in different forms, might be disregarded, mocked, transgressed, as it will be discussed through this work. Similarly, boundaries between ‘local’ and ‘international’ are enacted in the everyday of the city, shaping spaces, forging hierarchies and altering the urban landscape.

The term city here plays an important role. The aim to study everyday boundaries in cities (more precisely, two cities), comes from the fact that cities

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<sup>52</sup> Both scripts Latin and Cyrillic are official in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The latter is more often employed by those who consider themselves Serbs, or who come from an Orthodox background.

“pose the general question of our living together, in a manner more intense than many other kinds of places (Massey, 2005:167)”

“However, the very fact that cities (like all places) are home to the weavings together, mutual indifferences and outright antagonisms of such a myriad of trajectories, and that this itself has a spatial form which would further mould those differentiations and relations, means that, within cities, the nature of that question – of our living together – will be very differently articulated” (Ibidem).

Until now, I have argued that the everyday cannot be understood in terms of dichotomies and hierarchies of high and low, and neither on the traditional approach of level of analysis (usually presented in the form of a pyramid composed, from bottom to top, by the individual, the state, and the system of states, or yet the local and the global). Such dominant conception of scale has been defined as a “nested hierarchy of differentially sized and bounded spaces” (Martson, Paul Jones III and Woodward, 2005 416-417). In such accounts, usually the international or the global are depicted as the ultimate scale, the one that really matters.

By analyzing the everyday, we face the limits of dividing the world in levels and arguing that politics and political analysis happen in only one of those levels. Because we are working with the concept of the everyday as the connective tissue or the meeting points between so called lower and higher activities, private and public, the familiar and the exceptional, we may replace the metaphor of the pyramids, where discrete bounded units override each other forming a hierarchy, to the metaphor of the ground. Indeed, the everyday provides for flattening scales, while demarcations are produced not in a vertical way, but in a horizontal one. If we come to think to those terms relationally, we get a different topography that the one expressed by the metaphor of the pyramid. Therefore, the imaginary that allows us to think about the international as something ‘out there’ or ‘up there’, ‘not needing to touch ground’ (Massey, 2005: 185), on a higher level, is put into question. Similarly, the everyday cannot be equated with the ‘local’ (Ibidem), since it resides precisely on the relations and articulations that produce the ‘local’ and the ‘international’.

As I have mentioned, the second reason the everyday is often omitted from international relations is that it is frequently seen as belonging to the private sphere and, therefore, antithetical to the “real” business of politics<sup>53</sup>. However, this notion has been challenged by many scholars in the past decades. Indeed, the very limits on the boundaries of politics are not neatly defined. As Elshtain (1993) formulates, boundary-shifts in our understanding of ‘the political’ and, hence, of what is public and what is private have taken place throughout the history of Western life and thought (p.201). However, Elshtain argues that some kind of boundary is necessary to differentiate politics from other activities. Otherwise, politics are not possible: “if all conceptual boundaries are blurred and all distinctions between public and private are eliminated, no politics can exist by definition” (Ibidem, p. 201). Thus, for Elshtain, instead of erasing the boundary between public and private, it is important to show how politics exists where politics was not thought to exist before (Ibidem).

This disruption has mainly been done by feminists from all perspectives. Feminists agree that boundaries between the public and private, the personal and the political should be redefined (Elshtain, 1993:202). Among those who try also to include the international into the analysis, Enloe is particularly committed with exposing how power relations and politics are at work where we least expect them. Enloe has argued not only that we should take serious the everyday – where realms considered ‘personal’ and ‘public’ meet. Indeed, in her analysis, we can clearly identify a strong relation between what she calls ‘the everyday’, ‘the private’ and ‘the personal’, even though she does not make this move explicit. By the way she employs the term ‘everyday’, we can infer that it is both a fluid category and an analytical field, although she does not specifically conceptualize it. It is a fluid category because what interests her on studying the everyday are the relations played on ordinary people’s routine. And it is an analytical field because she argues that they are “causally connected to the forms of power created, wielded and legitimized in the national and inter-state” spheres (Enloe, 2011: 467).

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<sup>53</sup> See Tickner (1997) for a similar argument regarding gender. P 615



Thus, for Enloe, the everyday is a political field, which is constituted and legitimated in the dualities of the ‘personal’ and the ‘national’; the ‘national’ and the ‘international’ and even the ‘personal’ and the ‘international’.

“In asserting that ‘the personal is political’, feminist analysts were claiming that the kinds of power that were created and wielded – and legitimized – in these seemingly ‘private’ sites were causally connected to the forms of power created, wielded and legitimized in the national and inter-state public spheres – and, moreover, that state and economic elites each knew it, even if they rarely openly admitted it” (Enloe, 2011: 467).

Ignoring relations and dynamics that take place in those seemingly private or personal sites, according to Enloe, is to incur in a far too incomplete analysis of how international politics work. While suggesting that we look at those sites in order to do research, Enloe makes also another move, claiming that we hear the voices of those who usually go unheard, and who she often associates with ‘the margins’.

Thus, Enloe argues that the study of relations between individuals or social groups from the “margins”, and how they relate to what was constituted as the “center”, is crucial to understand how international politics works. As such, the “margins” do not always play a marginal role in this relation. Instead, much of this relation consists in the “yearly and daily business of maintaining the margin where it currently is and the center where it is now” (Enloe, 1996:186). Enloe acknowledges that power and domination permeates all kinds of relations, between the “center” and the “margins”, but also within the “margins”. The same logic seems to apply between “public” and “private” relations.

The movement Enloe suggests is one that goes from the “public” space to the “private/personal”, to show how intermingled they are. Thus, while studying the lives of women factory workers in multinationals, her research would led her “outside the factory gates”:

“I would have to follow these women workers home. I would have to take into account their relationships with their mothers and fathers, as well as their anxieties about their relationships with their husbands and boyfriends. If I were to make feminist sense (...) of the international politics of the trade in privatized goods and of states’ stake in that trade. (...) I couldn’t do any of this unless I devoted careful, sustained attention to women factory workers’ everyday lives (Enloe, 2011: 470).

By doing such moves, Enloe shows that the private and the international are deeply connected, or, in her own words, “the bedroom’s hierarchy is not unconnected to the hierarchies of the international coffee exchange or of the foreign ministry” (Enloe, 1996:193). As such, clear-cut distinctions between public and private might be transcended.

Similarly, Davies and Niemann (2002) argue that a focus on the everyday life brings the complexity of international *relations*, long ignored by the mainstream literature. By incorporating to their analysis working people, most often consign to oblivion by an elitist discipline, Davies and Niemann intend to demonstrate that international relations are not an external alien or oppressive forces, but they are the products of their daily practices. Thus, “the workplace is one part of lived space in which people produce international relations. In the workplace, they form part and parcel of an international division of labor for which they produce goods and services, which, in turn, appear in international markets as alienated commodities (...)” (Davies and Niemann, 2002:569).

Recently, scholars have been looking to private sites, or to the domestic, in order to make sense of international politics. Salter (2011), for example, looks at such sites and argues that they have not been much taken into account in international relations’ analysis. For Salter, this public/private division creates also a hierarchy of what should be taken seriously and what is not worth of being analyzed. He takes ‘games’ as an example. Because gaming takes place in the basement or the living room, i.e. on the domestic sphere, and not at the UN Security Council chambers, it is not usually recognized as a vital part of the construction of IR. However, they are “vital to our political imagination as a self-styled ‘serious’ reading of politics”, because they shape our imaginaries as much as other popular representations of global politics, such as films, photography and literature. Consequently, he adds, “we must take gaming to be as much a part of the imbrication of global politics into the everyday as movies, music or literature”(p. 473). Salter argues that the “everyday is a crucial part of the construction and reification of an ‘international’, and play is a crucial part of the everyday”. Therefore, focusing on an activity such as gaming, that apparently affects only the

private sphere, “allows us to trouble the common-sense division between serious politics and the trivial pursuits of the everyday” (Salter, 2011:475).

Acuto (2014) is another example of someone who tries to understand the international through the everyday, more precisely, through garbage flows. Acuto claims that although garbage is often regarded as a domestic product and problem, and as such is deemed trivial and unimportant, its management encompasses both the grand designs of diplomacy and the mundane cosmopolitics of everyday life. He shows how focusing on waste has posed a problem for international relations theory, since it is considered a “mundane” matter of little interest for mainstream IR, which “embodies the dangerous hierarchization of international phenomena over a ‘sub-politicized’ everyday” (Acuto, 2014: 345). He thus proposes to unpack the multi-scalar problem of the waste, in order to redeem dichotomized views of ‘high’ and ‘mundane’ politics (Acuto, 2014:346). For him, the everyday should be understood as “the spatiality of situated, mundane, and habitual practices” that are usually dismissed in IR (Ibidem). As such, it cannot be “subsumed into international or national politics, nor can it simply be accounted for as personal” (Acuto, 2014: 348).

He thus proposes we “bring IR back home”, in the sense that we should pay more critical attention to ‘home’ than it has been previously done. By doing that, Acuto reaches two conclusions about the everyday. First, the everyday becomes a ‘signifier’ for the abstract structures of international politics. As such, ordinary individuals, instead of being dismissed of the analyses as insignificants, are understood as “domesticators” of the international, materializing the ‘grand designs’ at home. Second, it shows that the everyday “does not end at the basis of a scalar hierarchy of world politics. Rather, it responds, acts, and molds global governance (Acuto, 2014: 358-359).

Moreover, focusing on the everyday allows for raising different questions (and thinking about different answers). That is because, as it was exposed already in this chapter, the everyday is not only a site of reproduction of power relations but also of creativity and contestation. This is another important contribution the study of the everyday can make to the field of international relations. As such, my take on the everyday develops from Lefebvre’s idea that ‘the everyday’ (or daily

lives, here including consumption and cultural practices of the working class) can be a site of creativity and contestation. Here I am not affirming that it is *only* a site of contestation. It is also a site of conformity, and into some extent a realm of submission to relations of power. However, we should not dismiss its creative character and the fact that it can be a site where relations of power are negotiated in interested ways (Highmore, 2002).

Hence, the study of the everyday is important not only to highlight how the “international” is intermingled to so called everyday places and ordinary people, but also to locate contestation and negotiation. As such, the study of the everyday life, ‘ways of operating or doing things’, is important to understand how people practice everyday life (De Certeau, 1984: xi).

In the next section, I will explain focus on the methodological implications of choosing the everyday as a field of analysis. I will present some methodological struggles and methodological solutions that have been treated by other scholars who undertake research on the everyday and, more specifically, on the urban everyday. I will then advance the methods I used in this work, while discussing the implications of the choices I had to make in order to conduct research on everyday boundaries.

### **3.5. Everyday Places**

Studying the everyday potentially increases the activities included in the analysis of boundaries as well as the details required to understand them. The very suggestion that the everyday may encompass ‘everything’ creates a possible methodological problem. How does one then study the ‘everyday’ without drowning the researcher (and the reader) in innumerable details or in a mere description of repetitive activities? What should the researcher look at in order to ‘capture’ the everyday? What techniques should be employed?

Scholars working on the everyday have been using different tolls in their own researches. First I will enumerate and explain some of them and, then, I will

explain the ones I chose while making explicit my own reasons. As in many other fields, the methods chosen by researchers of the everyday depend on the object that is being researched and on the kinds of conclusion that the research expect to reach. In the other hand, the methods chosen are never neutral and deeply influence the research itself and the kind of answers one wants to get.

Analyzing archives, journals, letters, pictures and personal objects is a popular method among researchers that explore the everyday of past times, for example. Here, nevertheless, I will not discuss all techniques that have been employed by the many researchers of the everyday. Rather, I will focus on a more recent literature on the urban quotidian to examine which methods have been employed and why I should or should not use them here. Usually, researchers of the urban everyday involve at least a certain degree of observation of urban spaces. As such, observation of public spaces such as squares, parks, or whole neighborhoods are in the order of the day. On those sites, the researcher of the everyday usually does not look for outstanding situations, instead, he or she tends to focus exactly on what it is assumed to be the most banal experiences.

French writer George Perec (1973), gets interested at ‘all that seems so obvious and self-evident that we do not even recall how they came to be’. He thus shows how the world is made through banalities. For Perec, to investigate the everyday is to pay attention to that which does not figure in the daily newspapers, which only feature the spectacular or the abnormal. Hence, he advocates interrogating, inventorying and describing all that seems so obvious and self-evident that we do not even recall how they came to be:

*“Faites l’inventaire de vos poches, de votre sac. Interrogez-vous sur la provenance, l’usage et le devenir de chacun des objets que vous en retirez. Questionnez vos petites cuillers<sup>54</sup>”* (Perec apud Sheringham, 2000: 193).

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<sup>54</sup> “Make an inventory of your pockets, your bag. Ask yourself about the provenance, the uses and fate of each object that you find. Question your teaspoons” (my translation).

This kind of method, also known as a Perequian ‘enquête’, involves consecutive hours of observing the same space and exhaustive listing of what has been observed, although, as Perec indicates, he does not aim at statistical truth, but rather at apprehending daily experience in its flow, its rhythm, its ‘émergence’ (Ibid, p. 195). Because the everyday in the Perequian ‘enquête’ encompasses every observable action, it becomes a category too wide to be analyzed. The results of this method, therefore, can be quite descriptive.

Moving away from the Perequian ‘enquête’, some researchers also employ quantitative methods. Mattioli (2014), for example, uses “attitude scales <sup>55</sup>” to understand who uses (or not uses) public transportation in Milan and why. Quantitative methods, nevertheless, are not the best way to capture one of the most important elements of my research, which require a more subjective and qualitative type of method. In contrast to Mattioli’s quantitative method, Jirón (2010) uses a different approach to investigate urban daily mobility practices in Santiago de Chile. Jirón defined her research in three stages. First, she carried interviews with a group of people, regarding their daily routines. Then, she shadowed them on a regular weekday, tracking time, locations and conversations held in those ‘mobile places’ <sup>56</sup>. Finally, she interviewed the participants about the journeys, asking specific questions about the experience and discussing photography and maps (p. 70).

Among people interested on the urban everyday, the street has become a privileged place for research. For those, a popular approach to explore the urban everyday is ‘walking as method’. It has been particularly employed among sociologists, and can be understood in two ways: 1) analyzing other people’s walking to investigate the city; or 2) the researcher walks in the city, observes and reflects about it through walking. Some researchers combine both elements: walking and studying people who walk. For a long time, the figure of the *flâneur*

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<sup>55</sup> A measure of the relative quantity of an attitude possessed by an individual as contrasted with a reference group.

<sup>56</sup> According to Jirón, spaces encountered in mobility (buses, Metros, car, bicycles) also become spaces of meaning and significance, or places. Because of this dynamics of place making, they are called by Jirón “mobile places”.

as depicted by Benjamin (1999) was in the center of this analysis. The *flâneur* was “a student of the city, or rather, of the changes to urban life and space brought by modernism” (Shortell and Brown, 2014:3).

However, the Situationists developed a new walking method, centered on the *dérive*. Similar in form to the *flânerie*, *dérive* is, however, less dependent on being seen. Also, differently from the *flâneur*, usually associated with a male bourgeois, working people also practise the *dérive*, and for such is considered a revolutionary practice. It consists on “an attempt to identify the characteristics of urban space that create the fields and vortexes that determine the rhythm and tempo of urban life” (Shortell and Brown, 2014: 4).

De Certeau also analyzes walking in the city. He states that this practice can be subversive. For him, walking is a tactic that “must accept the chance offering of the moment, and seize in the wing the possibilities that offer themselves at any given moment”(1984:37). Thus, De Certeau argues that people appropriate social space through quotidian mobility. For a limited moment while the walker uses that space, that space become, in a way, his or hers. This acquires a particular importance when we take the cases of contested cities such as Sarajevo and Mostar, where boundaries supposedly demarcate who should walk where, and walking somewhere else might be indeed consider a subversive practice.

Therefore, walking is not merely a practical activity (Shortell and Brown, 2014: 8). It is a practice that attaches beliefs, values, feelings and emotions to places and spaces, but also to mobility itself. Moreover, walking is a practice associated with particular social roles. Who walks, where and when they walk and why, all that may be affected by their roles in society and in that particular place, and also by other categories such as class, race, gender, ethnicity, nationality. Walking can thus be understood as a socio-psychological method (Ibid). As such, in order to interpret them, the researcher “must be embedded in the social and political dynamics of the place, which changes the way one moves through urban space” (Carabelli, 2014).

For this reason, by itself, walking is not the best-suited approach for my research. Although I have walked dozens of kilometers in order to make this

research, and although I take as one fundamental interest how people walk the urban space (crossing boundaries or not), walking as a method, by itself, is not enough for this research. This is the case because I am also particularly interested in the meanings and feelings attributed to those practices. I understand that this affective component is important to understand how and for what reasons people walk, move and occupy the spaces they do. How they enact boundaries and what meanings do they attribute to this. And, because I am an “outsider” to Bosnia and Herzegovina, I cannot make proper sense of people’s movement and mobility without talking to them, asking their thoughts and opinions of how and why they do what they do.

Another method that is usually associated to the study of everyday life is ethnography. Although ethnography is widely known as the preferred method of Anthropology, in the mid of 1980’s onwards we identify an “ethnological turn” in International Relations, (Vrasti, 2008: 279). Independently of the field, however, ethnography has been widely used by students of everyday life. Indeed, according to Crane-Seeber’s (2013) “for those interested in studying everyday life, particular institutional cultures, or the political practices at a given site, ethnographic participant-observation is likely the best tool to do so”.

Ethnography is an empathetic analysis of culture most often through participant observation, interviews and archival and discursive analysis. Salter (2013) argues that ethnography is a “cultural exchange or embeddedness rather than a unidirectional extraction; a meeting, rather than the recording, of cultures; an examination of both self/other through the lens of difference; and also the study of particular cultures and organizations within the self, rather than exoticization of the other” (p. 51). In other words, the research process influences both the researcher and the situation that is being researched, challenging established distinctions between object/subject and theory/practice (Salter, 2013: 63).

Ethnography is usually also concerned about reflexivity, which must be a part of the whole process in order not to transform it in a practice that entails spatial relations and the production of boundaries through a set of hierarchic relations. The risk of not embracing a reflexivist approach is to treat ‘the field’ as a raw material, where theories made ‘at home’ are projected onto ‘the field’, where data is collected (Comaroff and Comaroff apud Vrasti, 2008). Although ethnography is considered



the ‘most natural’ choice to study the everyday, this is not the path I have chosen. During my research in Bosnia and Herzegovina, I have never felt comfortable enough with the cultural codes, nor have I mastered the language well enough in order to conduct ethnographical work. While this feeling of displacement (or estrangement, into some extent) had a strong creative component, leading me to question some of the things that have been already considered ‘normal’ there after 20 years of the end of the war, it is probably not the feeling embraced by some ethnographers who try to live as ‘they’ live and to rather go unnoticed<sup>57</sup>.

### 3.5.1. **Displacement, estrangement, curiosity**

Instead, I used displacement, if not as technique, as tactic. In many ways, displacement can be as fruitful as the ‘estrangement’ proposed by Brecht, and may easily entail the ‘curiosity’ advanced by Enloe. By taking serious someone else’s everyday, it is easier to denaturalize it. I thus embraced displacement and my foreignness. Some scholars familiar to Bosnia had told me before I travelled to Sarajevo that many people there were tired of foreign researchers. However, my experience did not completely correspond to that advice. I believe my background was in part responsible for that, since people might be tired of researchers, but they were also very curious about the reasons why a Brazilian would be interested “in a small and far away country such as Bosnia”, as I have been asked many times. While I tried to avoid any kind of ‘exoticization of the other’, being a Brazilian made me ‘exotic’ to my interviewees and that helped me to establish contact and

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<sup>57</sup> I acknowledge that this is only one of many possible types of ethnographic work researchers might carry on. This kind of ethnographic work, also conceived as conventional ethnography - ‘embodying a liminal position in sites conceived as ‘other’ and a concomitant tendency to read those observed through the problematics of the participant’s discipline – has, nevertheless, been widely criticized elsewhere (see Coleman (2015, 271). Although, as Vrasti (2008) argues, ethnography has been used in a rather selective, instrumental, and somewhat timid way in IR, usually through ‘participant observation and interviews (Vrasti, 2008; Coleman, 2015), there are increasingly ethnographic efforts that acknowledges that they are not trying to access an unmediated reality, but rather that their texts “always interpret, distort and betray the social reality they seek to capture” (Vrasti, 2008:291).

trust, for some power dynamics were inverted right there. Another factor is that I have tried to conduct research in everyday places where the flux of researchers is considerably lower than, say, NGOs, national administrations and international bodies.

As much as being an ‘outsider’ limited my research in many ways, it has also enabled it. In more than one occasion, my interviewees admitted that they would only talk to me because I was a stranger to the dynamics of that place, and thus I would be less quick to judge and categorize them for what they would tell me<sup>58</sup>. Being an outsider, however, did not mean I was neuter. I am constantly aware of the ways in which my nationality, background, class, gender, social position, language skills, preconceptions and beliefs are related and influence my research, and I therefore deem impossible any attempt of a value-free exercise. Also, although I do not have any family ties or historical attachment to Bosnia, I do not assume I have a neutral position regarding the war there and its aftermath. Even though I reject any kind of simple reading of the situation, I also believe that phrases such as “all sides committed atrocities equally” show, at least, a lazy, if not irresponsible, approach to the situation. Moreover, I believe that those approaches help to reinforce the essentialization of opposed homogeneous ethnonational groups – a movement that I intend to resist in this work. Having said that, I was as opened as possible to hear everyone equally regardless of their backgrounds, and not even once I asked anyone about their so-called ethnonational affiliation, if any.

Additionally, most of the people with whom I talked to thought I was brave to be there by myself. Not that physical violence represents a big issue in today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina, at least not when comparing to my home city, São Paulo, or the one I live in, Rio de Janeiro. However, ‘being alone’ is not something that people value there, as I was repeatedly told. And, thus, I was ‘adopted’ as much as possible; I drank litres and litres of coffee and passive smoked hundreds of

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<sup>58</sup> Interview with Tea, at central Sarajevo, 16 May 2015. Interview conducted in English and French. Interview with Daniela, at Istočno Sarajevo, 15 April 2015, Interview conducted in Portuguese.

cigarettes talking to almost anyone who would be interested in talking to me. Ironically, I was rarely alone.

However, I didn't mingle with my interviewees on purpose, even though I ended up developing friendships with some of them. During the interviews, I always made clear that I was a researcher and what I was researching about. In the other hand, I decided not to interview my closest friends and to keep some separation between my role there as a researcher and my personal life. For me, that was important because I was often uneasy about conducting research 'on people'. And in one or two occasions, some friends pointed that out in a very uncomfortable way: 'she is here researching us'.

This is not to say that some of the themes approached by this work have not been widely discussed with the people who were close to me. In a work where I argue that there is not such a clear-cut between public and private, sometimes things did get mingled. Some of the most elucidative talks I had on these subjects, I had with friends. They shared their personal stories and views with me. Often, discussions about boundaries would emerge spontaneously while drinking coffee or at a pub, without me even having to bring that subject to the table. Many points present on this work are largely due to the reflections I made while I was holding these (informal, personal) conversations. Later, I would note down some thoughts, phrases, dialogues and stories as part of my field notes. They work for me in order to reflect upon my subject, but here and there I will use them in order to make my point. When doing so, I will keep everyone as anonymous as possible.

### **3.5.2. Snippets as method**

Thus, this is not an ethnographical work. My approach is more in line with Enloe's (1990, 1996, 2004, 2010) method. That means developing a 'curiosity', which, in this work, is not a 'feminist curiosity' per se, but a curiosity about the everyday. This implies in taking seriously a broad amount of 'things', which will be treated as sources in this work: novels and poems written by Bosnians living both in the country and abroad; films and documentaries; maps and official reports;

my own observations and experiences through my field notes, and, most importantly, the voices of 47 people who agreed to formally give me interviews.

Hence, I have constituted heterogeneous bodies of materials. I tried to compose them as heterogeneous as possible, in an attempt (that will never be possible to fully achieve,) to expose the heterogeneity of the everyday. In common, all those materials talk about post-Dayton boundaries. They will be used and analyzed in order to compose my narrative and my arguments. However, it will not become my object of analysis. My intention here is not to provide a detailed analysis of fictional or artistic work. This work will not follow an aesthetics approach. I am also not interested in doing a discursive analysis. Thus, the documents and interviews that I assembled will not be taken only as a discursive practice to be thoroughly dissected. Rather, I will use these materials as ‘snippets’, small fragments inserted on the narrative in order either to illustrate some points or to allow for further analysis. As such, snippets try to conciliate Perec’s *enquête* by being more inclusive and potentially including more practices, stories and positions, at the same time that they need to be selective, to pull out what is needed to make it ‘strange’, in Brecht’s terms.

This heterogeneous material will hardly tell a single and coherent story about the (multiple forms of) enactment of (multiple) boundaries in post-Dayton BiH. Indeed, as Highmore argues, “everyday life invites for a kind of theorizing that throws our most cherished theoretical values and practices into crisis. For instance, theorists often promote the values of ‘rigorous’ thought, ‘systematic’ elaboration, and ‘structured’ argument: but what if rigor, system and structure were antithetical and deadening to aspects of everyday life. What if ‘theory’ was to be found elsewhere, in the pages of a novel, in a suggestive passage of description of an autobiography, or in the street games of children?” (Highmore, 2002: 3).

Snippets thus are different from other methods listed here such as ethnography and walking because it tells the story (or rather, multiple stories) not only about the encounter(s) of the researcher with the everyday lives of certain people and places but also about other people’s encounters to those people and places and, also, the story of those people’s take on their own everyday life. Those encounters are, ultimately, always ‘filtered’ by the researcher – who select, interpret

and analyze them. However, they still allow for more plurality than other methods. This was my aim: that the triangulation of various kinds of sources from different perspectives would allow for exposing the multiplicity of voices and practices that constitute the heterogeneity of the everyday. As I have mentioned, those sources will not be the objects of analysis; rather, they will provide accounts of how boundaries are enacted in the everyday.

Moreover, using ‘snippets’ affects the writing and the ways of presenting the text. In the following chapters of this thesis, this will become clearer. For snippets provide for insertions in everyday places. Sometimes, sections will appear not clearly connected to one another, but to move from one to the other will suggest a similar move from one person (the researcher, the reader) moving from one everyday place to the other. By the end of the chapter, the reader will have formed a heterogeneous picture of the places and practices in question. This technique also imitates everyday practices in their elusiveness and precarity: they are enacted at that moment and they are much less solid than what might be suggested.

### **3.5.3. On sites and places**

However, although I aim at bringing heterogeneity and multiplicity to this work, researching the everyday is a difficult task if not for the broadness that it encompasses. In order to make the everyday operational, this research some reference points, which will constitute what I call “everyday places”, where I expect to capture different enactments of boundaries. Through those everyday places, I shall bring out the context, practices and relations that occur within it and that make them relevant to the dynamics of boundary enactment. By choosing some specific places, and sticking to the question of how people on those places enact boundaries in their everyday life, I intend to avoid the trap where the everyday becomes a category too big to be analyzed.

In this research, I will develop an understanding of place close to that suggested by Massey (2005). For her, places are spaces to which meaning has been ascribed (p. 183). As such, places should not be considered merely as areas or

points in a map, but more like the integration between space and time, which Massey calls ‘spatial-temporal events’ (Massey, 2005: 130). According to this conceptualization, places are not perfectly bounded. Instead, they are open and porous, for they are precisely the articulation of narratives, stories and interactions that are still in progress. They are also in permanent movement and, therefore, any idea of place as fixed and unchangeable should be challenged.

It is clear, nevertheless, that places almost always have a concrete form (Agnew, 1987). Indeed, places are not only always located somewhere and evolve through emotional and subjective attachment that people develop towards it. It also offers a material setting for social relations, and this materiality might seem unchangeable, or rather changes very slowly (Ibidem). Places also have less concrete structures, such as laws and rules (Cresswell, 2004 p. 35). However, by focusing on the encounters, disconnections and exclusions that makes somewhere a place, rather than focusing exclusively on its material qualities, we have a much more unstable account of places. As Escobar (2001) argues, the seemingly fixity and groundedness of a place is always, in fact, incomplete and unstable. Its senses of boundaries are never fulfilled (they are rather permeable), and its connection to everyday life is ever present, although any sense of identity attributed to a place shall be perceived as a social construct (p. 140), and not as an essential or natural attribute.

Such claims carry an important political stake. By stressing the elusiveness of place (Massey, 2005: 130), any possibility of understanding place as having a preconceived coherence or collective identity is dismissed. Instead, the ‘throwntogetherness’ of the place requires negotiation (p. 204). Therefore, places are never finished, they are constantly being enacted (Cresswell, 2004 37). As such:

“This notion of place where specificity (local uniqueness, a sense of place) derives not from some mythical internal roost nor from a history or relative isolation but precisely from the absolute particularity of the mixture of influences found together there” (Massey, 1999:18)

Everyday places refer to the familiar. However, that does not mean that they are not realms of dispute. ‘Home’, for example, has been depicted as the most caring

and nurturing of everyday places, but it is far from being conflict-free. For many feminists, home was precisely ‘the central site of the oppression of women’ and, therefore, it should not provide the ultimate sense of place (Cresswell, 2004 25). Hence, place should also be understood through the lens of social and cultural conflicts.

“Place was (is) not simply an outcome of social processes though, it was, once established, a tool in the creation, maintenance and transformation of relations of domination, oppression and exploitation” (ibidem, 29)

In “Nimo’s war, Emma’s war”, Enloe (2010) makes a feminist analyzes of the war in Iraq through the dynamics of a beauty parlor in Baghdad, a place traditionally conceived as quite personal and intimate. Enloe argues, however, that in the beginning of Iraq’s war, Nimo’s Beauty Salon was a political space, where women felt comfortable to express their political opinions and discuss with each other. Although Enloe acknowledges that the choice of a beauty parlor as in which to investigate Iraq’s wartime politics might sound surprising, it is a crucial choice to understand those women who, had them been interviewed in some less hospitable place, might not have felt as comfortable to express their political opinions (p. 21).

By doing that, Enloe is not only making an ontological claim of what international relations are and how they are made, but she is also treating the everyday as a methodological question. Taking seriously what so-called ‘ordinary people’ do in ‘ordinary places’, their somewhat ‘repetitive routines’ and ‘mundane matters’ is a call for a wider understanding of how we should access and make sense of international relations.

As such, those everyday places are not strictly points of departure, because they are already the materialization of a whole set of encounters, relations, practices and boundary-making enactments. Therefore, they should not be taken for granted, nor they should be naturalized. By looking on how they came to be, and how they have been changing since, we find already very illustrative stories about how those boundaries have been drawn and redrawn over time. In fact, although they have been materialized in space, the meanings attributed to those places I am looking at

are not static. They change over time. As such, they can be understood as an arena where power struggles take place and meanings are always in dispute. By taking those everyday places as reference points, I analyze not only the practices of boundary drawing that take place there, but also how those places are constituted by those practices.

As Massey (2005) suggests, I do not understand those places as perfectly bounded and contained sites. They are closely connected to their environment. As such, sometimes the research took me to other everyday places both in Sarajevo and Mostar, closer or further away from the official boundaries, where I realized that they have taken a much more abstract form and have been, at once, multiplied and dissolved through the cities. Such places are hairdressing saloon, schools, other shopping malls and even a military base. The pictures I will draw in the next chapters will deal with those far more complex ideas of boundary enactments and their spatial-temporal dimensions.

The chosen reference points are a coach station, an avenue and square, a pub (*kafana*) and a shopping mall. Ordinary places that, at first glance, we think could be found anywhere, although what is interesting about them is exactly where (and when) they are located and what they can reveal to us. While the coach station, the *kafana* and the shopping mall were constructed after the war, the avenue and square have been there for many decades, although they have been constantly reconfigured as we will. Moreover, all of them, except the shopping mall, are geographically located near the official geographical/political/administrative boundaries.

For instance, the coach station is located only a block away from where the Inter Entity Boundary Line (IEBL), which demarcates Sarajevo from Istočno Sarajevo. It has been constructed so Istočno Sarajevo, previously part of the capital's suburbs, develops its own transportation network, further demarcating itself from Sarajevo. Focusing on this area, I learnt about mobility, tactics, boundary crossing, connections and disconnections and how people relate and shape Sarajevo/Istočno Sarajevo urban spaces.

The avenue (Bulevar) and the square (Hit Square, later Spanish Square) date from the Habsburg period, but they have been re-shifted multiple times ever since.



They have been precisely transformed into a front line during the war in Mostar and have become an administrative, social and political boundary shortly after. Focusing there I have learnt about displacement, and how places might be planned, re-planned, re-appropriated and disputed.

The Boemi kafana, also in Mostar, was founded by a group of nostalgics of the ‘Mostari spirit’, highly connected to the pre-war period and a multicultural tradition. Focusing there, I learnt about how boundaries work in time, creating notions of belonging and displacement, sameness and change, before and after, and us and them.

Finally, the shopping mall BBI Centar has been built in Sarajevo center in 2008 in the place a popular department store during the Yugoslavian years. Focusing there, I expect to understand how boundaries between “internationals” and “locals” are enacted in the everyday.

#### **3.5.4. Localizing research**

I am aware that by focusing on everyday places, this research might be dismissed by some scholars as a ‘micro study’, whose significance has only a limited reach, circumscribed to very local and specific situation. I have, however, to disagree with this point.

Mol (2002) argues that the size of what she calls ‘field’ is irrelevant, if not un-measurable, for scholars who do not try to map that field but, instead, try to discern patterns in it, modes, modalities and dynamics. In this case, what is important is to identify a (or some) place(s) where those dynamics are present. Hence, there would be certainly ‘bigger’ places I could choose to locate my analyses, but they would probably be no more significant than the ones that were chosen.

This does not mean that the characteristics of those sites are not important, and that the chosen sites are not in themselves meaningful. That because those patterns that are being investigated take place somewhere: “events are necessarily

local. Somewhere. Situated” (p. 180). Boundaries are being enacted somewhere. And, what - the fact of them being enacted in these particular places - does it tell about the object of interest of this research? Could it be easily claimed that this is a “Bosnian” situation, when inhabitants of this state still struggle to define what cultural feature, if any, is specific about them and what cultural features they share among them?

Minimizing or dismissing the practices investigated in this work as something exclusively Bosnian, or Balkanic, is incurring in what Todorova called “Balkanism”, or the idea that explanatory approaches to phenomena in the Balkans rest upon a discourse or a stable system of stereotypes that place the Balkans in a cognitive straightjacket that evokes the idea of a return to a tribal, barbaric and primitive logic of affiliation (Todorova, 2009: 3). Nevertheless, those practices are happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Sarajevo, let’s say, in Dobrinja neighborhood, in a particular coach station. To claim universality would also be misguided.

This is exactly the point Enloe (2010) makes when she provides a feminist account of the Iraq war through the life of eight random women. What Enloe does with her ‘case studies’ is not only to tell the history of life of those women, but each of those cases help her to plunge even deeper in her questions about the gendered story of the war in Iraq. As in Mol’s work, the struggle between generality and particularity is permanent. Through very ‘localized’ case studies, both authors demonstrate the wider implications of the practices in question. However, this is not simply a movement from the micro to the macro, nor from the particular to the universal. Rather, it is an unstable movement of bringing out the research problem by paying attention to everyday places.

In my work, I will be struggling between those same claims of generality and particularity, while arguing that those case studies are neither unique nor universal. My case studies, therefore, should be understood more as instruments, not for generalizing, but for exploring boundary enactments in today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### 3.6. Conclusion

This chapter has proposed a series of moves in order to argue for the study of the everyday in a political analysis in general, in international relations in particular and in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina even more specifically. It has been argued that the everyday is a relevant political category, where tensions are played, disputes are fought and appropriations and even transformation take place. It is thus not only the realm of domination and repetition but also a productive and creative site.

The implications of this onto-epistemo-methodological choice for this research are various. Indeed, I will not start from the Dayton Peace Agreement and take it as a normative structure that control, regulate and establish practices in Bosnia and Herzegovina today. Rather, I will look elsewhere – in everyday places – to bring out what people ‘make-do’ of the Dayton Peace Agreement and how boundaries are enacted. The aim is to bring out precisely the intersections between practices that are conceived as ‘exceptional’ and ‘mundane’, conducted by ‘ordinary people’ and the elites, in places and modes that are deemed ‘public’, ‘private’ or ‘personal’.

In the next three chapters, we will thus look with *curiosity* to everyday places in Sarajevo and Mostar in order to identify the multiple ways in which boundaries have been enacted, displaced and destabilized.

## 4

## Politics of (im)mobility (or everyday practices around a coach station)

“These mountains where I once played as a child, now they had become this place of death. You came to see space totally differently. You knew which places were exposed, which angle the snipers could see you from.” (Nihad Kresevljakovic

apud Larsen; 2015<sup>59</sup>)

« (He) creates for himself a space in which he can find *ways of using* the constraining order of the place (...). Without leaving the place where he has no choice but to live and which lays down its law for him, he establishes within it a degree of *plurality* and creativity. By an art of being in between, he draws unexpected results from his situation » (De Certeau, p. 30)



Figure 3: Demarcations showing the end of Kanton Sarajevo – and, therefore, the city of Sarajevo – and the beginning of City of Istočno Sarajevo – both in Cyrillic and Latin scripts

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‘Sarajevo

enduring

Optimism’

-

<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/04/travel/sarajevo-tourism-history.html>

#### 4.1. Dobrinja/Istočno Sarajevo

Saturday morning, beginning of October 2015. Around fifteen people gather at a coach station, protecting themselves from the heavy rain that pours from the skies despite the forecast having announced a sunny day. Among ‘locals’ who were traveling to closer cities such as Pale and Foča and carrying big bags, a few foreign, all backpackers, waited for the coaches that would take them to more touristic destinations such as Belgrade and Novi Sad, in Serbia. Around 400 meters separates the final trolleybus stop, located in one entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, from the coach station, situated in the other. It might not seem much, but it is enough to leave everyone unadvert coming from the center of Sarajevo soaked for walking under pouring rain to reach the building displaying in big Cyrillic letters: Автобуска станица Источно Сарајево (Easter Sarajevo Coach Station).



Figure 4: The Coach Station

In the four cafés and restaurants inside of the coach station, other customers, mainly older men, also gather in groups of three or four, drinking coffee and chain-

smoking cigarettes. Differently from the people carrying bags and packages and waiting impatiently for their coaches, those men are not in a rush. They will be sitting in those cafes for hours, a typical weekend activity in a neighborhood that offers little regarding leisure.

For someone who is not familiar with the history of Sarajevo and the complex administrative and spatial structures implemented by Dayton, it is hard at first to understand why there is a coach station in a suburban-like area such as this, disconnected from any kind of public transportation apart the bus/trolleybus final stop 400 meters away. Despite its ten gates, the movement is rather slow in the coach station, with only about 20 buses departing from there daily. Moreover, a bigger coach station is already in place in a more central location in Sarajevo - a city with less than 300,000 inhabitants.

Every day, coaches depart from the station to other cities in Republika Srpska. Some final destinations, however, are international: Serbia or Montenegro. Even though the station is located only a few meters from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>60</sup>, not a single city in that entity is served by the coaches departing from here. That is, in fact, the very reason underlying the construction of this coach station in 2000<sup>61</sup>, in what is called today Istočno Sarajevo. The fact that the station was built in the same place where the pre-war trolleybus terminus used to lay, when Sarajevo had still not been divided, and just a few meters from the official and now invisible Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL) that crosses Bosnia and Herzegovina splitting it up into two political entities, seems barely a coincidence. Indeed, among a myriad of transformations on the urban landscape, infrastructure, place-making and affectional and social practices following the war and its aftermaths in Sarajevo, this coach station might be understood as the crystallization, or materialization, of Dayton's spatial and social-political orders.

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<sup>60</sup> Hereafter, I will adopt the term 'Federation', as used by all my interlocutors.

<sup>61</sup> B1!N. "Pogledajte kako se izgleda Istočno Sarajevo – nekada pusta livada, danas grad u ekspanziji". 10.11.12. Available at: <http://banjalukain.com/clanak/82251/pogledajte-kako-izgleda-istocno-sarajevo-nekada-pusta-livada-danas-grad-u-ekspanziji>

| ODREĐISTE:         |                                       | VRIJEME POLASKA I PREVOZNIK: |  |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| <b>BEOGRAD</b>     | PREKO:<br>SOKOLAC, ZVORNIK, SABAC     | 15.00 KONDOR                 | 22.00 KONDOR                           |
| <b>HERCEG NOVI</b> | PREKO:<br>FOČA, PODGORICA, BUDVA      | 09.00 BALKAN<br>e-press      | KOMPAS<br>(SEZONSKA 20.06. - 15.09.)   |
| <b>NIŠ</b>         | PREKO:<br>VIŠEGRAD, ČAČAK, KRALJEVO   | 08.40 KONDOR                 |  |
| <b>NOVI SAD</b>    | PREKO:<br>SOKOLAC, ZVORNIK, SABAC     | 13.30 KOMPAS                 | 23.15 KOMPAS<br>ČETVRTAK<br>14.07.2014 |
| <b>PODGORICA</b>   | PREKO:<br>FOČA, PLUŽINE, NIKŠIĆ       | 09.00 BALKAN<br>e-press      | KOMPAS<br>(SEZONSKA 20.06. - 15.09.)   |
| <b>SREBRENICA</b>  | PREKO:<br>PALE, SOKOLAC, BRATUNAC     | 08.40 KOMPAS                 |  |
| <b>SUBOTICA</b>    | PREKO:<br>ZVORNIK, SABAC, NOVI SAD    | 23.15 KOMPAS                 | ČETVRTAK<br>14.07.2014                 |
| <b>TREBINJE</b>    | PREKO:<br>FOČA, GACKO, BILEGA         | 13.00 BALKAN<br>e-press      |  |
| <b>ULCINJ</b>      | PREKO:<br>SČEPAN POLJE, SUTOMORE, BAR | BALKAN<br>e-press            | (SEZONSKA 20.06. - 15.09.)             |

Figure 5: Coaches timetable

However, it is not only that. The coach station and its surrounding have also become a place of socialization, where residents from Istočno Sarajevo meet and spend their time. By people who, through their practices, gave a different meaning to this place. It attracts people from Federation by offering cheaper tickets to Serbia, and foreign tourists who otherwise would find ‘no reason’ to visit ‘the other side’. The coach station, thus, operates also on the contrary logic of Dayton’s social-political order. It separates people but also create an opening and a reason to cross. It is, therefore, a social space.

This is how I first came across ‘the other Sarajevo’: in 2009, I was traveling around Bosnia-Herzegovina on my way to Serbia, when my hosts mentioned I had to catch a coach that departs from Pale and, by lack of an alternative route, crosses through central Sarajevo before arriving at ‘the other coach station’, in Istočno Sarajevo, where I would find my way to Serbia. When I went back to Sarajevo for the first time, to conduct my Ph.D research, in December 2014, I could not remember how to get to Istočno Sarajevo. One of my interlocutors told me to take a regular bus, much more frequent and cheaper, that goes until the neighborhood of Dobrinja and walk from there to Istočno Sarajevo. When the bus reached its destination, I had to step down, and had no idea where to go, since there is no single sign, in Sarajevo, indicating directions to Istočno Sarajevo, its coach station, or any of its public buildings or roads. At least in visual and public informational terms,



Sarajevo seemed to ignore completely, or even deny<sup>62</sup> the existence of its neighbor, Istočno Sarajevo. It was a cold mid-December morning, and almost no one was around, so I decided to walk in a straight line until I finally came across the Cyrillic-script display of the coach station. Only then I was sure I had crossed the Inter-Entity Boundary Line, for, in this area, there are no longer road signs, fences, flags or checkpoints demarcating one entity from the other.



Figure 6: One of the restaurants inside the coach station

If the coach station had become, at first, a reference point for me, I quickly understood it was also for the dwellers of that area. As such, through the years, it has become an important node for the movement of peoples in this intensely contested boundaryzone, ‘invested with considerable sovereignty claims, governmental logistics and affect’ (Jansen, 2011: 25). For all those reasons, it is an attractive entrance point to understand the everyday enactment of boundaries in post-Dayton Sarajevo.

<sup>62</sup> The only road sign in Sarajevo pointing to anywhere within Istočno Sarajevo that I could observe is located much earlier, in the beginning of Dobrinja neighbourhood, and it points to “Lukavica”, the name used to designate the region where Istočno Sarajevo is today when Sarajevo had still not been divided. In Istočno Sarajevo I could only spot one single road sign as well pointing to “Sarajevo Old Town”. The signs pictured at the beginning of this chapter are located at a more peripheral road, used more often for those who are traveling to other places in BiH.



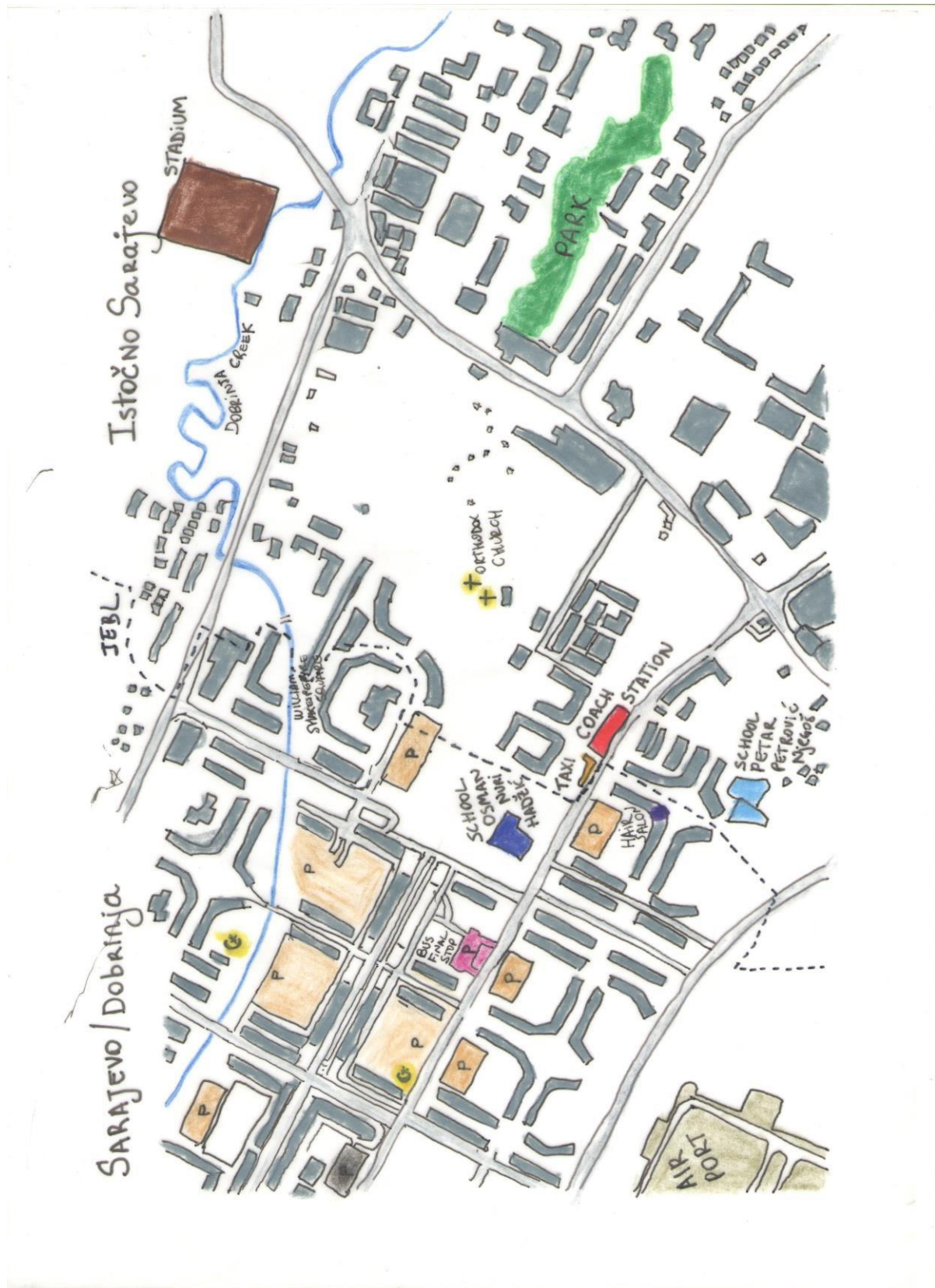


Figure 7: Map of the area

## 4.2.

### Imagining boundaries (or, how boundaries came to be)

“Whoever drew the borders (*granice*) did not think about ordinary human beings”, tells me Slobodanka, a 64-year-old woman who has lived most of her life in Sarajevo, more precisely, in the neighborhood of Dobrinja<sup>63</sup>. Since the 15th century, Sarajevo has been one of the most important cities in the Balkans and, as such, it has been under constant transformation. The construction of Dobrinja neighborhood, for instance, can be counted among the changes the city went through during the socialist, Yugoslavian years, as it is the latest residential settlement of its kind. Set alongside the airport, the two kilometers square neighborhood was planned on the end of the 1970s, and part of the low-rise apartment block complex was built as a press and sportsman village for the 1984 Olympic Winter Games, while the last pre-war buildings were finalized shortly before the beginning of the conflict. At that time, Dobrinja was built following the usual practices of Yugoslav self-management socialism. That implied being financed ‘mainly by large socially owned firms that allocated inheritable tenancy rights to workers who paid contributions into special funds’ (Jansen, 2015:3). In practice, Dobrinja inhabitants were, in the beginning, usually well-educated middle-income parents from all three major ethnonational backgrounds, without no absolute majority of any ethnonational group (Ibidem; Huseinovic, Avdo, Dobrinja” Opsada u opsadi, 2014<sup>64</sup>).

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<sup>63</sup> Interview with Slobodanka, 11 April 2015, originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadžimusic. At a café on the boundary, Sarajevo/Istočno Sarajevo.

<sup>64</sup> Documentary film available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vh42Z1i8Rxs>



Figure 8: One of the Winter Olympic Games heritages in Dobrinja

This stratum of Yugoslavian society was also the most prone to identify itself along categories other than religion or ethnicity and to marry someone from a different ethnonational group (Berman, 2007:18)). The 1991 census reports that, by then, 36,996 people lived in the settlement, from which 15,935 considered themselves Muslims

(43%), 2,437 (6%), Croats and 11,511, Serbs (31%). Also, it ranked high among the places where a large percentage of the population would define themselves as ‘Yugoslavian’<sup>65</sup> (5,558, or 15%) and ‘Others’ (1,554, or 4%), instead of picking one or another ethnonational group (Berman, 2007:16). Slobodanka was one of them. Even if being Yugoslavian is not officially an option anymore, this is how she still describes herself, before adding that she is of Serbian origin, born in Croatia and has married a Muslim. “It works”.



Figure 9

If Dobrinja incarnated so well the ‘Yugoslavian dream’, its ideals of ‘brotherhood and unity’ (*bratsvo i jedinstvo*) and the proud and hope of Sarajevan citizens (*Sarajlije*) during the 1980s - forged largely due to the positive image conquered through and because of the Winter Olympic Games - it was also one of the neighborhoods that suffered the most during the war and the siege of Sarajevo. It is often said that Dobrinja experienced a ‘siege within a siege’ because it was not

<sup>65</sup> According to 1991 census. ‘Nacionalni sastav stanovništva. Rezultati za Republiku Po Opstinama I Naseljenim Mjestima 1991. Republika Bosna I Hercegovina. Drzavni Zavod za Statistiku Republike Bosne I Hercegovine. Sarajevo, 1993’. Godine. Available at: <http://www.fzs.ba/Dem/Popis/nacionalni%20sastav%20stanovnistva%20po%20naseljeni%20mjestima%20bilten%20234.pdf>

only cut off from the rest of the country during the war but also from the rest of the city due to its geographical particularities (Berman, 2007:62). The neighborhood is separated from the rest of Sarajevo by Mojmilo Hill, and a single road connects it to the city. During the war, Serbian forces controlled this road from 2nd May 1992, “when mines were set along the road by Mojmilo (Hill) and the road by the Airport was blocked”, as reports the daily newspaper *Oslobodjenje* in 17 May 1992, which continues: “(...) this settlement became a huge [concentration] camp, and its 40,000 residents are (were) kept as hostages. If this ever ends, very few of them will cross these roads again and not have severe psychological trauma” (Hromadzic, apud Berman, 2007: 25).

Dobrinja is also said to be the most bombed neighborhood of Sarajevo, which its buildings confirm, exposing, up until today, its many scars. The everyday bombing and shooting during those years, along with the materiality (and risk) of mines, military blockades and the destruction of buildings forged a first boundary where until then there was none, resignifying relations, places, things and the very idea of the normalcy of the everyday. As such, a place of professing faith such an Orthodox Church became a symbol of danger and destruction, for from its tower, still under construction at that time, snipers would unload their guns against anything that moved on the streets. The buildings across the church, once ordinary suburban households, were also transformed in “sniper nests” controlled, however, by the Army of the Republic of BiH (Jansen, 2013:27). And that’s also how the main school in the area became a mined field; staircases of buildings, deemed the safest places in the neighborhood, became schools; buses and trolleybus cars were used as barricades; private and public gardens became cemeteries, and the surrounding hills and fields, once associated with leisure, beauty and affection, became a threat, the ‘other side’<sup>66</sup>. The boundary was, thus, at first, constituted through violent practices, fear and othering. As a woman who stayed in Sarajevo during the war once told me, an association between war and boundary in the city

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<sup>66</sup> For a detailed account of the ‘siege within a siege’ in Dobrinja, please refer to the 2014 documentary from Avdo Huseinovic, “Dobrinja, Opsada u opsadi”, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vh42Z1i8Rxs>

is easily made: “People know where the shootings came from, people know where the boundary is”<sup>67</sup>.

Like most of her neighbors, Slobodanka had moved to Dobrinja with her family when it was freshly built. She has stayed in the neighborhood during the siege by Serbian forces, and she recalls that, when the war started, she suffered discrimination from many of her neighbourhoods ‘for being a Serb’. However, when Sarajevo was divided, in 1995, into two autonomous local administrations –



Figure 10: Srpsko Sarajevo sign

Sarajevo itself, and Istočno Sarajevo <sup>68</sup>, cutting across neighborhoods such as Dobrinja <sup>69</sup> and engendering a massive displacement of populations, Slobodanka did not move. In the division, her apartment stayed in Sarajevo, which belongs to the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, an entity drawn by the Dayton Peace Accords

with the aim of representing Bosniaks (Muslims) and Croats. She refused to move a few meters East into Istočno Sarajevo, in Republika Srpska, like thousands of Serbs of Sarajevo eventually did, and, hence, to validate the ethnoterritorial features of the new Bosnian map. In fact, she refused that her life would be dictated by categorizations that she did not even related.

Boundaries and borders often invite for a clear-cut identification that many people in BiH were not willing to adopt. As well as for her Yugoslavian ascription,

<sup>67</sup> Interview with Hazima Pecirep, 27 March 2015, Novi Grad Municipality headquarter, Sarajevo. Original interview in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzimusic.

<sup>68</sup> In the first years, the official name was, in fact, Srpsko Sarajevo (Serbian Sarajevo). However, the name was changed to Istočno Sarajevo (East Sarajevo) in 2004, after a decision of the BiH Constitutional Court (Jansen, 2013: 27; Lofranco, 2007:95). Some older residents still call it ‘Srpsko Sarajevo’, as I could verify during my research in the region.

<sup>69</sup> Thus, although Dobrinja was divided, I will employ this name only when referring to the part of the neighborhood that was allocated to the Federation, while calling ‘Istočno Sarajevo’ the part that was allocated to Republika Srpska.

Slobodanka was caught in-between by the division of the city. She lives in a boundaryzone, and goes to other parts of both Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo for things like shopping or visiting her two daughters, who live in central Sarajevo. It was hardly a coincidence that we met at a café ‘atop’ the official boundary line, where it is not clear if we are still in Sarajevo itself or Istočno Sarajevo. As De Certeau suggests:

« (He)(She) creates for himself a space in which he can find *ways of using* the constraining order of the place (...). Without leaving the place where he (she) has no choice but to live and which lays down its law for him (her), he (she) establishes within it a degree of *plurality* and creativity. By an art of being in between, he (she) draws unexpected results from his situation » (De Certeau, p. 30)

For cases such as Sarajevo, the legacy of the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA), accorded on 14 December 1995 in Paris, has been considered two-fold. While it was able to cease military confrontation, it has also institutionalized the results of the ethnic cleansing practices, officialising a political and administrative division between Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo, first achieved during the war. The division of Sarajevo is inscribed, however, in a much larger movement that has divided Bosnia and Herzegovina into two political entities <sup>70</sup>, based on the territories conquered during the war by each group at the moment when the DPA was signed. As Toal and Dahlman (2011) argue, “not surprisingly, the final partition line dividing the Bosnian Federation from Republika Srpska had absolutely no historical precedent or basis. It was a contingent product of violent ethnic cleansing, the to and fro of military front lines and, finally, international pressure to conclude the fighting” (p. 160).

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<sup>70</sup> The status of Brčko – a considerably rich port city located strategically by the Croatian and Serbian borders - was left undecided at the Dayton negotiations, because no agreement of each warring parties could be reached. US mediators persuaded the parties at Dayton to accept that the final status of Brčko should be the product of ‘international arbitration’ through an international, private, arbitration tribunal. In 1999, the tribunal established that Brčko should become a ‘district’, supervised by an international supervisor. Hence, Brčko does not belong to any of the two entities. It is considered a *de facto* ‘city-state’ (Parish, 2010: xii). Thus, Dayton divided BiH into two political entities, but, nowadays, the country is composed of the two entities and the Brčko district.



Republika Srpska, which until then existed only as an unofficial ethnoterritorial entity forged by military violence and ‘ethnic cleansing’<sup>71</sup> campaigns in opposition to the internationally recognized Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina became sanctioned as a legitimate part of Bosnia and Herzegovina, composing 49% of its territory. Annex 2 of the General Framework Agreement<sup>72</sup> officialised the division by creating the 1,080 kilometre-long so-called Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL)<sup>73</sup> that crosses 42 municipalities in the whole BiH<sup>74</sup>.

In a more localized and urban scale, this division was reproduced in Sarajevo. In fact, the partition of Sarajevo has been, since 1992, a priority for then president of Republika Srpska, Radovan Karadžić. In a formal statement, he presented it as one of his six goals – “the division of Sarajevo into Serb and Muslim parts and the establishment of effective state authority in each part”. Karadžić later added that they “have to maintain the character of the Berlin kind of corridor in order to get Sarajevo definitely divided and the territories to become compact”

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<sup>71</sup> Ethnic cleansing is defined by the UN as “rendering an area ethnically homogeneous by using force or intimidation to remove from a given area persons from another ethnic or religious group” (UN, 1994: n.p). The very origin of the term is still a debate among specialists. Throughout the Second World War, the Serb-Croat word *racistiti*, which means “to clean up” or “to cleanse”, was used to refer to a military action aiming to “free” a certain space from individuals of the enemy group (Bringa, 2002: 204). Moreover, since many of the symbols and vocabularies from Second World War were recovered by the warring parts in the 1990s, *racistiti* seems to be one of them. According to Bringa, who have developed fieldwork in Bosnia since the 1980s, foreign journalists or humanitarian workers probably added on the term ‘ethnic’, since it was not, up to this point, widely known or used by Bosnians in general.

<sup>72</sup> The General Framework Agreement (GFA) is the name given to the document agreed during the Dayton Peace Accord (DPA). Both can be used interchangeably. It can be found at [http://www.ohr.int/dpa/default.asp?content\\_id=380](http://www.ohr.int/dpa/default.asp?content_id=380)

<sup>73</sup> This name, “Inter-Entity Boundary line” was reportedly chosen ‘in an effort to present it as a soft line rather than the hard ethnic border that ethnonationalist envisioned’ (Toal and Dahlman, 2011:160).

<sup>74</sup> Karabegovic, Dzenana. “Međuentitetska linija: Dnevni boravak u Federaciji, spavaća soba u RS”. Radio Slobodna Evropa. 23.02.2012. Available at: [http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/međuentitetska\\_linija\\_jos\\_se\\_ceka\\_na\\_crtanje\\_karti/24494227.html](http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/međuentitetska_linija_jos_se_ceka_na_crtanje_karti/24494227.html)

(Donia, 2014, p. 206). Although the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS<sup>75</sup>) did not achieve militarily the partition of Sarajevo on the scale they intended, it did gain ‘recognition for their wartime space-clearing ethnocracy’ during peace negotiations (Toal and Dahlman, 2011: 6). Because Sarajevo is BiH’s largest city, it has been subjected to a particularly detailed negotiation during the DPA, with Serbian and Bosniak leaders struggling neighbourhood-by-neighbourhood to decide what would be the new configuration of the city. In the beginning, Bosnian Serbs claimed the whole city. In Karadzic words: “Either it is ours, or it will be two cities” (Armakolas 2007:81). After 21 days of tough negotiations, Republika Srpska’s delegation agreed to deliver most neighborhoods that were still assieged by the VRS to the Federation, giving up the idea of establishing a “special unit” in BiH’s capital. However, Republika Srpska was left remaining with some suburbs, fields and the Olympic mountain village of Pale – forming what is today Istočno Sarajevo<sup>76</sup>.

As such, the neighborhoods of Vogošća, Ilijaš, Hadžići and Ilidža were the first to change hands under the Dayton agreement, in March 1996. The more central neighborhood of Grbavica, which witnessed fierce attacks and was held by the VRS during most of the siege of Sarajevo, was only later integrated to the Federation<sup>77</sup>. Few weeks before the transition, however, Serbian politicians ordered Serbs in Sarajevo to burn down their apartments and loot others, and leave the city. They even broadcasted detailed instructions on how to set fires (Holbrooke, To end a war,

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<sup>75</sup> *Vojska Republike Srpske*

<sup>76</sup> More details about the negotiation can be found at the TV Justice Magazine – Especial – Episode 72 – “20 Years after Dayton Accords”. According to the experts who participated in the negotiations, the status of Sarajevo was one of the most sensible issues for all the parts, and Republika Srpska’s delegation only gave up on its claims when then president of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, agreed to leave most of Sarajevo to the Federation.

Available at: <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/bosnia-inside-the-dayton-peace-talks-12-07-2015>

<sup>77</sup> Pomfret, John. “Occupied During the War, Terrorized in Peace”, The Washington Post, 9 March 1996.

Available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1996/03/09/occupied-during-war-terrorized-in-peace/3f15b3ce-672a-429b-9267-ebb5c3e86e19/>



p 335). Authorized by NATO, buses and trucks were sent by Pale<sup>78</sup> to transfer the remaining Serbs into Republika Srpska<sup>79</sup>. A campaign of intimidation against those who did not want to leave was undertaken, and many were forced out of their homes by Serbian police (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2004; Toal and Dahlman, 2011: 166), further consolidating ethnic-cleansing campaigns and the ethnoterritorial dynamics in post-Dayton BiH.

In the neighborhood of Dobrinja, some positions held by the VRS were also initially integrated to the Federation in 1996, in accordance to the DPA. The document stipulated that “seven hundred flats in Dobrinja IV and I would be assigned to the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while four hundred would go to the Republika Srpska”, following the maps and lines drew during the peace negotiations with the help of a flight simulator. Two maps were particularly important for the future of the city. The first one used a scale of 1:600,000, in which Sarajevo appears only as a dot and, therefore, was not compatible to the specificities of urban landscape<sup>80</sup>. Similarly, another map, of 1:50,000 did not allow sufficient details either<sup>81</sup>. Nevertheless, they were both used during the negotiations and, as a result, by the end of the meeting, the Inter-Entity Boundary Lined cut Dobrinja residential complex in such a way that a school and even flats were divided: in some cases, the balcony and the kitchen were located in the Federation, while the bedroom and living room were now part of the RS. “I cook in RS, but I sleep in

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<sup>78</sup> Distant only 15 kilometers from Sarajevo, Pale is today part of Istočno Sarajevo. During the war, it was the capital of self-proclaimed Republika Srpska.

<sup>79</sup> Kinzer, Stephan. “Refusing to Panic, Some Serbs Accept Bosnian Rule”. New York Times, February 26, 1996. Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/1996/02/26/world/refusing-to-panic-some-serbs-accept-bosnian-rule.html>

<sup>80</sup> Sheridan, 2001. “Arbitration Award for Dobrinja I and IV”. Office of High Representative, 17 April 2001. Document available at [http://www.ohr.int/other-doc/dobrinja-arbtr/default.asp?content\\_id=3563](http://www.ohr.int/other-doc/dobrinja-arbtr/default.asp?content_id=3563) and also as an annex on this thesis.

<sup>81</sup> “I have examined such maps, 1:50,000, and I cannot see how any cartographer or map drawer could accurately draw a line with Dobrinja I and IV in mind of a map of such scale. It is only when one gets to a much lower scale that the outlines of the buildings, comprised in the particular area, become manifest”. (Sheridan, 2001)

Federation”<sup>82</sup>, became a standard joke between inhabitants of the area, who were particularly eager to highlight what they considered the absurdity of Dayton’s boundaries.

For those living in this area, the Inter-Entity Boundary Line became thus an inevitable part of their everyday, passing through and shaping some of the most private places and moments of their lives. Because those blocks of flats did not belong exclusively either to one nor another entity, urgently needed reconstruction and renovation efforts became compromised. Similarly, there was little agreement on who should provide each of the essential services such as gas, electricity and water, since the authorities of then Srpsko Sarajevo had developed parallel agencies for those services. Besides, the waste from Istočno Sarajevo could not be driven to the city dump, now located in the Federation. This part of Istočno Sarajevo remained, in fact, without streetlights for an extended period (Pilav, 2011:103).

This ‘de facto’ stalemate crystallized in the everyday of a few building blocks in the suburbs of Sarajevo came together with another, more official, form of contestation. Indeed, right after – and for many years following the signature of the DPA - authorities in Republika Srpska contested the IEBL. They contended that they had not received their percentage (49%) of BiH’s territory and claimed the disputed area of Dobrinja I and IV to make it up (Sheridan, 2001). They argued it before international authorities, claiming that a cease-fire map, produced by United States agencies and signed by all the parties should be adopted and respected in this region. Indeed, the cease-fire line in Dobrinja I and IV did not coincide exactly with the IEBL line (Ibidem). For such disputed cases, Annex 2 Article II of DPA foresees that “the Parties may adjust the Inter-Entity Boundary Line only by mutual consent”, while Article IV explicitly states that “during the period in which the

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<sup>82</sup> See, for example, BBC News, “Ruling Redraws Sarajevo Map”, 24 April 2001. Available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/1294639.stm> and Karabegovic, Dzenana. “Međuentitetska linija: Dnevni boravak u Federaciji, spavaća soba u RS”. Radio Slobodna Evropa. 23.02.2012. Available at: [http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/međuentitetska\\_linija\\_jos\\_se\\_ceka\\_na\\_crtanje\\_karti/24494227.html](http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/međuentitetska_linija_jos_se_ceka_na_crtanje_karti/24494227.html).

IFOR<sup>83</sup> is deployed, the IFOR Commander shall have the right to determine, after consultation with the Parties, the exact delineation of such Lines and Zones, provided that with respect to Sarajevo the IFOR Commander shall have the right to adjust the Zone of Separation as necessary ». As for who had the final word on the boundary-making, the document seems very clear: « Final authority for placement of such markers shall rest with the IFOR»<sup>84</sup>.

During six years, however, no agreement was reached between the parties and this area remained contested. That had a heavy effect on the lives of the families living in those apartment complexes, as recalls Hazima Pecirep, head of Local Integrated Development at the Municipality of Novi Grad Sarajevo<sup>85</sup>:

« Even five years after the Dayton agreement, some people's status were not clear, because, basically, practically the war was still going inside their homes (...). It wasn't easy for them, because the war ended only six years after Dayton for those families »<sup>86</sup>

Moreover, despite foreseen by Annex 4, Article 1 of GFA, freedom of movement was still not assured in BiH in general in the first years following the official end of the war. In the area of Dobrinja, “the mined, barricaded space of the former siege line, between ruined buildings, enacted a *de facto* border, with checkpoints manned by local and foreign officers” (Jansen, 2013:27). In effect, despite Annex 4 above mentioned and Annex 7, which states that “all refugees and displaced persons have the right freely to return to their homes of origin”, during the first months and even years, the IEBL was operating more as border than as a boundary not only in Dobrinja, but also everywhere else in the country. At first, the

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<sup>83</sup> IFOR, Implementation Force, was a NATO-led peace enforcement force in BiH that, in the end of 1996, was replaced by SFOR, Stabilization Force, also led by NATO. Hence, by the time of the arbitration in Dobrinja, SFOR was the final authority for boundary-making.

<sup>84</sup> GFA . Available at [http://www.ohr.int/dpa/default.asp?content\\_id=380](http://www.ohr.int/dpa/default.asp?content_id=380)

<sup>85</sup> “šef Odsjeka za lokalni integrisani razvoj Općine Novi Grad Sarajevo”

<sup>86</sup> Interview with Hazima Pecirep, 27 March 2015, Novi Grad Municipality headquarter, Sarajevo. Original interview in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzimusic.

Office of High Representative (OHR) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) expected that Annex 7 would allow for the reversion of part of the process of ethnic cleansing conducted during the war. However, in the first half of 1996, crowds of Bosniaks and Croats trying to return to their original houses and villages in the now Republika Srpska were met with resistance by Serbian nationalists, who embodied the Inter-Entity boundary in different locations of BiH. Several violent episodes, some even culminating in injuries and death, such as in Kapetanovici, took place around the IEBL at that time (Toal and Dahlman, 2011:171). Some Serbs trying to cross the boundary were also prevented and hostile by Bosniaks and Croats<sup>87</sup>.

Fearing a return of violence, the OHR, the International Police Task Force (IPTF), and UNHCR issued a joint statement on 27 April 1996, communicating that IFOR would “take appropriate measures to restrict or prevent large-scale movement of vehicles” (Toal and Dahlman, 2011: 170). It was agreed between the parts that the “right freely to return” assured by Dayton should be replaced by “visiting rules”, requiring the international bodies to agree with local authorities on short visits ‘to the other side’ (Ibidem, p. 171). As Toal and Dahlman (2011) argue:

“In effect, IFOR put a halt to returns by establishing its own checkpoints along the IEBL. (It) accomplished more than RS leaders could have hoped for. The IEBL was given material form as a physical border by IFOR checkpoints, effectively guarding Republika Srpska from ‘incursions’ and putting Annex 7 indefinitely on hold” (Toal and Dahlman, p. 170).

In the region of then Dobrinja/Srpsko Sarajevo, the movement was almost exclusively of individuals returning towards the area in which they make up part of the ethnic majority (“majority returns”), in opposition to the so-called ‘minority returns’, which generally indicates the return of displacees to an entity or region in which their ethnonational group was not in control (Brubaker, 2013:2). As we have mentioned, this movement had already started during the war, with many Serbs

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<sup>87</sup> For a very detailed account of those attempts from all sides, please refer to chapter 6 of Toal and Dahlman (2011).

fleeing Sarajevo to Pale and Bosniaks refugees from other parts of the country moving in. It continued right after the Dayton Agreement when thousands of Serbs were encouraged, or threatened, by authorities in Republika Srpska to move there.



Figure 11: The IEBL does not cut through flats any longer, but it cuts through this square. Sarajevo (buildings on the left), and Istočno Sarajevo (building on the right).

At the immediate area where the coach station (that, at this point, still did not exist) lays today, the situation was even more complicated, due to lack of agreement between the parts on where the boundary was, and where it should be. During the war, the area was controlled by the VRS and, except those left abandoned, the flats were almost 100% occupied by Serbs who fled central Sarajevo under siege. For the first five years after the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement, few, if any, movement was reported across the boundary.

Therefore, at the beginning of 2001, when the stalemate was deemed insoluble, the international community was called to intervene. Although NATO was legally considered responsible for such matters, the Office of High Representative ended up organizing an arbitration process to solve the stalemate over the IEBL on Dobrinja. An independent Irish arbitrator, Diarmuid P Sheridan,

was designated to lead the case. For weeks, Sheridan held audiences where he would hear old and new inhabitants from the contested flats and ended up redrawing the Inter-Entity Boundary Line in that area, in April 2001. The new line would not cross through any buildings <sup>88</sup> and would attribute all contested flats to the Federation, since the arbitrator understood that “the vast majority of refugees longing to return (to the referred flats) are (were) Bosniaks” (Sheridan, 2001). In other terms, he privileged neither the IEBL nor the ceasefire line.

### 4.3.

#### **Drawing, redrawing, demarcating**

Following Sheridan’s decision, the reconfigured boundary that divides Sarajevo started being enacted through many (everyday) practices, and in a multiplicity of forms, meanings and outcomes, while ordinary people in Istočno Sarajevo continued to enact the older, and now divergent, boundary.

In Istočno Sarajevo, when the new map was released, people went to the street to protest about what they considered an unjust arbitration, claiming that those areas should belong to Republika Srpska. Barricades were (re)built to give a materiality to a then almost invisible boundary and to prevent people coming from the Federation to take over their newly assigned apartments<sup>89</sup>. Therefore, while dwellers contested the more official boundary-making practices, they also contributed shaping and to materialize a divergent boundary.

Indeed, the IEBL was (and still is) simultaneously constituted by international and local administrations who are entitled to draw it on a map, and, by everyday practices of demarcation, that went from routine policing to

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<sup>88</sup> That was a crucial point highlighted by Sheridan. In his statement, he explains he has received the following letter from a dweller: “I ask you, Mr. Sheridan, not to divide any kind of lines that divide buildings in two going through our apartments, bedrooms, living-rooms hallways and bathroom which would be a most primitive form of behavior indeed”. And Sheridan concludes: “I find myself in total agreement with those sentiments”.

<sup>89</sup> Irish Times, “Sarajevo Police Patrol Disputed Area in Transfer”. 26 April 2001. Available at: <http://www.irishtimes.com/news/sarajevo-police-patrol-disputed-area-in-transfer-1.304578>

adjustments in the urban infrastructure and to personal decisions such as crossing or not ‘to the other side’. As such, a myriad of practices was adopted by both administrations and by the international community but, also, by the ‘ordinary people’ living in this area. In the months following the demarcation, for instance, the Federation police, along with UN Peacekeepers, enacted the boundary through routinized and daily practices of patrolling<sup>90</sup>. At that time, the lack of everyday movement and regular, quotidian ‘crossing’ between one side and the other shaped the IEBL on the ground. ‘Crossing’, at that time, was mainly reserved to people who decided to move, permanently, from one entity to the other. Indeed, following the same pattern as in the immediate post-Dayton period, the redrawing of the boundary caused yet another flow of people moving from one side to the other, further consolidating Dayton’s ethnoterritorial dimension. While Slobodanka stayed put, refusing to take part in the ethnoterritorial practices that continue to organize spatially and politically post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina, many Serbs started selling their properties in the Federation to buy houses or apartments ‘on the other side’.

With the boundary now officially defined and demarcated, the municipalities at both sides started investing in symbolic practices that would also resonate in the everyday. One of them was to establish new patterns for street signs. In the Federation side, following what had already been done in other areas of Sarajevo, all signs in Cyrillic were removed and replaced by new street plaques in green, written only in Latin alphabet, whereas in Republika Srpska, street signs kept the old Yugoslavian-time blue, using, however, only the Cyrillic script<sup>91</sup>. In an area where the boundary is basically invisible as it is today, the street signs are still the only clear and visible indicator of what entity you are.

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<sup>90</sup> Irish Times, “Sarajevo Police Patrol Disputed Area in Transfer”. 26 April 2001. Available at: <http://www.irishtimes.com/news/sarajevo-police-patrol-disputed-area-in-transfer-1.304578>

<sup>91</sup> During Yugoslavia years, street signs were blue, but written in both Latin and Cyrillic scripts. Although both characters are still considered official in BiH, the latter is associated with Serbian culture. At the same time, green is a color often associated with Islam.

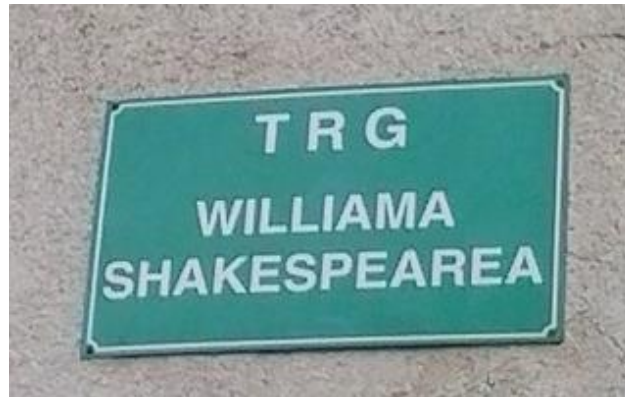


Figure 12: Street signs in Sarajevo and RS

Municipalities of both sides also changed many street names, often renaming them after personalities long or very recently associated to one or another ethnonational group<sup>92</sup>. As Robison et al. (2001) argue, street names are sensitive

<sup>92</sup> Due to specificities of the region, it is not uncommon that important historical figures are 'claimed' by two or three ethnonational groups. Inventor Nikola Tesla, for example, is considered a Serb but is also claimed by Croats, since he was born in Austro-Hungarian Empire, but in a city which is now in Croatia. Nobel Prize for Literature Ivo Andrić is also claimed by the three groups, since he was born in Bosnia from a Croatian family, but wrote



indicators of the link between political processes and landscape (Robinson et al, 2001:968). It is a symbolic practice used by the State or by political elites to deliberately create a specific history – in this case, a history that is no longer common and shared– while reshaping a particular place. It is key to notice that the renaming of streets (or naming of new streets, especially in rising Istočno Sarajevo) followed a ‘selective reconstruction of history to emphasize those elements likely to resonate with contemporary nationalistic needs’ (Ibidem, p. 969). As such, ‘it represents a conscious invoking of a collective memory, recalling distant and recent events’, to gather a particular group (Takei apud Robinson et al, 969).



Figure 13: Doorbell at a building on the boundary, Istočno Sarajevo

The main avenue, for example, was named after Mimar Sinan, a famous architect of the Ottoman Empire, on the Federation, and it becomes ‘Српских владара’ (Serbian Rulers), on Republika Srpska. Similarly, one square through which the IEBL ‘passes through’ is named ‘William Shakespeare’ in the Federation side, and a few meters further, it becomes трг илиџанске бригаде (Square Ilidzanske Brigade, a reference to a VRS brigade formed in 1992). A memorial to ‘the 48 fallen soldiers of the Istočno Sarajevo Brigade’ was erected in the middle of the square by a veteran organization and the municipality of

Istočno Sarajevo, where a red-blue-white striped flag leaves no doubt that, at least, at that exactly spot (but not one meter further to our left) we are in Republika Srpska. Although practices of border and boundary drawing usually rely on ‘politics of forgetting’, a quick look at the names of the streets on Republika Srpska’s side – many of them, named after the military brigades that besieged Sarajevo – do not let us forget about how it was forged and the violent practices on which it was dependent.

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in Serbian ekavian variant of the language, married a Serbian and lived a significant part of his adulthood in Belgrade. Those are only two examples of many similar cases.



Figure 14: Republika Srpska's memorial to the fallen soldiers in Square Ilidzanske Brigade (Istočno Sarajevo), or William Shakespeare (Sarajevo)

#### 4.4. (Im)mobility, crossing

While both administrations worked to demarcate the new IEBL clearly, a few people started to promote initiatives to connect both sides. Indeed, in that area, boundary crossing was not a socially acceptable practice until 2001. At that time, right after the new demarcation proposed by the Irish arbitrator and since there was no official exchange of information between the two sides, the municipality of Novi Grad (Sarajevo), from which Dobrinja belongs, designated two women to organize municipal services such as public transportation and trading of food and other grocery supplies among Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo, and to harmonize their approach to building 'so the citizens of both sides can live a normal life'. With the help of a police officer from Republika Srpska, who had to move to Federation after

being threatened for trying to connect both sides, and ‘moral support’ from the international community, they became the first two non-Serbs to cross to RS. Pecirep describes the first time of going to “the territory that does not belong to the Federation”, in 2001:

“My heart was beating fast and I had stomach pain, but I was brave. We crossed the boundary, sat in a café, I ordered coffee and Kxjaz Milos<sup>93</sup>. I wanted people to think I was from this milieu. The first person that agreed to cooperate was the cook (...) This teamwork had to be focused on ordinary people (*obični ljudi*). We didn’t wait for politicians to meet up, neither in Federation nor Istočno Sarajevo, nor the RS. We used to solve problems in more human ways, among ordinary people. Back then there were many situations that were very emotional. (Due to the arbitration on the contested buildings and the IEBL in general, between April and July 2001), hundreds of families would move out everyday, because it was not easy for them (...). By trying to talk to ordinary people, we understood that people from both sides were all the same: they had the same issues, they were unhappy. Among other things, we tried to connect families (from both sides) face to face, they understand they needed to do that, but there was some obstruction from both sides (...)”<sup>94</sup>.

One of the obstructions concerns Hazima Pecirep’s project to restore the trolleybus final stop to where it used to be prior the war: at the same place where today we found our coach station – therefore, in Republika Srpska. This project was met with resistance from authorities in RS. Hence, the final trolleybus stop stands today around 200 meters from the boundary, while the previous final stop was transformed into one facility that, instead of driving the everyday life of people from both entities closer together, it was designed to drive them further apart. Thus, the failure in achieving a common agreement left the area between the two entities without public transportation. Therefore, as we have mentioned, for someone who comes from the Federation to the surroundings of the coach station in RS, the final path, which used to be made by trolleybus must now be accomplished by foot, or by private transportation. However, the lack of public transportation also opens for

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<sup>93</sup> A mineral water brand from Serbia that, in BiH, is only possible to be found in Republika Srpska. Even today, some brands of water and beer are still associated with ethnonational groups and, therefore, are more predominantly sold in certain places than others.

<sup>94</sup> Interview with Hazima Pecirep. 27 March 2015. Novi Grad Municipality headquarter, Sarajevo. Original interview in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzimusic.

connection. Because many people have to cross by walking, this boundaryzone is more open to encounters, as we will see.



Figure 15

Some important practices of boundary enactment are thus related to the development (or not) of urban infrastructure and the facilitation of movement, interaction and connection between ‘the two sides’. Besides the examples mentioned above, regarding visual demarcation and differentiation from both sides, the lack of public transportation between Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo is a more direct way in which boundary-making practices carried on by public administrations affects the everyday dynamics of the area deeply. However, in the everyday, the lack of transportation also created potential alternatives such as crossing.

Fragmented infrastructures may engender socio-spatial divisions in the urban space (Baumann, 2015:10). In this section, however, instead of focusing on

the materiality of the infrastructures per se, I look at practices of crossing, and what they say about (im)mobility and boundary enactment in this area. Rather than only through policies, cities are also shaped by the movement and activities of their residents (Ibidem). The focus on boundary-crossing, more specifically, allows to paying attention to the relational component of those practices, to the extent that it brings to light the encounters that constitute the lived city. Thus, by looking at people's movement and trajectories, we can understand the ways in which boundaries are undermined or reinforced.



Figure 16: By the end of the day, cars and pedestrians cross the almost invisible boundary

Boundary-crossing, for many inhabitants in the area, is an everyday practice that is entirely dependent on private means, even though public administrations and international agencies foment it, to a certain extent, by recruiting ethnonational minorities to fulfill national quotas. Since Sarajevo has the highest number of both governmental and international institutions, many inhabitants of Istočno Sarajevo cross the boundary to work everyday. On evenings, usually the movement is reverse: people who return from central Sarajevo cross the boundary to go back to Republika Srpska. In a way, this movement is comparable to the daily commuting between any European suburb and capital. As such, the opposite movement is less

frequent, due to the concentration of working opportunities in more central areas, such as Sarajevo.

Nowadays, ‘crossing’ is not an ‘exceptional’, ‘dangerous’ or ‘frightening’ practice as Hazima Pecirep described, and as Danjela, who lives in Istočno Sarajevo, recalls:

“At that time, around 1997, it was impossible for a Serb to enter Sarajevo. Forget about it! It was an impossible mission (...) We were afraid that someone would recognize us in the street. I was working for the international peace forces at that time as a translator. They were entering Sarajevo everyday, so I asked them to come along; I wanted to see my house (in the city center). Close to it, I saw one man, who used to be my friend, and when he saw me, he spitted on the floor”<sup>95</sup>.

Indeed, at that time, ‘crossing’ represented a double source of strain: “on the one hand, people going to the other side often perceived a general feeling of diffidence caused by their presence; on the other hand, they had to face the moral judgment of those blaming them for going to the former enemy’s territory” (Bassi, 2014: 96). Based on the interviews I conducted, the meaning of both ‘crossing’ and the ‘boundary’ has since shifted, resignified. While crossing became a necessity to many, and it is now an everyday practice for dwellers of that area, the fear and war memories long associated to it have, if not dissipated, been mixed with more recent and mundane memories of boundary-crossing. Indeed, the quotidian incursion ‘to the other side’ renders it familiar (again), transforming the way the boundary is enacted and experienced. Those selected extracts from interviews lead us to think that boundary-crossing is a practice that has changed over time, changing the very enactment of the boundary, up to a point where some people argue that the boundary has vanished:

“*Granica* (Border/boundary)? For me, it is as if it did not exist. I go there (RS) often. Sometimes it is easier for me to go via Lukavica (RS) than to go via Mojmilovo (Federation), because there are fewer cars (...) I go to RS to buy fuel because it is

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<sup>95</sup> Interview with Danjela, 15 April 2015, originally in Portuguese, my translation. At a shopping mall in Istočno Sarajevo.



cheaper. I also know guys there. They come for a coffee here...A few days ago one of them came, we met and we had a coffee. I think the border/boundary (*granica*) is gone.... (...) I go there normally, and I talk normally...I make agreements. When I had my store, I was buying 30% of my goods in RS, like chicken, eggs...There is a border someone drew to charge bills – water, electricity etc, but I think the border/boundary (*granica*) is gone in general...at least when Sarajevo is in question. Trust me: I go over there (*RS*) more than to (central) Sarajevo because it is closer to me...” (Alan, fruit vendor in Dobrinja - Federation)<sup>96</sup>.

“Now you don’t even know there is a border/boundary (*granica*). Before you had to show your ID. (Because he worked for Caritas) I even went to the other side during the war, from side to side. (...) Today, people go from one side to another mainly to shop. I go to Tempo (store in RS). Our pensions are small, so I go shopping anywhere is cheaper, people go from one side to other, where is cheaper. (Kirko, pensioner, Dobrinja, Federation)<sup>97</sup>

“I am one of the rare people who go there (RS), who crosses the so-called border/boundary (*granica*), who goes out at night on the so-called “their side”. There are people from their side who come here as well... For normal people, borders/boundaries (*granice*) are not a barrier in everyday life” (Samir, dweller and barman in Dobrinja, Federation)<sup>98</sup>

“I wish we didn’t have a border/boundary (*granica*). But I cross it everyday to go to work, and I feel normal. Now relations are better, 15 years ago, it was horrible. But, now, people who come from outside of Sarajevo cannot even tell there is a border/boundary (*granica*)” (Mirjana, hairdresser in Dobrinja, dweller in Istočno Sarajevo)<sup>99</sup>

“I have few friends that live there (RS), one of them actually goes to school here (Sarajevo), I met them here in the center, they come here a lot, and I understand them because Istočno Sarajevo is not that fun. You just have buildings and people living there, and they have a mall and that’s it (...) I think it (boundary) doesn’t affect anyone, actually. I believe it has been an issue before, in the past decade, the period after the war, but now.... I don’t go there a lot; I don’t have a necessity to go there, because if you live in Cengic Vila (neighborhood in Sarajevo), everything

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<sup>96</sup> Interview with Alan, 11 April 2015, originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadžimusic. At his fruit shop in Dobrinja.

<sup>97</sup> Interview with Kirko, 12 April 2015, originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadžimusic. At his flat in Dobrinja.

<sup>98</sup> Interview with Samir, 11 April 2015, originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadžimusic. At a bar in Dobrinja.

<sup>99</sup> Interview with Mirjana, 15 April 2015, at her hairdressing salon (Federation), originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadžimusic.

you need is in the center, so that's how it goes. (...) I think it won't even be an issue in a couple of years because it is normal now for us to go there and for them to come here" (Stella, student in central Sarajevo, Federation)<sup>100</sup>

Boundaries are therefore constantly being re-signified and reinscribed as former exclusive places are used, appropriated and integrated into the everyday of a different group. According to my interlocutors, these are done mainly through everyday practices such as 'shopping' and 'working'. While the emotional strain associated to the physical act of crossing has been largely diminished, softening the very idea of 'boundary', the boundary is still acknowledged when people choose to shop in Istočno Sarajevo, where everything is cheaper exactly due to this administrative division, or in Sarajevo, where there are 'better options'. 'Crossing' for social or affective reasons was much less mentioned by my interlocutors, showing, however, that although the physical act of crossing became, in some extent, banal, the pre-war urban social fabric is far from being restored. The boundary, therefore, seems to have been displaced and multiplied: although its geographical location still matters, it is now being enacted in and through multiple (everyday) places, practices and relations in the city.

On the other hand, there are also those who choose not to cross, or that do so only very rarely. Although there is no form of control or physical barrier preventing people's movement, and violent episodes among citizens from one side and the other are nowadays very uncommon, many people see no reason for crossing. People from Sarajevo often consider Istočno Sarajevo too far, poorly connected to the city and lacking on cultural attractions and, therefore, see hardly any reason to go there except for shopping for cheaper things or taking a bus at the coach station. On the other hand, with the development of services, stores, schools and even a university in Istočno Sarajevo - but also the lack of direct public transportation and social bonds - many dwellers of Istočno Sarajevo also do not see reasons to cross, like Gorana, who works at a café at the coach station:

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<sup>100</sup> Interview with Stella, 7 May 2015. Interview conducted in English, at a café in central Sarajevo.



“A lot of my friends moved out of the country... I still keep in touch with two friends from high school, one is in Belgrade, and the other is here, but she is married and has her own life, and the others I don’t even know where they are... Because I don’t cross them when I go to the city (meaning, Sarajevo)... Before (the war) I used to meet everyone; now, when I go to the city, I don’t see anyone I know. Now they are all new faces”<sup>101</sup>.

As Tea<sup>102</sup>, a young university student who lives in central Sarajevo but attended high school in RS, explains, Istočno Sarajevo is developing itself in such



a way to be completely independent from Sarajevo: “They have their own government, stadium, they can’t even share the same stadium!, their own cinema, everything there is ‘our own’. They don’t come to this part of the town (central Sarajevo) unless they really need to. (When she attended school in RS), I was really naïve. I used to ask my friends: “why don’t you go to the other part?”. That kind of question was suicidal! They would say: “why are you asking me that?”<sup>103</sup>”

Figure 17

<sup>101</sup> Interview with Gorana, 12 April 2015. Originally in French (my translation). At a café inside the coach station.

<sup>102</sup> This is not her real name

<sup>103</sup> Interview with Tea, 16 May 2015. Originally in English and French (my translation). At a tea house in central Sarajevo.

#### 4.4.1.

#### Taxi's tactics: coping with bordering practices

If the public transportation infrastructure – or the lack of it – contributes to demarcate the IEBL and has a profound effect on urban mobility, so do the laws that regulate taxi activities. In fact, they are one of the most affected categories by the politics of boundary-making between Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo, Federation and RS. Not only they are affected by it, but also, by legislating over taxi-circulation, the entities are contributing to the materialization of those boundaries. Canton Sarajevo<sup>104</sup> has passed a law forbidding taxi-drivers from Republika Srpska or other cantons within Federation to work in its area. In response, Republika Srpska passed a similar law and, thus, taxi-drivers from both sides of the boundary risk a substantial fine of up to 15,000 Marks<sup>105</sup> if they cross the boundary in their vehicles. Due to the lack of public transportation already mentioned, taxis are a popular way to move around for those arriving at the coach station. Outside of the station building, near the boundary, a few taxi-drivers usually wait for costumers. When visiting the coach station on a Sunday afternoon, I witnessed one tactic of coping or negotiating the boundary. Two foreign backpackers arriving from Belgrade wanted to be driven to their hostel in central Sarajevo. According to the law, the taxi driver parked just across the coach station would be able to drive them for about 50 to 100 meters only. However, instead of saying he could not take those tourists to their final destination, Ranko, the taxi driver, took of the taxi sign on the top of his car and hid it inside of the trunk – a practice that I later found out to be widespread used by taxi-drivers from both sides in order to bypass politics of boundary-making deemed ‘absurd’:

“I have been a taxi driver for almost 30 years. Earlier, it was not a problem for a taxi in former Yugoslavia to go to Austria or Italy with his ‘taxi roof sign’ with all documentation. Nowadays, we need to take our ‘taxi roof sign’ (*firma*)<sup>106</sup> when we cross the borders between cities literally a few meters from here, and it is insane.

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<sup>104</sup> Federation is composed by ten cantons. Sarajevo is located in Canton Sarajevo.

<sup>105</sup> The equivalent to € 7,500.

<sup>106</sup> Both in Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo, not only the taxi roof sign says ‘Taxi’ but it also carries the name of the company to which it belongs.

Countries join European Union to avoid the border system; people use their ID as their documentation. Here, in Bosnia, we almost need a passport to travel from city to city (...)”<sup>107</sup>.



Figure 18: Ranko, by the coach station, Istočno Sarajevo

As everything that is related to post-Dayton boundaries and structures, many jokes and distinct dark humor concern the restriction on taxi circulation. One of them involves women ‘traveling’ alone between the two cities. “Sometimes customers get angry, especially women (when he stops his taxi a few meters away from the boundary line to take out the sign). Imagine I drive her home without the taxi roof sign, and her husband asks: ‘Who took you home?’ And she answers: ‘The taxi driver’, and he, of course, has doubts about that because, how a taxi does not have a roof sign? And then it becomes a calamity; people even end up by divorcing. Besides, it is not always easy to pull off the taxi sign, especially during the winter,

<sup>107</sup> Interview with Ranko, 12 April 2015. Istočna Ildža Taxi Station, Istočno Sarajevo. Original interview in BSC, translated by Aida Hadžimusic.

when everything freezes »<sup>108</sup>. Many other stories involve *qui pro quos* with foreign tourists. « Imagine, some tourists enter my taxi - Chinese. They do not speak English; we use our hands to agree where to drive them - they want to go to Nedžarići, to the hotel Radon Plaza (Federation). I take them and, of course, on the border, I have to take out my taxi sign. I explain them in English what I am doing. But they - they do not understand what I said, for them everything is suspicious. So they are yelling, waving their hands ... I guess they think I'm a killer, 'what if...'. So I leave the taxi sign there, I think – 'I'm not really that unfortunate that police will stop me'. As soon as I start driving, the cantonal police come after me. I come out of the car, and then they became crazy, my Chinese. Panicking, thinking: 'Why the police?, What happened?'. Oh, it's awful, it's a shame. Imagine what those tourists thought otherwise, twenty years has passed since the war, and some people now, again, are bolding up the borders. This is worse than after the war, darker a hundred times »<sup>109</sup>.

By accepting to drive passengers to the other side of the boundary, and by taking out the taxi sign, avoiding, therefore, a fine, those taxi-drivers are not only trying to make a living, but they are also enacting post-Dayton boundaries differently from the official cartography. This is not to say that they do not acknowledge that formal boundaries are constantly being reinforced by those very laws that constrain their mobility. Nor that they dismiss it (as I have shown by the examples above, those boundaries do constrain their everyday practices). Taking off the roof sign might be thus understood as a *tactic* (De Certeau, 1984), a seized opportunity in time; an incursion in space that, however, has no legal, institutional or material base to be kept.

Besides, many of them, as have often been the case by the interviews I have conducted in this area, experience the boundaries as something that has been imposed from the above, by politicians, by authorities or even by the war. The

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<sup>108</sup> Statement from Novica Pandurevic, taxi-driver, to 'Al Jazeera', free translation. "Zakon o taksi prijevozu legalizirao podjelu i BiH". Available at: <http://balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/zakon-o-taksi-prijevozu-legalizirao-podjelu-ibih>.

<sup>109</sup> Ibidem

boundary, in this case, is redrawn not in spatial or geographical terms. It does not enact ethnonational or ethnoterritorial categories, but other forms of hierarchical categories: ‘us’, ordinary people, and ‘them’, authorities, politicians, or the government. Ranko, the taxi-driver who compared the seemingly borderless EU to contemporary BiH, draws the boundary exactly there:

“(After the war), I left the Federation, and I live now in a village called Kijevo (in Istočno Sarajevo). That place had 80% Muslims before the war. Some returned to their homes and they are my neighbors now. We are good neighbors. Today I celebrate Orthodox Easter, and my Muslim neighbours wished me a happy holiday. So, it is not ordinary people (who want those boundaries), it is the government and extremists”<sup>110</sup>.

In doing so, as Helms (2007) suggests, he engages in a popular discourse in which people differentiate between politics and ordinary people, whereby politics, not the regular citizens, are responsible for the war as well as the difficult post-war in BiH.

#### **4.5. Boundaryzone (or, a meeting place?)**

Up to this point in this chapter, I have narrated how post-Dayton boundaries, especially a very specific one – the IEBL in Sarajevo area - were imagined, and I have mentioned the many efforts and practices employed to materialize it – either by visual, symbolical, legal and infrastructural practices. I have suggested that, even if inscribed in official maps, boundaries are neither a-temporal nor static. They are simultaneously being shaped and enacted by local and international administrations regulation, the materiality of urban infrastructure and everyday practices by ordinary people – with the possibilities of encounters, relations and affect that they engender. They are thus constantly being resignified.

If some boundary-making practices are strategies, i.e., attempts to assume “a place that can be circumscribed as proper and thus serve as the basis for

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<sup>110</sup> Interview with Ranko, 12 April 2015. Istočna Ildža Taxi Station, Istočno Sarajevo. Translated by Aida Hadžimusic.

generating relations with an exterior distinct from it”, or a ‘victory of space over time”, I have also demonstrated that people negotiate boundaries also through tactics, incursions into the “other’s place: that does not allow for taking it over on its entirety, but adds to the multiplicity of trajectories of the lived city (De Certeau, 1984: xix). The tactics that we looked at are all related to mobility. Indeed, tactic’s fragmental character is less dependent on space than it is on time; it can be considered a physically seized opportunity that can be only momentarily kept, but not at a distance. It is thus much more dependent on movement. The flow of residents and the meanings attributed to them shape this area.

In this section, however, I would like to take a different approach, and look at this boundary through the eyes of those who make, like Slobodanka, the very boundary, or boundaryzone, home. Thus, I would like to explore the idea of the boundary as a meeting place that works more in terms of connecting and disconnecting, instead of a clear and straight line of division. For that matter, I shall focus more on everyday practices by ordinary people who live in this area. I acknowledge that those everyday practices do not occur in a vacuum, and are embedded and informed, in many aspects, by official narratives, infrastructural and legal dispositive and symbolical practices. However, looking closer to this boundaryzone and taking everyday practices seriously, what emerges is a much more complex picture that challenges the narrative of the boundary as a line that demarcates take-for-granted ethnonational units (Jansen, 2013:26).

That was my impression when I decided to take a closer look at the boundaryzone. Until then, I had only my memories from a quick visit to that area from five years ago, when I recall seeing a Serbian flag and billboards written in Cyrillic script and stating that I was clearly in another entity, different from Sarajevo. When I came back to the area in December 2014, I realized things were much more blurred and not as clear-cut as I had stored in my memories. Immediately, I realized that I had no possibility to make sense of people’s everyday movement without talking to them, without trying to understand how they feel and experience it. In the beginning, I was also afraid of people’s reaction: I would not dare to take out my camera to take pictures because I did not know how sensitive that could be for people living in the boundaryzone. After a few solo and frustrated

attempts to talk to individuals in that area, coming across different kinds of boundaries that confirmed that the topic was indeed still sensitive, I finally found a local dweller, a film and play director named Ratko Orozovic, who helped me to move about between Dobrinja and Istočno Sarajevo.

In today's Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ratko would be considered a Serb, although he identifies himself better as a Yugoslav and assured the language he speaks is 'Serbo-Croat'. He has been living in Dobrinja (Federation) since the neighborhood was built, he went through the siege under siege there, and he is a very popular figure in the area. He can be regularly found drinking coffee at café Blah-Blah at our coach station, waiting for the trolleybus to go to central Sarajevo at the final station and buying food at the markets between the two sites. He opened me many doors and, being someone who leads his life on both sides, he would also gladly point to me every attempt of disrupting boundaries (but would also call my attention to the problems of that area). After coming back with him a few times to that area, I felt easier to navigate it on my own again. Although the urbanism of Dobrinja and Istočno Sarajevo cannot be described as cozy, spring sunnier days soon replaced the dreadful winter colors, and walking along the boundary became more natural and pleasant to me. The fact that I started greeting some people who warmly welcomed me during this time and that my language skills had improved also helped me to feel more at ease. I still felt like a foreigner, but less uncomfortable than before. That personal change of perception about that area also made me reflect on how places are made of relations, affect and that 'feel at ease' that usually only comes with routine, repetition, familiarity. The boundary area suddenly felt less hostile and exceptional, and more as a place where people live, work, shop and relate to each other.

As such, I will argue that boundaries are not a 'dead zone'; rather, it is an ever-changing place that is constituted by the very (different) practices and meanings attributed to them. Following Balibar, thus, I would like to take into account the 'polysemy' and 'heterogeneity' of this boundary, while noting that its "multiplicity, their hypothetical and fictive nature" does "not make them any less real" (Balibar apud Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013: 4).

Let's go back to the coach station. As walking the distance between this building and the final trolleybus and bus stop became an everyday practice to many dwellers of this area, commerce soon flourished on the main avenue that connects Dobrinja to Istočno Sarajevo. Small second-hand shops and 'bric-a-brac' stores alternate themselves with modest cafés. Bakeries and mini-markets are also there, behind a much more informal commerce led exclusively by women who sell, on the street, their crops, eggs, fruits, or even handmade wool accessories and holiday-related gifts. The whole has a suburban-market-like look, and by walking by it is very hard to realize when the IEBL has been crossed.



Figure 19 : Woman sells painted eggs for Orthodox Easter at the boundary

One could look for a pattern in the use of Cyrillic or Latin alphabet in the store signage. Does it follow the official demarcations imposed by street signs and numbers? Not quite. The same is the case for the names on the doorbells tags of the buildings longing the boundary: Cyrillic and Latin alphabets are used without following a 'logical' pattern, and names typically attributed to Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks can be found (Jansen, 2013). Hence, the visual impression that we get



might just be a good metaphor for how this boundaryzone works: instead of a clear-cut division between one side and the other, i.e., Cyrillic and Latin writings, what we experience is a more complex, multi-layered patchwork, where the two scripts are employed interchangeably, where religious holidays seem to be equally celebrated (judging by the articles sold informally by street vendors) and where it is never so clear where exactly you are and to demarcate who is who. Nowhere else in the cherished multicultural Sarajevo <sup>111</sup> you have the impression that those categorizations are as blurred as in this few hundred meters that separate the coach station in Republika Srpska from the trolleybus final stop, in Federation.

Although I do not intend to romanticize the boundaryzone, where, as we saw, narratives and practices of demarcation, categorization, division and exclusion are on play to such an extent to have shaped everyday places and everyday lives, another grid of analysis, one that encompasses everyday practices, might be needed as well. The lived space of the everyday suggests a more complex, contingent and anti-binary narrative (Jansen, 2013).

Midway between the coach station and the trolleybus station we find a small beauty salon situated in a corner, facing a small square where the IEBL crosses, splitting a children's playground in two. The salon is on the western side of the square, where it is still called *Sabora Bosankog* (Bosnian Parliament), before it becomes Никола Тешановић (Nikola Teshanovitch), in the eastern part, just a few meters from there. Mirjana, the owner of the small salon, is a popular hairdresser. Everyday, men, women and children come to her shop to have their hair cut, independently on where they live and of their ethnonational background. Since she opens the salon, seven years ago, Mirjana adopted a policy for the place: there shall be "no 'hard topics', no discussions about ethnonationalities"<sup>112</sup>. To avoid any 'unpleasant' discussion, she leaves the radio on all day but avoids the news channels. At her hairdressing salon, Mirjana decided, many years ago, to play

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<sup>111</sup> Every touristic guide and many of citizens of Sarajevo will proudly repeat that Sarajevo is the only major European city to host a Mosque, a Catholic Church, Orthodox Church and Synagogue within the same neighborhood.

<sup>112</sup> Interview with Mirjana, 15 April 2015, at her hairdressing salon (Federation), originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadžimusic.

only songs. Her policy, therefore, is to create a place where everyone is welcome and where the everyday is de-ethnonationalized, exactly where the IEBL passes suggesting, instead, that the politics of that place should be about including and excluding. Her salon, therefore, invites neighbors to cross physical, social and mental boundaries, by silencing any distinction based upon categories that have been all-pervasive since the war. Boundaries are not only geographical, and Dobrinja itself is still more multicultural than many places in BiH<sup>113</sup>.

Silence is a recurrent tactic in BiH. Jansen (2010), Stefansson (2010), Kolind (2008) have exposed situations in different locations in BiH where silencing sensitive topics were an often utilised practice. Kolind (2008), in his research about a small town in Herzegovina, concludes that the “parties have to develop some kind of ‘working consensus’ or unspoken agreement about social interaction”. He then recalls the story of a “Muslim woman who told me (him) that she never discussed politics with her Croat colleagues. They only talked deliberately about cooking and children” (p. 78). Stefansson (2010) suggests that reconciliation does not occur only through outspoken empathy, but also through silencing controversial topics. He suggests a connection between the practice of not addressing sensitive issues in post-war BiH to an older culture of coexistence from pre-war times (p. 62).

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<sup>113</sup> In his book, Jansen suggests one set of data collected among local communes in 2007. According to those figures, ‘despite the pre-war and wartime exodus of most people declaring Serbian nationality (some of whom moved few meters East, to Istočno Sarajevo), Dobrinja’s population still remained less nationally homogenised than that of many other place in BiH’, with 77% declared as Bosniaks, 12% as Serbs, 8% as Croats and 3% as Others (Jansen, 2015:5)<sup>113</sup>. No such data is available for Istočno Sarajevo, but it is estimated that the vast majority of its citizens declare themselves as ‘Serbs’.



Figure 20: Mirjana, in her hairdressing salon

During my research on this area of Dobrinja/Istočno Sarajevo, I came across other places and practices that defy the narrative of a hard exclusionary boundary between Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo, and that corroborate this idea of boundaryzone, a micro-cosmos that may also be regarded as a place of encounter. One of each is a small café behind the coach station, in Istočno Sarajevo, where I spent two afternoons with a group of pensioners who get together to talk, drink and play cards. When they heard about my project, they soon started to identify everyone: “he is Muslim, he is Croat, they are Serbs, and they all play cards together”, explained to me Ratko, the film director who helped me to move about between Dobrinja and Istočno Sarajevo.

The pensioner café and Mirjana’s hairdressing salon are examples of everyday places shaped by more widespread boundary-challenging practices into meeting places. For Mirjana, who admits that she did “not even know to be a Serb before the war”, silencing and ignoring the ethnonational narrative is the way to

lead a ‘normal’ life in the boundary zone, escaping, at least in a particular place of her everyday life, the ‘ethnoterritorial trap’<sup>114</sup> introduced by Dayton.

#### 4.6. Everyday places as boundary enactments

In other aspects of Mirjana’s life, however, boundaries are far from being downplayed and silenced. Inversely, they have been spatially enacted by her movements and displacements in the past two decades. Indeed, Mirijana was born in Sarajevo but, like around 20,000 other people identified as Serbs, she fled to Pale (Republika Srpska) in 1992, at the beginning of the war. At that time, 157,526 people who would identify themselves as Serbs lived in Sarajevo, making up to 30% of its population<sup>115</sup>. In 2000, five years after the end of the war, she decided to move back to Sarajevo (Federation), to her old flat, with her two children. That was a step undertaken by a much smaller number of people, although both entities still dispute the official numbers.

At that time, Mirjana recalls, relations between different ethnonational groups were complicated. She acknowledges that she hasn’t experienced any problems. However, her two children started being offended in school; they were called *četniks*<sup>116</sup>, and they were being attacked if she did not walk with them to

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<sup>114</sup> This term was formulated by Toal and Dahlman (2011) and developed through pages 305-320. It is a reference to the concept of ‘territorial trap’, developed by John Agnew (1994). According to Agnew, “the assumption that the territorial state is an immutable spatial framework of political order, rather than a historically unique political geographical formation prevents both the imagination and appreciation of novel, “non-territorial” dynamics” (Shah, 2012)

<sup>115</sup> According to 1991 census, ‘Nacionalni sastav stanovništva. Rezultati za Republiku Po Opstinama I Naseljenim Mjestima 1991. Republika Bosna I Hercegovina. Državni Zavod za Statistiku Republike Bosne I Hercegovine. Sarajevo, 1993. Godine. Available at: <http://www.fzs.ba/Dem/Popis/nacionalni%20sastav%20stanovnistva%20po%20naseljeni%20mjestima%20bilten%20234.pdf>

<sup>116</sup> ‘Četnik’ is, originally, the denomination given to members of a Serbian nationalist guerrilla forces formed during World War II to fight Axis invaders, but that also fought against Tito’s Partisans. During the disintegration of Yugoslavia the term was revived in two ways. Serb nationalists, who considered četniks loyal to their nation, used the name, adopting also the looks (long beard and a big cross on the chest) to refer to the paramilitary

school. A few times, they were saved by taxi-drivers, who would take them home. Her older son still bears traumas, even though he is now 20 years old. Due to those circumstances, Mirjana decided to move to Istočno Sarajevo, in 2006, and register her children at a school built by the Inter-Entity Boundary Line, in the Republika Srpska's side<sup>117</sup>.

The school, named "Petar Petrović-Njegoš"<sup>118</sup> was initially opened in 1996 and, at that time, it took place at former JNA (Yugoslav National Army) barracks. The building that lies today by the IEBL was not constructed before 2009, and only with financial help from Serbia<sup>119</sup>. Almost all of its students, their parents and teachers have been displaced people coming from Sarajevo<sup>120</sup>.

If the lack of infrastructure such as public transportation can restrict crossing and encounters, building infrastructure such as the coach station, schools and universities can have the effect of sedimenting people in a particular area,

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units that fought in BiH and Croatia. In the other hand, all pro-Serb armed units were called 'četniks' by their adversaries, alluding to connotations of nationalistic intolerance and irregular military status (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 'Chetnik'). In Sarajevo, during the war and even nowadays, the term chetnick is used to refer to "the enemy soldier", to distinguish between them and 'Serbs' who did not join the war, or who fought against Serbian forces (Macek, 2009: 169). In an informal conversation with one of my interlocutors, a Bosniak who fought to defend Sarajevo, he stressed why and when he employs the term, after showing me a building "destroyed by the chetniks": "I use the word "chetnicks" because many Serbian stayed in Sarajevo, resisted and helped to fight against them. That is why I don't say Serbians did this, Serbians did that. Many heroes in this war were Serbians. I fought to defend Sarajevo and my higher commander was a Serbian, not even a Bosnian-Serb, but a Serb from Belgrade who has been married here and was living here". Field notes, 10 December 2014.

<sup>117</sup> Interview with Mirjana, 15 April 2015, at her hairdressing salon (Federation), originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadžimusic.

<sup>118</sup> Petar Petrović-Njegoš was a prince-bishop and poet of Montenegro in the beginning of XIX Century. He wrote four epic poems, the most famous of which is about the extermination of Montenegrins who converted to Islam (Kamusella, 2009: 224). Among religious Muslims from BiH, however, he is widely disregarded (according to personal notes sent to me by my translator Aida Hadžimusic).

<sup>119</sup> Palelive.com "Škola puna sportskih pehara, a nema fiskulturnu salu". 02 March 2014. Available at: <http://www.palive.com/istocno-sarajevo/skola-puna-sportskih-pehara-a-nema-fiskulturnu-salu>

<sup>120</sup> Ibidem

limiting the possibility of encounters. Indeed, building and running schools have proven to be a rather effective ways to strengthen post-Dayton boundaries. Hence, everyday places such as schools and universities have acquired a substantial political role, since not only their conception serve to legitimize a particular idea of what Bonsai's socio-political-territorial order should be, but also the boundary is the very condition of possibly to those everyday places.

The construction of Petar Petrović-Njegoš and another elementary school in Istočno Sarajevo, Sveti Sava Elementary School, financed by the Japanese government, was, in fact, opposed by the international community, who understood those attempts as a form of promoting an ethnonational segregation of students (Berman, 2007:221). That because, at the same time that Sveti Sava was being constructed from scrap in Republika Srpska, in 2002, the traditional Osman Nuri Hadzic Elementary School was also being rebuilt a few meters away from there by USAID (Ibidem, 221).

The latter, which opened in 1985 under the name of “Dušan Pajić Dašić”, had long been the biggest elementary school in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with 2,600 students and a reference in the Dobrinja area (Berman, 2007:216). However, when the war hostilities began on 1992, this elementary school found itself in the front line of the confrontation. As such, the building was severely bombed and damaged, some of students were wounded, and the frequent shelling killed three of them by 1995<sup>121</sup>. The first boundary line agreed at Dayton ran directly through the school and, along with other contested areas and buildings, reconstruction efforts started only six years after the Dayton Peace Agreement, when the Irish arbiter decided to attribute the school to the Federation. For six years, the materiality of destruction and the anti-personnel mines enacted a violent boundary through the reminiscence of a (frozen) conflict that could actually still physically victimize dwellers of this area. The skeleton of the school building became part of this violent boundary. Indeed, the school ground had to be demined at least in six occasions before the school reopened for the 2002-2003 school year. For lying in a contested area,

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<sup>121</sup> According to the school website: <http://www.ostonh.edu.ba/new/onama1.php>

Osman Nuri Hadzic Elementary School was the last school to reopen in BiH after the war (Berman, 2007:216).

While the school was awarded to the Federation, Sheridan, the Irish arbiter makes explicit that it should be used by children and teachers from both sides:

“(...) Apart from cost, there not appear to be any great difficulty (to rebuild the school) as the lines as they are at present constitute no barrier to the day to day activities of the inhabitants who are free to cross the line at will. I would envisage that whatever line I draw will be the same so that schoolchildren would not be inhibited in any way from attending the school once it is refurbished. This school should be devoid of any element of ethnic discrimination and be open to all irrespective of their ethnic origin, creed, color, or any other inhibiting factor. This would be a great joy to me. There was mention of “Berlin Walls” during the course of the hearing but I envisage that when the line is drawn it will be a line on a map, of course, showing the boundary between the two entities, but, under no circumstances preventing persons on both sides from enjoying full movement or from carrying on business on the other side of the line. It would be heartening, if I were to be able to expect that in the future the line would disappear for all practical everyday purposes and that the communities generally, whilst of different ethnic origin, would come together as neighbors and would be welded by time, into a community enjoying the fruits of a re-built Dobrinja I and IV” (Sheridan, 2001)<sup>122</sup>.

Similarly, when Osman Nuri Hadzic Elementary School reopened, in the Federation, its director Narcis Polimac, reaffirmed that they wanted “a common school today like we had before the war” (Berman, 2007: 219). Differently from most schools, Latin and Cyrillic scripts were employed in its façade. In his speech at the opening day, director Polimac emphasized the need to restore a ‘common school’:

“The entire time our school had a multiethnic character in terms of employees. Our students were also of all nationalities just like today, and this is something we are very proud of. Unfortunately, we do not have the opportunity to see students from the neighboring entity [RS] here, but we do have students from the Federation. We hope that the political disputes will be resolved and that very soon we will have the opportunity to have students from the neighboring entity in this beautiful building” (Polimac (2002), apud Berman, 2007:219).

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<sup>122</sup> Available at: [http://www.ohr.int/en/ohr\\_archive/arbitration-award-for-dobrinja-i-and-iv/](http://www.ohr.int/en/ohr_archive/arbitration-award-for-dobrinja-i-and-iv/)



Figure 21: Osman Nuri Hadzic Elementary School, rebuilt with USAID support

Sheridan's and Polimac's wishes were, however, not fulfilled. After the reconstruction, Osman Nuri Hadzic Elementary School has a capacity of hosting 1,100 to 1,200 students but, nowadays, it receives only 618 students<sup>123</sup>. At the same time, around 700 children currently attend Sveti Sava Elementary School, and 657 attend Petar Petrović-Njegoš Elementary School<sup>124</sup>. Those numbers are an evidence of the 'educational segregation' that characterizes post-Dayton BiH. As in many other aspects already mentioned in this chapter, it is constituted by Dayton's legacy of decentralization and ethnonational divisions, official spatial practices – such as the construction of infrastructure that will further consolidate the current ethno territorial map, in this case, schools – and, also, by everyday practices undertaken by ordinary people.

<sup>123</sup> According to official website: <http://www.ostonh.edu.ba/new/desavanja1.php>

<sup>124</sup> According to information given by Istočna Ilidža Municipality at: [http://www.istocnailedza.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=36&Itemid=184](http://www.istocnailedza.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=36&Itemid=184)



In effect, the whole educational system in post-Dayton BiH has been conceived to favor ‘trivision’. It has been split among 14 ministries in Bosnia and Herzegovina, besides the Council for General Education in BiH. Accordingly, there are thirteen separate budgets for education in BiH: two at the entity level (Republika Srpska and Federation), one in the Brcko district, and ten at the cantonal level inside Federation (Ministry of Civil Affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2015: 2) <sup>125</sup>. Besides, there are also three different educational curricula in the country, one for each ‘constituent people’. Subjects such as Math, Biology and Health are common to the three. However, the so-called ‘national subjects’, i.e., History, Literature, Geography, Religion, Language, Arts and Music, considered of vital interest to the three groups, are different for each curriculum. As Perry (2003) argues, ‘the controversy concerning the national subjects is not as much an issue of actual attempts by one ethnic group to impose its culture on others; rather it is the parents’ fear that their children will be indoctrinated in the culture of another group in those schools in which one or another particular outlook tends to dominate’ (Perry, 2003: 32).

Higher education is hardly different. While Sarajevo hosts a more traditional, pre-war university, Istočno Sarajevo has since built its university, attended mainly by inhabitants of its municipality, such as Mirjana’s son and daughter. By the time young people accede to higher education, they are so used to ethnonational divisions within educational institutions that they usually attend university on ‘their side’. As Tea who, atypically, attended school on ‘both sides’ remarks, “some people rather study in Banja Luka (RS’ capital, 187 km from Sarajevo) than to cross (and go to university) to this side”<sup>126</sup>.

Thus, everyday places such as schools and universities are by no mean neutral in post-Dayton Herzegovina. They might be understood as places of dispute – where boundaries are thus continually enacted. In fact, those places – spaces with

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<sup>125</sup> Ministry of Civil Affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, “Education for All, 2015 Country Report”, (Available at <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002299/229929E.pdf>)

<sup>126</sup> Interview with Tea, 16 May 2015. Originally in English and French (my translation). At a tea house in central Sarajevo.

meanings – are shaped by those very disputes. They are thus not only relational but also always changing over time. In the case of schools such as Sveti Sava and Petar Petrović-Njegoš it is even possible to affirm that they only exist in relation and because of the official neighboring boundary. They operate as a place where ordinary people such as teachers and children can perform this boundary in the everyday. They also become a place where invisible boundaries multiply and proliferate. They cannot be dissociated from the official boundary itself and, because this boundary is nowadays mainly invisible and does not physically prevent people crossing to the other side, everyday places might operate as the very boundary.

Danjela, a woman in her late 30s and mother of two young children who has worked in one of the primary schools in Istočno Sarajevo explains how it works:

“Serbians who live there, in Sarajevo, do not want their kids to go to school there for this and for that. Because we also have this language war: we say Serbian language, they say it is Bosnian. But it is all the same, before the war it was Serbo-Croat. We Serbs say we speak Serbian, but there, in Federation, they say they speak Bosnian, and I don’t want my son and daughter to go to school there and learn Bosnian. Also, there are many silly things wrote in those books about Serbs, about the war, and I don’t want my children to learn that. Besides, there is religion. There, they learn about Islam, and the non-Muslims have to leave the room, or they can stay, but... why stay? I don’t want them to feel different like that. Here we don’t have any Muslims in our schools because they don’t want to learn the Serbian language”<sup>127</sup>.

Thus, although the education system usually makes the integration between the ‘two sides’ difficult, it can also connect people from both sides, even though, in many cases, those connections are made along ethnonational lines. Students from ‘mixed’ families seem to encounter even more boundaries than others as they move along places. As for African-Americans practice of racial passing<sup>128</sup> in the US to fit a certain environment

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<sup>127</sup> Interview with Danjela, 15 April 2015, originally in Portuguese, my translation. At a shopping mall in Istočno Sarajevo.

<sup>128</sup> For analysis of ‘passing’, please refer to Allyson Hobbs, ‘A Chosen Exile’. A History of Racial Passing in America Life. Harvard University Press, 2014.

without being discriminated, Tea recalls to embrace a similar tactic while attending school in Istočno Sarajevo:

“Myself, I have three sides. My family is all mixed (...) In my last year and a half of high school, I moved to a school in Istočno Sarajevo because this is the only other school that had French as a second language. I still lived in the same place (central Sarajevo), it took me one hour and a half to go there, and that was horrible. I would go there by trolleybus and then walk until school (...) I had to lie that I was Serbian, from my name, they can expect that I am Croatian or Serbian. So, I just lied, just to get along. They would ask: “So why do you live in that part, why don’t you move here?” So, I had to lie that I was considering moving there (...) When it came to my birthday party, I had to organize two of them, one at each side. If I organized them all together, Bosniaks would look at me oddly, and vice-versa. And many people wouldn’t come. I don’t make this kind of distinction; I did this mostly for my friend’s parents. But how tragic is that?”<sup>129</sup>.

‘Passing as’, in this case, allows for stronger social mobility, as one’s position about boundaries shifts.

Everyday places might also become an arena where those boundaries are either downplayed or rejected, providing a connection between Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo. Lejla, a 14-year-old student at Osman Nuri Hadzic Elementary School, assures that her school disregards the boundaries. Although she was born in the center of Sarajevo and identifies herself as a Muslim, the apartment soon became small and her parents decided to rebuild the old family house, first erected by her grandfather, and that, after Dayton, is located in Republika Srpska<sup>130</sup>. For lack of public or school transportation between the two entities, Lejla, along with around 30 children or teenagers living in Republika Srpska, has to either walk three kilometers to school or get a ride, which makes crossing the boundary an everyday practice for them. The lack of transportation, according to her, is the only negative aspect of living in RS, because it constrains her mobility and makes socialization with her friends – almost all living in (Federation) Dobrinja - harder. The boundary itself, however, she perceives not as a factor of division, but of connection, while

<sup>129</sup> Interview with Tea, 16 May 2015. Originally in English and French (my translation). At a tea house in central Sarajevo.

<sup>130</sup> Interview with Lejla, 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2015, mainly in English, with some BSC expressions. At a café in Dobrinja (Federation).

she perceives her school – precisely because it is located on the boundary – as a *meeting place* between both entities:

“In our school, we don’t look at one’s nation, or how someone is called. My school is in the Federation, but it is right on the *granica* (border/boundary), so we are open”.

Everyday places, then, operates as meeting places, softening both physical and epistemological boundaries. This is the case of Saint Joseph Catholic School Center, situated 10 kilometers from there, at downtown Sarajevo. It is considered the most successful school in Bosnian capital in integrating people, regardless their nation, religion or name. Although it was founded during the war by the Catholic Church, the school accepts students from all backgrounds. Nowadays, up to 30% of students and teachers are non-Catholics, but ‘Bosnia’s, Serbs, Jews, Atheists..’<sup>131</sup>.

“We are trying to teach them two things: it is possible to live together, regardless of your nationality, or regardless of your religious belief, and we are an example that this is possible. But, on the other hand, it is not just possible, it is necessary, it is necessary! (...) Living together... it doesn’t mean that I need to give up my own identity. It is possible to live together but respecting the others (...) In 20 years, we had never had not even the smallest incident because kids, or professors, because someone is from other nation, nationality, etc. So it is possible in Bosnia to have a normal school society”<sup>132</sup>.

As Ivica Mrso highlights, not only his school is an important example for other institutions, but it also operates as a dispositive that, at one hand, keeps minorities from leaving Sarajevo (to majoritarian Catholic cantons, for example) and, on the other hand, promotes ‘crossing’ for students who do not live in Sarajevo. It is, therefore, working as an everyday political tool to fight against politics of

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<sup>131</sup> Interview with Ivica Mrso, at Catholic Center, Sarajevo. 23 March 2015. Interview conducted in English.

<sup>132</sup> Ibidem

homogenization in post-Dayton Sarajevo. Therefore, everyday places may also be important mechanisms to counter ethnoterritorial logics. As the whole socio-economical-political system was redesigned by Dayton in ethnonational terms, living as a minority may be materially difficult. As Ivica Mrso explains: “Unfortunately it is hard for everyone in Bosnia to make a living right now (...) It is hard for Bosniaks who are the majority here to get the job, to make a living here. It is a little bit harder for Croats and Serbs, who are the minority in Sarajevo, to have a job, etc... (...). So we are trying to give a sign of hope; that you will be evaluated regarding your knowledge, not regarding your name in class”<sup>133</sup>.

Nemanja, a former student from Catholic School, agrees that the school played a major role in keeping him in the educational system in Federation. His family decided to leave Sarajevo for Serbia during the siege ‘because basically (his) father didn’t want to fight this war’. When they went back to Sarajevo, in 1999, Nemanja started having problems at school:

“One of the problems that came to be is, in the first day of school, four Muslim boys were waiting for me in the end of school and told me: ‘you were bombarding me from the hills and stuff’, and they intended to beat me up or something (...) but I had a knife, and they were scared. Because of that, I went from that public school to Catholic School. I am not really a Catholic, I’m pretty much an Atheist (...) When I went to Catholic Centar, I had my first ‘C’s, and it was a shock. But there is another reason I went there: it is forbidden there to swear God, or to challenge your nationality, you are automatically expelled, so... It was pretty much open. One of my best friends was Goran, a Croatian Catholic, and the other was Armin, a Muslim. They called us the Holy Trinity”<sup>134</sup>.

Eventually, the whole family moved to Istočno Sarajevo, where they live in a bigger house with garden, but Nemanja continues to cross the boundary almost everyday to attend the University of Sarajevo, where he is completing a master degree.

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<sup>133</sup> Ibidem

<sup>134</sup> Interview with Nemanja, at his flat at Istočno Sarajevo. 12 April 2015. Interview conducted in English.

#### 4.7.

#### Polysemic boundaries

The dissonant narratives made by Lejla, Tea, Danjela and Nemanja, expose the polysemy of boundaries, as explained by Balibar (2002) – that boundaries are experienced differently by different groups of people; they do not have the same meaning for everyone (p. 81). In fact, all of them went through very different experiences.

Danjela ran away with her family from the besieged capital when she was 14 years old after a sniper hit her father, and lived during the war in a suburb of Sarajevo occupied by Serbian forces. After the war, she explained, “it was impossible for a Serb to go to Sarajevo”. Her very identification as Serb has strengthened at this point: “We are Serbs, but as my father says, we were communists. So, we cannot now pretend, like many people do, that we are big Serbs, or those who pretend they are big Muslims, big religious people”<sup>135</sup>. Spatial and epistemological boundaries seem to have strengthened this identification, and affect and memory play an important role restricting her everyday practices of mobility and socialization. Although she works for a state agency located in a suburb of Sarajevo (Federation), and thus she crosses the politico-administrative boundary everyday, she acknowledges that the IEBL is just one aspect of the boundary, and many *inner boundaries, or invisible boundaries*, situated everywhere and nowhere permeates her everyday life:

“I usually go (to the center of Sarajevo) once a month, for shopping. They have more stores, more offers (...) When I was single, if I went to the center, I would think: ‘what am I going to do here, I can only meet a Muslim, and then, it is an impossible mission’. It is not impossible, we can be the best people in the world, but his family, my family, everything that happened, war... it is all impossible (...) After the war, it is very rare that a Muslim will marry a Serb, and vice-versa. That used to happen before; now, it is rare”<sup>136</sup>.

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<sup>135</sup> Interview with Danjela, 15 April 2015, originally in Portuguese, my translation. At a shopping mall Istočno Sarajevo

<sup>136</sup> Interview with Danjela, 15 April 2015, originally in Portuguese, my translation. At a shopping mall Istočno Sarajevo.

Lejla, on the other hand, experiences these *inner boundaries* differently. At the same time that she dismisses the existence of invisible boundaries among ‘ordinary people’ of her generation, she deplores the political, official and administrative boundary:

“In my neighborhood (in Istočno Sarajevo), there are also other religions (besides Islam), but there is no discrimination (...) I don’t like that my country is divided, that we have one side and another side. I don’t want to see my country like that. I don’t want to see (the separation) Federation and Republika Srpska.<sup>137</sup>”

The polysemy of the boundary thus allows for a reading where its very existence is a violent spatial and symbolical practice. However, a more traditional account of boundaries/borders as a real source of protection and belonging can also be found, as it is present in Danjela’s narrative:

“I don’t hate anyone, but since I have seen a lot of things during the war and after the war, I don’t trust these people, it is better that we live as good neighbors than that I go live there, together... It is better that we have a border, that’s it. We don’t have a border in the sense that we can see the border, but we know exactly that this is our border (...)”

Among those who declared themselves Serbs, Danjela’s experience of the boundary may not be the minority, according to an IPSOS research from 2011. Asked to continue the sentence: “I wish that Republika Srpska...”, 21% of ‘Serbs’ answered ‘becomes part of Serbia’; 45% said ‘becomes an independent country’, 30% wanted that it ‘remains in B-H as it is now’, while merely 3% wishes that it ‘remains in B-H without entity borders’. In the other hand, 3% of those who declared themselves Bosniaks answered ‘becomes part of Serbia’; 2% that it ‘becomes an independent

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<sup>137</sup> Interview with Lejla, 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2015, mainly in English, with some BSC expressions. At a café in Dobrinja (Federation).

country', 19% that it 'remains in B-H as it is now' and a majority of 70%, that it 'remains in B-H without entity borders' (see table below).

Please continue the sentence .....I wish that Republika Srpska

Base: Total target population

|                                      | Total | Gender |        | Age   |       |       |     |                    | Education |                       |          | Current occupation |               |                       |               | HH income per HH member |              |         |          | Ethnicity |       |       |          | Entitet               |       | Settlement type |  |  |
|--------------------------------------|-------|--------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-----|--------------------|-----------|-----------------------|----------|--------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|-------------------------|--------------|---------|----------|-----------|-------|-------|----------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------|--|--|
|                                      |       | Male   | Female | 18-29 | 30-44 | 45-60 | >60 | Elementary or less | Secondary | College or University | Employed | Unemployed         | Student/pupil | Pensioner/ho usewives | Up to 100 eur | 101-150 eur             | Over 150 eur | Refusal | Bosnians | Croats    | Serbs | Other | Fed. BiH | RS and Brčko District | Urban | Other           |  |  |
| N                                    | 1518  | 729    | 789    | 336   | 391   | 431   | 361 | 513                | 826       | 179                   | 540      | 247                | 156           | 571                   | 407           | 426                     | 371          | 315     | 766      | 206       | 544   | 2     | 931      | 587                   | 868   | 660             |  |  |
| sig                                  |       | 0.09   |        | 0.06  |       |       |     |                    | 0.03      |                       |          | 0.05               |               |                       |               | 0.01                    |              |         |          | 0.00      |       |       |          | 0.00                  |       | 0.20            |  |  |
| Becomes part of Serbia               | 9.5   | 10     | 9      | 9     | 11    | 9     | 8   | 10                 | 10        | 5                     | 10       | 12                 | 9             | 8                     | 10            | 9                       | 6            | 14      | 3        | 4         | 21    |       | 4        | 19                    | 8     | 11              |  |  |
| Becomes an Independent state         | 18.9  | 21     | 17     | 20    | 15    | 23    | 18  | 14                 | 21        | 22                    | 23       | 16                 | 18            | 17                    | 18            | 20                      | 22           | 16      | 2        | 10        | 45    | 38    | 4        | 42                    | 19    | 19              |  |  |
| Remains in B-H as it is now          | 27.5  | 26     | 29     | 30    | 30    | 27    | 23  | 28                 | 27        | 29                    | 28       | 31                 | 28            | 26                    | 25            | 28                      | 33           | 25      | 19       | 51        | 30    | 40    | 26       | 30                    | 27    | 29              |  |  |
| Remain in B-H without entity borders | 41.2  | 42     | 41     | 39    | 40    | 38    | 48  | 44                 | 39        | 42                    | 37       | 39                 | 43            | 45                    | 44            | 42                      | 37           | 42      | 70       | 35        | 3     | 22    | 63       | 7                     | 43    | 39              |  |  |
| DK-Ref                               | 2.9   | 2      | 4      | 2     | 3     | 3     | 3   | 3                  | 3         | 2                     | 2        | 3                  | 2             | 4                     | 3             | 2                       | 2            | 4       | 5        | 0         | 1     |       | 4        | 1                     | 3     | 3               |  |  |
| Total                                |       |        |        |       |       |       |     |                    |           |                       |          |                    |               |                       | 100%          |                         |              |         |          |           |       |       |          |                       |       |                 |  |  |

Figure 22: (Source IPSOS Strategic Marketing, 'Nation Building –BiH' – October 2011).

For many in Sarajevo, the division of the city and the creation of Istočno Sarajevo is often minimized ("well, it is just stupid. People completely lost a sense of the big picture"<sup>138</sup>), disdained ("According to Dayton, now we have Sarajevo and Eastern Sarajevo. Well, Eastern Sarajevo is not really a city. It is more like a village. Now they are constructing more things, but it is not a city, with an old town, etc. But Dayton says it is"<sup>139</sup>), denied ("Lukavica). There is how we call it (instead of Istočno Sarajevo). That is the name that area had before the war"<sup>140</sup>) or regretted ("Our generation don't like it [the boundary] and we want to change this situation"<sup>141</sup>). However, 'the other side' is constantly in the making.

<sup>138</sup> Interview with Tea, 16 May 2015. Originally in English and French (my translation). At a tea house in central Sarajevo.

<sup>139</sup> Fieldwork notes, 10/12/2014. Personal talk with an inhabitant of Sarajevo.

<sup>140</sup> Field notes (Sandra)

<sup>141</sup> Interview with Lejla, 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2015, mainly in English, with some BSC expressions. At a café in Dobrinja (Federation).





Figure 23: (Republika Srpska Day Celebration at Istočno Sarajevo (09/01/2016). Credit: SNSD Istočno Novo Sarajevo Facebook page. Available at: [www.facebook.com/SNSDISTOCNONOVOSARAJEVO/?ref=page\\_internal](http://www.facebook.com/SNSDISTOCNONOVOSARAJEVO/?ref=page_internal))

As the creation of Republika Srpska and, thus, Istočno Sarajevo is perceived by many of its inhabitants as an important conquest that allowed them to live in a territory over which they are entitled to hold sovereign claims - instead of a socio-spatial legacy of the war, grounded on practices of ethnic cleansing and genocide, and driven by the ideal of homogeneity - it is celebrated as such. On 9th of January, "Day of Republika Srpska", the municipality of Istočno Sarajevo holds festivities, further demarcating themselves from Sarajevo. On November 2015, Bosnia's state-level Constitutional Court declared the holiday unconstitutional<sup>142</sup>, but the date was still celebrated this year with a concert attended by hundreds of people holding the striped red-blue-white flag.

<sup>142</sup> <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/bosnian-serbs-celebrate-day-of-rs-01-10-2016-1/1460/20>

#### 4.8. Conclusion

While boundary(ies) can be understood as the outcome of war practices, and as largely dependent on exclusionists and segregational practices until today, they are celebrated, by other people, as a positive achievement that should continue to be produced and affirmed. Hence, boundaries are enacted in multiple ways and are experienced differently by different people. While there is an official, administrative and political boundary that cuts through Sarajevo, there is no longer physical obstacles or control for those who cross ‘to the other side’ (besides for taxis). It is in the everyday that it becomes meaningful to people and that it acquires its many meanings. It is in the lived city that the ‘boundary is gone’ and encounters are not only possible, but also cherished; or that encounters are avoided or limited.

We cannot consider either the State or the international community in BiH as unitary actors. We also cannot affirm that they promote coherent policies and practices regarding boundaries in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In fact, the incoherencies are already present in Dayton, a document that supposedly punishes segregation and fosters reintegration, while carrying at its core an ethnoterritorial logic. This is clear, for example, in the many attempts led especially by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) to promote an educational system devoid of segregational practices, or the investment by the USAID and Federation on rebuilding a school that could host people from the whole area – regardless on ‘each side’ they come from – while the RS, supported by Dayton, was building new schools from scrap.

A similar conclusion might be drawn regarding ‘ordinary people’. Boundaries are forged by this multiplicity of practices and encounters, where they are reaffirmed, denied, negotiated, celebrated, etc. It is through and in the everyday, therefore, that they are shaped and experienced, and that they acquire meanings. As such, everyday places play a crucial role. Not only many of them were conceived and built due to the drawing of the boundary (such as the coach station, schools, etc.), but also they may operate to reinforce the boundary – by preventing encounters, by driving people to opposite directions, by naturalizing the outcome of the war and the politics of ethno-national-religious homogeneity.

However, in the multiplicity of the everyday, homogeneity is never fulfilled. Everyday places, such as boundaries, do not have a single meaning – and meanings may be ‘captured’, transformed and resignified by ordinary people. That’s how a coach station in a peripheral area disconnected by public transportation, and that is supposed to serve only people who is willing to go to places inside Republika Srpska or Serbia itself, may also become a reason to go to Istočno Sarajevo; an unwelcoming sidewalk surrounded by parking lots in a boundaryzone becomes a market area where old women make a living; a school is considered to be ‘open’ not despite the boundary, but precisely because it is located on the boundary.

## 5 Boundary displacement and displacement as boundary (or a saturday afternoon in a kafana<sup>143</sup>)

“Are you homesick?” I asked in response to his statement. “Yes,” he answered easily. Then he qualified, “I’m homesick for something that doesn’t exist anymore, though. I don’t know if I would go back now, but I wish *I could go back to the time before the war* (...). It’s like being trapped between two worlds”, he went on. “But more than that, it’s like being trapped in *two different times*. It’s strange” (Dauphinee, 2013: 112, my emphasis).

“Lejla, a Bosniak in her late forties, lived her entire life in Mostar. Still, she characterized Mostar more than once as a ‘crazy city’ and herself as someone from another planet. Although she never expressed it like this, it became clear to me that this ‘other planet’ Lejla referred to was Mostar during Yugoslav times”. (Palmberger, 2013: 551)

“A *migrational*, or metaphorical, city thus slips into the clear text of the planned and readable city” (De Certeau, 1984:93)

In this chapter, I will investigate the everyday enactment of boundaries in post-Dayton Mostar. A heterogeneous body of literature – composed of academic books, periodical articles and fictional work (both written and audiovisual) - depicts Mostar after the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) as a so-called ‘divided’ or ‘partitioned cities’. Here, however, I will argue that ethnonational divisions are only one possible grid of analysis among many urban dynamics that take place in Mostar. In order to capture a more complex story, therefore, I wonder how this narrative might change when we take a closer look to places where those boundaries are

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<sup>143</sup> “A *kafana* is a coffee shop, bar, restaurant, or any other place where you can spend a lot of time doing nothing, while consuming coffee or alcohol” (Hemon, 2011, Mapping Home). Available at: <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2011/12/05/mapping-home>

being enacted, and I ask what does it do to the 'divided city' narrative when we consider boundaries not only on their spatial capacity, but also in a confluence of space and time. Understanding boundaries only through a spatial frame – that of a geographically divided city – leads thus to an incomplete and a rather simplistic narrative, that does not entirely match the complexity and messiness of the everyday of my interlocutors. In other words, my interlocutors' everyday experiences provide a more nuanced representation of Mostar that does not completely correspond to the binary dynamic of the 'divided city'. Although practices of division and segregation take place in Mostar, the narrative(s) that emerge from my interlocutors' everyday attach(es) greater importance to movements of placing/placement and displacing/displacement.

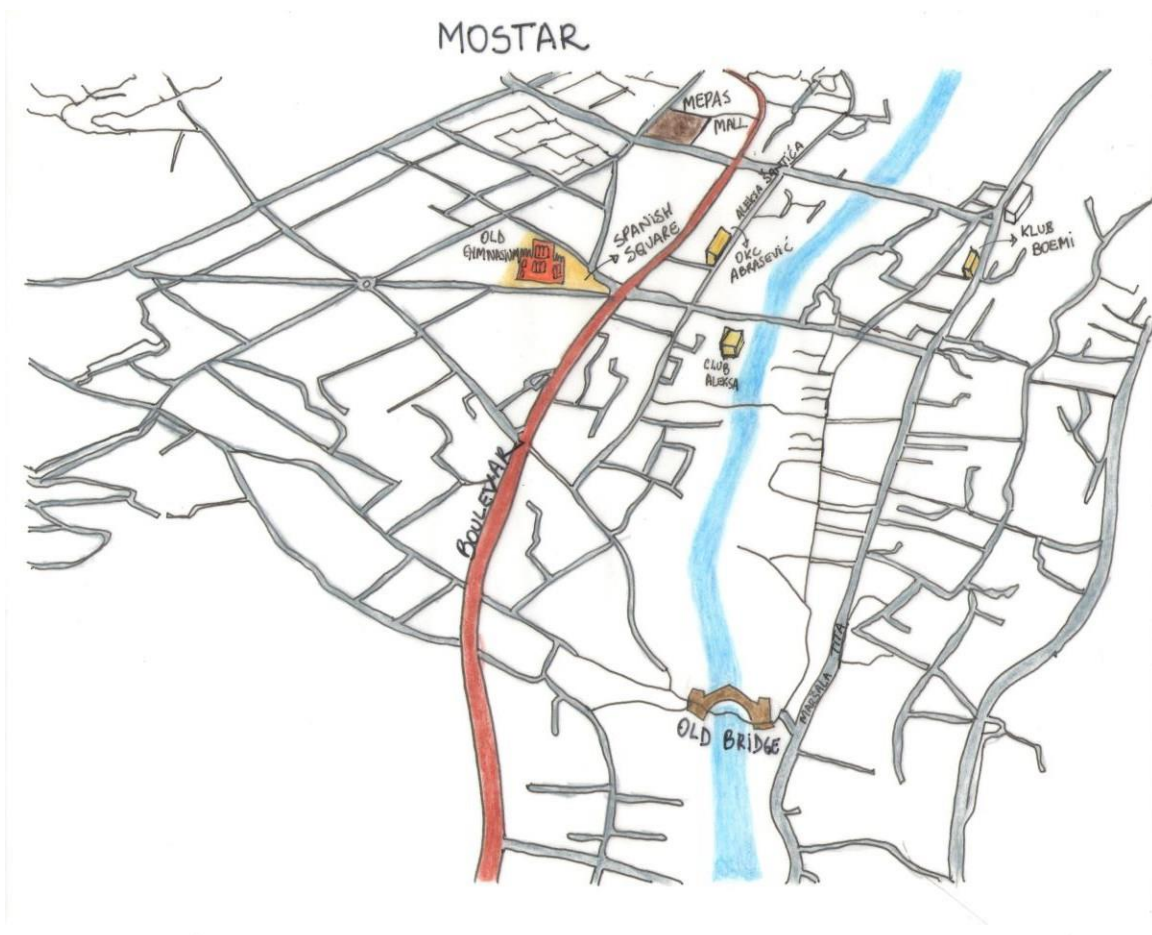


Figure 24

## 5.1.

### Introduction: Placing Mostar

Nikolina Kulidzan's short story 'Across the River' (2010) is an example that depicts a multi-layered city, starting by its most consolidated narrative regarding spatial practices at post-Dayton Mostar. As such, Kulidzan described how Mostar has become politically and geographically divided along ethnonational lines during the war years (1992-1995) when a myriad of violent practices such as bombing, killing, imprisoning and raping has engendered a dramatic shift of population that culminated in the scenario described by the novelist. The reorganization of the urban space along ethnonational lines in post-Dayton Mostar has thus turned this city into a classic example of 'divided cities':

"Before the war you actually had to ask people's name to know who they were. Now you can just observe what side of the river they live on. On the east side are the Bosniaks – Muslim citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the west side are Croats, Catholic by faith. The two groups split my hometown of Mostar down in the middle like an overripe pomegranate. The Eastern Orthodox Serbs – who prior to the war made up one quarter of the town's population – have all but disappeared. I am one of them" (Kulidzan, 2010).

Cities have been divided in many ways through History – from slave quarters in Athens and Rome to gentrified central neighborhoods particularly in Western metropolis nowadays (Marcuse, 1993). From the 1950s to the 1980s, the term 'divided city' was often employed in a loose definition, that comprised 'divisions' of group membership and identification, divergence in socioeconomic status and residential segregation (Rokem, 2011: 1). In the past two decades, however, a growing body of literature employs the terms 'divided' or 'contested' cities to refer to ethnonational divisions resulting more precisely through or in consequence of violent conflict (Bollens, 2012; Brand et al 2008; Calame & Charlesworth, 2009; Rokem, 2011, Zivali, 2013). When employing the term 'divided city', hence, this literature is not addressing urban segregation due to socio-economical inequalities, for example, but rather referring exclusively to ethnonational divisions. As such, Mostar has been considered a 'divided city' along with, for example, Beirut, Nicosia, Jerusalem and Belfast.

The portrait of Mostar as the ultimate case of ‘divided city’, however, is rather new. Pre-war Mostar, along with Sarajevo, was considered among one of the most multicultural and tolerant cities in Yugoslavia. It was often described as “Yugoslavia, in small<sup>144</sup>”. According to the 1991 census, 126,000 people lived in Mostar, from which 34% declared to be Croats, 34,6%, Muslims, 18,8% Serbs, 11%, Yugoslavs. At that time, the distribution of population along the city followed other criteria that had little to do with ethnonational affiliation. In fact, ethnonational groups were spread throughout the city, as it was the case in Sarajevo. Around 6,000 Croats lived among the East bank’s 30,000 predominantly Muslim residents and 15,000 Bosniaks resided among the 45,000 majority Croat populace of the West bank. Serbs and Yugoslavs were also spread around the city. Besides, a third of all marriages in the city were inter-religious, or so-called ‘mixed marriages’, one of the highest numbers in whole Yugoslavia (Carabelli, 2012: 22). As Bringa (1993) suggests, “for the Bosnian post- (World War II) generation, as for the generations before them”, being Bosnian was about “growing up in a multicultural and multi-religious environment, an environment where cultural pluralism was seen as intrinsic to the social order” (p. 87). Mostaris, with their mixed social and urban fabric, could claim that.



Figure 25: Mostar Old Town, Old Bridge and Neretva River – March 2015

<sup>144</sup> Interview with Aleksandra Savic. 18 April 2015. At Club Aleksa, Mostar. Interview originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzimusic.

The pre-war multicultural character of the city is often evoked as one of the attributes that made Mostar so unique in the eyes of its dwellers. The representation of the city is deeply embedded in affective investment, which comprises not only the urban social fabric but also Mostar's nature and its environment. Indeed, in the region, Mostar is considered astonishingly beautiful. And, as in Sarajevo, Mostar is considered by many of its inhabitants to have a soul (*duh*). Where Sarajevans praise their mountains and historical legacy, Mostaris are more inclined to highlight the crystal-clear water from Neretva - the river that crosses the city - or its milder, Mediterranean climate (compared to much colder Sarajevo). The sunny days, the windy winter and natural beauty are listed by my interlocutors among the reasons one feels attached – or in Hemon's (2011) words, 'placed' – to/in Mostar.

"You should have come earlier... in February or March. It's windy in that period... Mostar has a spirit... wind cleanses our street. There's magic in everything. If there were no wind, Mostar would not have a soul... Since this is a valley, the wind cleans it all..."<sup>145</sup>

"Mostar is beautiful; it has the most beautiful sky in the country. Beautiful, clean sky and the river... it has the wealth and tradition... It's the city of culture and beauty."<sup>146</sup>

"If you go elsewhere, you are always a refugee... You always miss Mostar and the river"<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Interview with Jead Vladovic. 19 April 2015. At his restaurant, Mostar Old Town. Interview originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzmusic.

<sup>146</sup> Interview with Jana Bantas. 19 April 2015. At Jead Vladovic's restaurant, Mostar Old Town. Interview originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzmusic.

<sup>147</sup> Interview with Andelka Vucic. 19 April 2015. At Mostar Old Town. Interview originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzmusic.



“I want to live here because I feel I belong here. My roots are here. It was nice when I was a refugee too. Belgrade is my city as well (...) but... You’re not born there... I have a very deep feeling for the tradition and the root...”

“In Mostar we love our city a lot! We cannot live elsewhere. If we live elsewhere, we are dying”<sup>148</sup>

In her short story, Kulizdan (2010) also lists a series of reasons one would feel *placed* in Mostar before the war:

“My hometown was my first true love. The smells of blooming linden trees and roasted chestnuts, the sounds of rambling railroad cars and rushing water, and the touch of warm Mediterranean breeze all helped shape my senses and carve out in me a sense of identity. And when my family fled the fast-spreading civil war just before the spring cherries ripened in 1992, losing Mostar became my first heartbreak”.

All those elements helped to foster a willing to live and stay in Mostar until the war, as Kulidzan (2010) also suggests, forging a particular relation between Mostaris and their city:

“Before the war a thick net of family and friends kept everyone here rooted. Few people moved away; even fewer moved in from elsewhere. No more than a couple of degrees of separation existed between any two individuals<sup>149</sup>”

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<sup>148</sup> Interview with Semsudin Zlatko Serdarevic. 18 April 2015. At Boemi Kafana, Mostar. Interview originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzimusic.

<sup>149</sup> Kulidzan, Nikolina (2010) “Across the River”, in: Spirit of Bosnia, Vol 5, No 4. Available at: <http://www.spiritofbosnia.org/volume-5-no-4-2010-october/across-the-river/>

Reflecting on his youth in pre-war Bosnia and Herzegovina while contrasting it to his ensuing years of exile in Chicago, the renowned Bosnian writer Aleksander Hemon (2011) concludes: “Physically and metaphysically, I was *placed* (in Sarajevo)”. He continues by explaining to which extent his link to everyday places and experiences in his city were intrinsically related to being *placed*.

“(...) you possessed a personal infrastructure: your *kafana*, your barber, your butcher; the landmarks of your life (the spot where you fell and broke your arm playing soccer, the corner where you waited to meet the first of the many loves of your life, the bench where you first kissed her); the streets where people would forever know and recognize you, the space that identified you. Because anonymity was well nigh impossible and privacy literally incomprehensible (there is no word for “privacy” in Bosnian), your fellow-Sarajevans knew you as well as you knew them. If you somehow vanished, your fellow-citizens could have reconstructed you from their collective memory and the gossip that had accrued over years. Your sense of who you were, your deepest identity, was determined by your position in a human network, whose physical corollary was the architecture of the city”<sup>150</sup>.

However, the successive violent episodes during the past war (1992-1995) completely altered the urban and social fabric in Mostar. While thousands fled the city, newcomers, usually refugees from other regions within BiH, occupied those now abandoned flats. Among those who left, many never came back. Among those who stayed, many had to move to the other bank during the war, and have, since, stayed there. Among the ‘returnees’, many felt that this wasn’t any longer the city they once cherished as their own. The new urban cartography displaced homes, lives, stories, relations and produced new temporalities in the narrative of the city:

“Now, Mostar is like a cup of stirred Turkish coffee: muddy and unsettled. On top of the division between the east and the west, *there is a division between the natives and the newcomers*” (Kulidzan, 2010)

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<sup>150</sup> Although Hemon talks about Sarajevo, in this chapter I argue that this feeling of placement was also expressed by people who lived in pre-war Mostar (Hemon, 2011, Mapping Home). Available at: <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2011/12/05/mapping-home>.

As for any other city, Mostar's cartography is composed by much more than planned spaces and lines drawn on maps by urban planners and national and international political elites. As Shapiro (2013) suggests, beyond the official cartography there is cartography of affective investment. Indeed, Mostar's map has an emotional depth that is only captured when we pay attention to everyday practices and the meanings its dwellers attribute to them. Therefore, the focus of this chapter will be not only on the planned or *conceived space* but most especially on the *lived space* of the everyday (Lefebvre, 1974 [1991]) and, more specifically, on *everyday places* (see chapter Two). Taking seriously everyday places such as an avenue, a square, a kafana and a school situated in the vicinities of the once-upon-a-time administrative boundary in Mostar, I will, therefore, investigate how dwellers navigate in the urban everyday, sometimes negotiating or reinforcing boundaries but also enacting alternative practices of demarcation rather than administrative divisions primarily institutionalized by the Dayton Peace Accord. I will make my narrative in the form of vignettes. This is an invitation to the readers to navigate the city, going from one place to another, from one 'side' to the other, to move around. It is also a (writing) method to portrait instances and, from that, identify patterns and dynamics in it.

I will argue that those alternative practices of demarcation not only displace official boundaries but are also embedded on a widespread feeling of displacement among Mostari. I will thus investigate the notion of (spatial-temporal) displacement, in opposition to the concept of placement, presented above. Drawing on Shapiro (2013), I argue that although displacement is often used in a negative valence (the term evokes an image of displaced persons who had their lives disrupted and forced into exile, who are still attached to their homelands, customs and memories and, therefore, have difficulty in adapting to their new homes), it is also productive in the sense that it allows for criticism through the reorientation and reframing of one's sensible world. I will then analyze some cases where displacement allows for reading Mostar beyond the 'divided city'.

## 5.2.

### What boundary? (or, a short story of the Bulevar)

“Bulevar” is the name given to a four-lane avenue that crosses right into the center of Mostar, for about 2,5 kilometers. The area where the Bulevar is located was first developed during the Austro-Hungarian occupation of the city, at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Until then, Mostar was a town developed mostly under Ottoman rule, when a bridge was built in 1566 over the river Neretva, from which Mostar owes its name (*most*, in many Slavic languages, means “bridge”). Under the Ottomans, Mostar had developed mainly its Eastern side, while green areas occupied most of the Western side.

When the Austrian-Hungarians annexed Mostar, in 1878, however, they started developing the Western bank of the city as well. There, they built wider roads, in contrast to the narrow cobblestoned streets in the Eastern bank. New buildings were erected in the latest Austro-Hungarian style, in an apparent architectural demarcation from the Eastern side of the bank. Under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Mostar also emerged as a modern city (Carabelli, 2012:18; Zivali, 2013: 37), receiving public services such as gas and electricity, and a rail station right in the center of the city. It was only in 1969, during the Yugoslavian years, that the rail station was moved to a more peripheral location, giving place to the *Bulevar Narodne Revolucije* – Boulevard of the People’s Revolution, an ode to Tito’s partisan movement. At that point, the Bulevar, as it is called until today, represented the main central artery of the city: not only the cities’ circulation relied on it, but it also played a major role in the socialization of people. Young and not so young people would gather in its immediacies, particularly along the HIT Square (renamed Spanish Square). It was only perceived as a boundary line in what regards architectural style since it roughly demarcated the end of the “old city” and the beginning of a more modern one. A project named “(Re)collecting Mostar”, conducted by the grass-root association “Abart”, concludes that the Bulevar was intrinsic to pre-war social life in Mostar: not only people would hang about a few of the Bulevar blocks, but also a great part of what they call ‘infrastructure of

socialization”<sup>151</sup> was located within a block from the Bulevar, such as the Spanish Square, the House of Youth, sports court Kantarevac, Cinema Partisan and the Mo-Disk 088.



Figure 26: Dwellers crossing the Bulevar – December 2014

### 5.2.1. The Bulevar as a frontline

In the 1990s, however, the war was particularly devastating in Mostar. The city experienced two successive forms of confrontation. At first, in April 1992, the Croatian Defense Council (HVO) and the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ARBiH) fought together against the Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA). Once the later was defeated and fled Mostar, fighting resumed, in 1993, this time with a Croatian contingent attempting to expel Bosniaks from the city or, at least, from the part of the city they controlled – West Mostar, which was, at that time,

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<sup>151</sup> For infrastructures of socialization, they intend “bars, sport venues, cultural venues, clubs, i.e., the infrastructure that materializes the possibility for people to meet, create emotional bonds, mix, fight, discuss; in other words, to use space (s) as a means of becoming acquainted with each other and to potentially form communities of belonging” (Carabelli, 2012: 135).

being consolidated as the capital of the statelet of Herceg-Bosna <sup>152</sup>, the concretization of a Croatian ethnoterritorial project in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Grodach, 2010; Coward, 2009: 1, Toal and Dahlman (2011: 105).

In this urban confrontation, the Bulevar became a crucial site of dispute, violently demarcating the opposition of a then newly reconfigured side of the city against another recently reconfigured side. Around May 1993, as sand bags were giving materiality to trenches; and snipers and other armed forces took their positions along the avenue, Bulevar's role in Mostar started to change dramatically. From a public space, a central urban artery, a place of socialization or a symbol of the transition from the 'old town' to the 'modern' one, the Bulevar became a place of danger and death, somewhere to be avoided, a no-go zone: a war frontline. Therefore, while Mostar went through a second round of violent conflicts – more exactly, for nine months – the new urban configuration remained static, consolidating a city dominated, on its West side, by Croats, and on its East side, by Bosniaks and demarcated from each other by the Bulevar-front-line. As Gosztonyi<sup>153</sup> (2002-2003) describes, “the adversaries were lined up along (...) the Bulevar. The western side was held by the HVO (Bosnian Croat Army), which besieged the eastern side, occupied by the ABiH (Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina). From the point where the Bulevar reached the central square of modern Mostar, the HIT Square<sup>154</sup>, named after a department store of the same

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<sup>152</sup> Herceg-Bosna was intended to be a 'homeland' for Bosnian Croats before they joined Croatia itself. This project, however, did not end with their military defeat, or with the implementation of several measures adopted by the international organizations to maintain territorial cohesion within the borders of the FBiH (see Carabelli, 2012:38). In fact, the project of Herceg-Bosna is mobilized mainly by the leaders of Bosnian Croat HDZ BiH (Croatian Democratic Union of BiH) and HDZ 1990 (Croatian Democratic Union 1990), who often use this card to pressure for more rights to Croats, making occasional calls for a “Third Entity” or the dissolution of BiH altogether. (Carabelli, 2012, see also OHR [www.ohr.int](http://www.ohr.int), and Herceg-Bosna website in articles such as this: <http://www.hercegbosna.org/eng/current-issues/nation-building/exclusive-croatian-counties-are-going-for-referendum-to-leave-federation-bh-4169.html>

<sup>153</sup> Gosztonyi, Kristof. “Negotiating in Humanitarian Interventions. The Case of the International Intervention into the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina (2002-2003)

<sup>154</sup> This square received this name thanks to the department store called HIT, whose building was completely destroyed during the war. Its skeleton is still among the destroyed buildings that haven't been reconstructed in the Bulevar area. Nowadays, the square was

name, the frontline ran for 300-400 meters, in a diagonal line between and within houses until it reached the Neretva. This was the (Aleks) Šantica Street, the scene of the most horrible fighting in Mostar, as both, Bosniak and Croat fighters, later emphasized. Frequently, the fighters were no more than a few meters from each other on constant, nerve-racking alert » (p. 136).

Footage from that time, as well as a BBC documentary, also report that the Bulevar was the site where Bosniaks residing in West Mostar were conducted to as part of the ‘ethnic-cleansing’ of that part of the city . At that time, many dwellers had already fled the city or found shelter on ‘the other side’ (East). A substantial number, however, were sent to concentration camps, murdered or disappeared (Coward, 2008). Those who were conducted by soldiers until the Bulevar were told to run to the other side, under heavy artillery and sniper shots. Many would be wound or killed while trying to reach the besieged Eastern side .

When the Washington Agreement, a full-scale peace accord between Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks was finally signed, Mostar emerged as a *de jure* and *de facto* divided city, unequally affected by the war. Predominantly Bosniak (Muslim) Eastern Mostar was severely destroyed by the 60 to 70 shells that would explode there on an average day of the conflict<sup>155</sup>. The four-century Old Bridge (Stari Most), which had survived a flood that practically covered it in 1713 and dozens of violent conflicts, was destroyed after being directly and successively aimed at by HVO forces (Coward, 2008:1). In fact, every single bridge in Mostar had been destroyed by the end of the conflict.

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renamed Spanish Square, after a monument in honor of the fallen Spanish soldiers during the war in Mostar.

<sup>155</sup> According to Jerrie Hulme, the chief of UN relief official in Mostar. In <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1994/02/21/mostars-muslims-living-like-rats/052b7dca-7e19-496c-8375-f8bac58c7b00/>

### 5.2.2.

#### Dayton divisions and displacements

Although the destruction of the Old Bridge is commonly depicted by the media and also academic accounts as the consolidation of the division of the city in East and West (see Coward, 2008; The Guardian, 2004<sup>156</sup>, The Independent, 2004<sup>157</sup>), this is only a symbolic interpretation of this event, at most. Such accounts are sustained by narratives that describe the Neretva River as a natural border between Islam and Christianity from the 17th Century onwards (Grodach, 68). This misconception led to a mistaken idea that the front line and posterior division of the city ran along the Neretva River (Ibidem). However, the Old Bridge is placed at the Ottoman Old Town and is entirely situated in East Mostar, thus promoting, at most, links within East Mostar. Moreover, until the war, the bridge was never thought as a ‘bridge between nations’, more precisely because the city was, until then, not considered ethnonational divided.

Instead, the Bulevar played the role of a boundary. It was the main front line during the war in Mostar and, as such, it was taken as a divisive line of the city in the aftermath. Indeed, Dayton cemented lines drawn during the war in Mostar and other places in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bieber, 2005: p.25). By drawing an administrative line at the epicenter of one of the main cities in BiH, representatives of the three warring parts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also the ‘international community’<sup>158</sup>, legitimized the ethnonational map for which the war was launched at the first place.

In practical terms, after Dayton, people who had still not done so moved towards what now was considered their ‘proper’ side of the city, further

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<sup>156</sup> “Bridge opens but Mostar remains a divided city”, Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/jul/23/iantraynor>

<sup>157</sup> “Bridge over the Ethnic Divide: a symbol of hope is reborn in Mostar”. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/bridge-over-the-ethnic-divide-a-symbol-of-hope-is-reborn-in-mostar-5355111.html>

<sup>158</sup> Understood here by the representatives of the States sat at the negotiation table at Dayton, such as the United States, the European Union, France, United Kingdom, Germany and Russia.



consolidating the idea of ethnically homogeneous spaces as a solution for Bosnia and Herzegovina. While West Mostar became a Croat enclave and East Mostar a Bosniak one, the number of Serbs declined drastically, and it is estimated today at less than 5% of the population of the city<sup>159</sup>.

Mostar, however, is more an exception<sup>160</sup> than a rule in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bieber, 2005: 421), because one ethnonational community does not dominate it. Hence, Mostar is at the same time shared and contested between Bosniaks and Croats, and, therefore, its institutional design is unique in the country. Just after the end of the second round of conflicts in the city, Mostar was placed under European Union administration, in a period lasting from July 1994 to January 1997, with the aim of reconstructing and reintegrating the city (Bieber, 2005:422). However, the city was divided into six municipalities – three Bosniak and three Croat, with a small shared central zone - in a highly complex and decentralized power-sharing scheme (Ibidem). As Bieber (2005) argues, « reflecting its nature as a cease-fire agreement, the new municipal boundaries were drawn on the basis of the distribution of forces, not on economic, social or historical criteria » (p.422). In this new political and administrative division, the Bulevar took on a preponderant role, acting as a boundary-line between the two sides.

Although the consociational model adopted by Mostar was designed in such a way to assure that no one community would have an outright majority in the municipal councils and that the mayor and deputy mayor, representing each one a different ethnonational group, rotate frequently, the results is that they would end up governing mostly ‘their’ respective side of the city (Bieber, 2005: 423). Moreover, the central zone, that should be jointly administered by a central administration, never functioned, and the other municipalities encroached upon it (Ibidem, 424).

Over the years, it became apparent that the political and administrative system adopted by Mostar just contributed to institutionalizing and reinforce the

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<sup>159</sup> According to 2013 census, available here: <http://www.popis2013.ba/popis2013/doc/Popis2013prvoIzdanje.pdf>

<sup>160</sup> Along with other municipalities, such as Brcko and Stolac, for example.

ethnonational cartography that emerged and was consolidated during the war. At that point, almost every single public and private service was divided, segregated or duplicated: the city had two firefighters services, police forces, waste disposal companies, mail services, bus lines, medical services, kindergarten, schools, universities, radios, telephone line' city codes and so on. Stories about division abound, and they are not restricted to the formal political realm or major public companies: takeaway pizzas that would not deliver to the Muslims across the river<sup>161</sup>, taxi drivers who refused to take people to 'the other side', children born after the war who have never visited the reconstructed and now UNESCO World Heritage site reachable by a short walk from West Mostar <sup>162</sup> . As one of my interlocutors argue:

“This is not one city. It is two. When I ask for someone's number, an operator says that she cannot give me the number, because the address is on the other side. Everything is divided” <sup>163</sup> .

Facing the increasing polarization in the city, the Office of High Representative (OHR) established the Commission for Mostar. The body was composed of domestic and foreign experts and representatives from political parties, and the final recommendation, in 2004, was to reunify all municipalities in order to create a single one. The political parties, however, did not accept this proposal, and the High Representative of the time, Paddy Ashdown, who had (has) the final word in BiH, ended up by imposing the recommendation, reunifying the city and returning it to its pre-war status of single municipality<sup>164</sup>. Although there

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<sup>161</sup> <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/jul/23/iantraynor>

<sup>162</sup> Almost all my formal and informal interlocutors in Mostar assured they know or heard about young people who have never been to the 'other side'. In a show produced by Radio Slobodna Evropa named "Perspektiva", one 15-year-old student says he has never been to the Old Bridge. Perspektiva – Mostar - druga epizoda (2<sup>nd</sup> episode)(2015) Available at <http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/media/video/perspektiva-druga-epizoda-mostar/26849554.html>

<sup>163</sup> Interview with Semsudin Zlatko Serdarevic. 18 April 2015. At Boemi Kafana, Mostar. Interview originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzimusic.

<sup>164</sup> The final document may be found here: The final document is available here: <http://www.mostar.ba/statut-181.html>

have been real efforts to unify a variety of services, budgets and decision-making, Mostar still is considered a contested, and often dysfunctional, city: since 2013, it has no city council due to lacking of agreement between the main political parties that run the city<sup>165</sup>. In other occasions, the city also had no mayor for months, also for lacking of agreement between the parts. Although the status of the Bulevar has significantly changed throughout the years, as we will see in the following section, it is still regarded roughly as the line that divides Mostar into East and West.

### 5.3.

#### The 'invisible boundary' or, 'boundaries are on people's head'

My first contact with Mostar was in July 2009. I arrived there by bus, coming from Croatia and, at the coach station, I met a woman who had a spare room that I decided to rent. In a short car ride of about ten minutes, that woman showed me through the window her world that once was: 'here, before the war, music school... my daughter used to attend'; 'here, before the war, department store'... All I could distinguish, however, was the skeletons of destroyed buildings, some of them were so shattered that we could spot trees and other wild vegetation growing where 'before' stood a piano or a woman's clothes rack<sup>166</sup>.

Nothing drew more my attention, however, than the Bulevar, which I had to roam for my meeting that next morning. I had spent the previous afternoon wandering around the narrow cobblestone streets of *Stari Grad (Old Town)* and the astonishing Neretva River, along with scores of tourists and "*summer birds*", the term Nikolina Kulidzan (2010) employs to refer to people like her - Bosnians who fled the war and continue living abroad, but who go back to BiH during this season. Although that part of the town (East Mostar) was the hardest hit during the war, it had been largely rebuilt, due to its historical and touristic interest. The Old Bridge

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<sup>165</sup> Currently, Mayor Ljubo Beslic concentrates all powers in his hand, due to lack of a valid City Council. Mayors are indirectly elected in Mostar.

<sup>166</sup> Personal notes, 15 July 2009.

had also been rebuilt, and for tourists who stopped in the Old Town for a few hours before going back to Croatia or going further to Sarajevo, the war seemed an unfortunate event in a distant time.

The Bulevar, which until today is largely ignored by the tourist crowds, in the other hand, was, at that time, a big war scar, forming a line of one gutted building after the other, all bearing new meanings: an improvised home for stray dogs, a bitter memory of the violence of the 1990s, but also a fine portrait of the (dis)functioning system implemented in Mostar under the supervision of the international community. Indeed, the most striking aspect of the destruction of the Bulevar, at that point (more than 15 years after the end of the violent confrontations in the city), is that the avenue lies in the core of Mostar. However, it is exactly because it lays in the Mostar's disputed center that it has been so severely destroyed – and that it has been so slowly rebuilt (or not restored at all in some cases). At that point, only the Old Gymnasium – Mostar's most prestigious public High School – had been rebuilt and the strong colored Austro-Hungarian building stood up in awkward contrast vis-à-vis its neighbor roofless skeletons.

### **5.3.1. Destruction and renovation**

When I came back to Mostar, in 2014 and, then, 2015, I could notice that many of the buildings around the Bulevar had been restored, but the impression of destruction still permeated that avenue. Among the buildings that had been reconstructed in the meantime was the City Hall, located just a few meters from the Gymnasium, but mostly empty because Mostar does not hold local elections since 2012 for lack of agreement among the largest political parties in the area. Despite the efforts of reconstruction, that whole area comprising the Bulevar and also very central street Aleksa Santica (see map) are still among the most destroyed parts of the city. Besides, strolling along the Bulevar is not a welcoming activity: sidewalks are often irregular, narrow and empty; cars go by fast, and some areas look abandoned, if not dodgy. All that being said, it is evident that a heavy reconstruction work has been undertaken over the years, even though my informants suggest that

the city administration<sup>167</sup> explicitly does not renovate some buildings around the Bulevar to demarcate this division<sup>168</sup>.

What is less evident is to determine whether this ‘normalizing’ effect is due to the reconstruction efforts or to one’s mind and eyes – after all, as my interlocutors stressed, and as I have experienced myself, one gets quickly used to this urban environment and the destroyed buildings, grenade holes and the concrete scars caused by mortar shell’s explosions become so much part of the everyday to the extent of almost being invisible.




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<sup>167</sup> At the time I am writing this thesis (2016), administration is mainly in the hands of the mayor, since there is no City Council in Mostar since 2013. However, the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina plays a major role in mediating political conflicts and issues between the main parties.

<sup>168</sup> Interview with Gatalo Veselin. 19 April 2015. At West Mostar. Interview conducted in French, my translation.

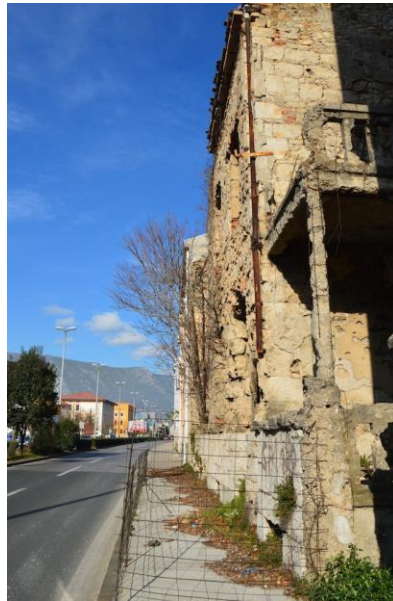


Figure 27: Three scenes on the Bulevar: reconstruction workers; ongoing reconstruction on Bulevar; destroyed building and sidewalk – December 2014

‘Invisible’ is also a term often employed to describe the boundary(ies) that are enacted in the city. Although the Bulevar might be its most symbolic feature, and a *de facto* division line when it comes to many administrative and public (or private) services, there is no physical barrier or control preventing people to cross it, or to walk along it, despite the rather unwelcoming surroundings, as it was mentioned before. The very role of the Bulevar as an active operating boundary is inscribed in time, as much as it is in space. As such, with time, the Bulevar ceased to be a war frontline and gained new, different meanings. As with the Inter-Entity Boundary Line studied in Chapter 3, the Bulevar is also polysemic, since it bears no consensual meaning for dwellers of Mostar. Moreover, those meaning also vary with time and according to public initiatives (or lack of initiatives) to bridge the two sides of the city together and also to one’s personal everyday experiences.

### 5.3.2. Boundary enactments at the Bulevar

On the one hand, many efforts have been undertaken to make this boundary less invisible, especially in the years that followed the war. In fact, boundaries and

boundary-making practices do entail a certain (desired) order. In Mostar's case, the desired order was primarily the spatialization of ethnonational differences. For that matter, ethnonational and religious features and symbols have been reinforced on both sides, in an attempt to make the Eastern side look 'Islamic' and the Western, 'Christian'. As such, if one places oneself at the Bulevar, in their Eastern side it will be easy to spot many minarets erected after the war, while the West side of the road is dominated by a 107 meters high tower from a Catholic church, also rebuilt and extended after the war for a cost of 12 million Euros (Bose, 2002:141). Similarly, since 2000, a 30-meter cross overlooks the city from the Hum Mountain, at West Mostar. Streets in West Mostar have also been renamed in an effort by "Croat nationalist elites to erase the socialist past for a Croat national history that was inscribed upon West Mostar's cityscape" (Palmberger, 2013)



Figure 28: Bulevar and Catholic Church with its redimensioned tower

On the other hand, some urban interventions produced more socialization and interaction between both sides. Valentina, a dweller of Mostar since 1994 who has been teaching for more than a decade at the Gymnasium building located at Spanish Square (Mostar's main square), attributes positive changing in social dynamics in this area in the past years mainly to efforts of reconstruction and renovation of the buildings and the square itself, but also the reintegration of the Gymnasium (or 'Old Gymnasium', as people refers to the school in the city). The sizable Austro-Hungarian building dating from 1893 has hosted one of the most popular High Schools in Yugoslavia<sup>169</sup>. It has been almost completely destroyed during the war when only one wing of the ground floor was left functioning. During nearly ten years, thereafter, only students following the Croatian Curriculum<sup>170</sup> of Mostar Gymnasium could use that building, while students from the Bosnian Curriculum had classes at an Elementary School in the East side<sup>171</sup>. While the Gymnasium was one of the first schools to be integrated<sup>172</sup> in BiH (in February

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<sup>169</sup> Gojko BERIĆ, Španski Trg «Oslobodjenje » 28 May 2015. <http://www.oslobodjenje.ba/kolumne/spanski-trg>

<sup>170</sup> Education is highly decentralized in BiH, and, as it was already explored in Chapter 3, highly politicized. As Bowder and Perry (2013) argue, "curricular content varies depending on the entity or canton in question, with nearly every school exhibiting a dominant ethnic "flavor" depending on whether it is predominantly Bosniak, Croat, or Serb." In Mostar's Gymnasium, curricula are offered in Croatian Language and Bosnian Language (for a discussion about this distinction, please refer to Chapter 0, 'Lost in Translation'. These 'national curricula' as they are called, emerged during the war and have been consolidated ever since. While Math and Sciences are considered neutral subjects, History, Geography, Languages, Arts, Music, Literature are examples of sensitive national subjects, that may vary greatly from one curriculum to another. For more information on this, see Perry, Valery. "The Permanent Interim: Bosnia and Herzegovina's Ongoing Educational Crisis" E-International Relations. October 12 2014. Available at: <http://www.e-ir.info/2014/10/12/the-permanent-interim-bosnia-and-herzegovinas-ongoing-educational-crisis/>

<sup>171</sup> Interview with Valentina Mindoljević. 6 May 2015, conducted at the Gymnasium building, UWC office, Mostar. Interview conducted in English.

<sup>172</sup> Mostar's Gymnasium has been 'reintegrated', in the sense that students from both Bosnian and Croatian curricula attend the school, and there is only one director. Students from different curricula, however, attend separated classes. In BiH, nevertheless, this is already considered a sigh of progress, since most schools are either monoethnic or work as



2004) after years of heated negotiations, demonstrations and the investment of an important amount of money (Hromadzic, 2011: 274), its own integration ‘completely opened the area’ helping to revitalize this part of the city.



Figure 29: Mostar Old Gymnasium, at Spanish Square

The process went further with the renovation of Spanish Square, completed in March 2012, when Mostar’s mayor Ljubo Bešlić inaugurated the square with the following discourse: “Reconstruction of the Spanish Square is more important than any similar project in any other city in our country. Because Spanish Square, aside from being the main square in the city, is and will be a meeting place and a place to connect all citizens of Mostar, once a city divided by the war. Its reconstruction will be one less reminiscent of the ugly past”<sup>173</sup>.

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“Two Schools Under One Roof”, i.e., even though they share the same school building, everything about them – from the entrance door to the administrative staff – is separated.

<sup>173</sup> Gojko BERIĆ, Španski Trg «Oslobodjenje » 28 May 2015. Available at <http://www.oslobodjenje.ba/kolumne/spanski-trg>. My translation. In the original: "Rekonstrukcija Španjolskog trga je više od nekog sličnog projekta u nekom drugom gradu

Valentina recognizes that the area, which she describes as the main social gathering place in pre-war Mostar, is slowly becoming a ‘good contact point’.

“If you came ten years earlier, Spanish Square looked completely different, pretty dark and bad looking, and this was the frontline, this is where many fights happened, between football fans or something. Since the school was renovated it completely opened this area, and especially when the Spanish Square was renovated, it was nice to see people walking at night, with lights in the evening, they gather and talk, take children. (...) It really changed the dynamics of people’s interaction. Before, there was no proper place to sit, it was dark, it was half ruined, it didn’t feel nice walking there in the evening”<sup>174</sup>.



Figure 30: Destroyed buildings around Spanish Square  
– April 2015

u našoj zemlji. Jer Španjolski trg, osim što je središnji gradski trg, jeste i biće susretište i mjesto povezivanja svih građana Mostara, nekada u ratu podijeljenog grada. Njegovom izgradnjom sve manje ćemo se podsjećati na ružnu prošlost."

<sup>174</sup> Interview with Valentina Mindoljević. 6 May 2015, conducted at the Gymnasium building, UWC office, Mostar. Interview conducted in English.

### 5.3.3. Beyond administrative integration: attempts in everyday life

Another turning point was Mostar's administrative integration, as it has been mentioned in the first section. The process of integration cannot be considered a success case, as far as party politics is concerned, as it was mentioned. However, the mere distribution of administrative offices through the city obliged, and in some cases, gave a good reason, or excuse, for people to start crossing.

“When it (Mostar) got integrated, people had to start moving, (they) had to go, to do some paperwork, people from West Mostar had to go work on East Mostar, and vice-versa, it happened a lot to break the barriers, and it was a great move to have a central administration”<sup>175</sup>.

Besides administrative integration and urban renovation, Bose (2002) points to two other important reforms that aimed at softening everyday boundaries, both of them largely advanced by the so-called international community, materialized by the Office of High Representative. The first was the introduction of common license plates for all BiH cars, replacing license plates carrying distinctive national(ist) symbols that immediately exposed one's ethnonational affiliation (p. 111). Bose argues that before common license plates became mandatory, in 1998, very few citizens would dare to cross the Bulevar either by car or by foot. For those who fought the war 'the other side' was especially a “no-go zone”: due to the small size of Mostar, people usually know who did what during the war. When the new law on license plates was approved, it significantly increased freedom of movement between the two sides, if not by pedestrians, at least by drivers (Bose, 2002: 111). Protected by the anonymity of their cars, people would feel safer to venture to the other side, if not at least to see from the window places that used to be dear to them and how they were being rebuilt. A second important measure was the adoption of a common Bosnian currency, the

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<sup>175</sup> Interview with Valentina Mindoljević. 6 May 2015, conducted at the Gymnasium building, UWC office, Mostar. Interview conducted in English.

convertible mark (KM), largely used on the East side but not in the West, where the Croat Kuna was the main currency until around 2000<sup>176</sup> (Bose, 2002: 112).

Integration, however, is not inscribed in a straightforward movement. Journalist Gojko Beric, writing to one of the most influential newspapers in BiH, “Oslobodjenje”, for example, gives a bleaker portrait of the square, that he sees less as ‘place of contact’ than a ‘peacetime battlefield’ in divided Mostar.

“(…) the Spanish Square has been and remains the most famous toponym of Muslim-Croatian distrust and aversion, a psychological line that is not carved into any plates at the Square, but that exists inside many heads from one side and the other of the river. The largest open space in a hellish conflict between Bosniaks and Croats, the Spanish Square became, after the war, their peacetime “battlefield”, a training ground for a power struggle of those who were not even born when the war started, but who are unable to break away from the war and chauvinism. On the Spanish Square hooligans and football fans, who are confronted as “ustashe” and “balijske”<sup>177</sup>, fight each other. The Square has repeatedly been the scene of such conflicts. Whenever the Croatian national football team loses an important game, its fans move to the Spanish Square and the Bulevar in a destructive stampede, knowing that there they will come across Bosniak peers (...) When Croatia lost to Brazil and Spain, Bosniak fans celebrated their victory as their own”.

#### 5.3.4. Polysemy of the lived space

Thus, the Bulevar is occasionally a place where nationalists and football fans go to fight<sup>178</sup>. In fact, physical violence or risk/fear/threat of physical violence

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<sup>176</sup> While Croat-control areas used the Kuna, in Republika Srpska, until 2000, Yugoslav Dinar was the most employed currency.

<sup>177</sup> « Ustaša », led by Ante Pavelić, is the Croatian fascist movement that nominally ruled the Independent State of Croatia during World War II. Among its aims, the Ustaša movement sought independence from Yugoslavia, and, once it was achieved, their goal was to create a ‘more purely Croatian state’. Hundreds of thousands of Serb, Jewish, Muslim and Gypsy inhabitants were brutally killed in such attempt. As for the Chetniks (see Chapter 3), this denomination was also mobilized during the war in the 1990s (Encyclopedia Britannica). « Balija », in the other hand, is a term used to denominate descendants of Turks of Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, and it is employed in a derogatory way to call anyone who is a Bosnian Muslim or consider themselves Bosniaks.

<sup>178</sup> Those antagonisms comprise not only national football teams as Beric mentions but also local football teams. The city has two main football teams, Velež and Zrinjski Mostar. This

have continued to produce the Bulevar as a (violent) boundary in Mostar. Stories about violent encounters abound, even though they have sensibly decreased, according to all my interlocutors' perception, to a point where nowadays they are rather rare. In 1997, dwellers from the East who dared crossing to the other side to visit graves of dear ones killed during the war in a roughly 'mixed' and improvised cemetery in the West side, could still be received by an angry mob who could actually kill and wound several people (Bose, 2002: 141). Nowadays, my informants mainly reported stories concerning verbal aggression<sup>179</sup>, public shaming (being forbidden to enter a nightclub, for example)<sup>180</sup> and, in few cases, also physical assaults<sup>181</sup>.

On the other hand, the Bulevar is also the stage for numerous art performances, and grassroots cultural initiatives, such as the Street Arts Festival in Mostar, as an attempt to occupy that public space and give new meanings to the area (Image).

Hence, nowadays the Bulevar represents less of a physical boundary, but rather a boundary created by economic, political, cultural and religious forces and manifested in everyday social practices (Palmberger, 2013: 545), while the Spanish Square, at the end of the Bulevar, might be enacted as a 'contact place' or a 'peacetime battlefield', depending on the groups and practices one pays attention

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last one was forbidden during Yugoslavia due to its *ustaši* symbols employed during the Second World War, but the club has been resurrected after the last war. Therefore, Zrinjski is considered the Croatian community's club, and it is represented by the mostly far-right Ultras – even though, as one of my interlocutors has remarked, nine out of 12 of its players are 'Serbs'. In the other hand, Velež is supported mainly by Bosniaks and the Red Army, a leftist group nostalgic of Yugoslavia and Tito, but also by some Croats who still cherish a particular idea of Mostar through time.

<sup>179</sup> Interview with Lejla Sisic, 6 April 2015. At Mostar Gymnasium Building, Mostar. Interview conducted in English. Interview with Valentina Mindoljević. 6 May 2015, conducted at the Gimnasium building, UWC office, Mostar. Interview conducted in English.

<sup>180</sup> Interview with Lejla Sisic, 6 May 2015. At Mostar Gymnasium Building, Mostar. Interview conducted in English

<sup>181</sup> Interview with Valentina Mindoljević. 6 May 2015, conducted at the Gymnasium building, UWC office, Mostar. Interview conducted in English.

to. Therefore, not only they can be understood as places in dispute, between, say, ‘Bosniaks’ and ‘Croats’, but they are also in dispute between those who wish to reconvert it into the pre-war meeting place that it once was, and those who keep using it to enact ethnonational and spatial boundaries within the city. It is thus paramount to pay attention to what people make-do of them (De Certeau, 1984 xii). In De Certeau’s words, “pedestrians, (walking in) the streets, fill them with the forests of their desires and goals (De Certeau, 1984: xxi).

As Hortum et al. (2005) points out, ‘interpreted along these lines, (a boundary) is not so much an object or a material artifact as a belief, an imagination that creates and shapes a world, a social reality’. Although I do ascribe materiality to the boundary (and also a legal-political-administrative complex system) that would disallow talking about boundaries in Mostar as ‘mere’ imagination, I often heard from my informants that “boundary is (only) in people’s head”. This phrase is also graphited on a bridge between the coach station and the city center/Bulevar: “*Granice su u vasoj glavi*” (Borders are in your heads). Since I do not adopt a subjectivist epistemology, I cannot agree with the widespread idea that ‘boundaries are only in people’s head’. Besides, this ‘invisible’ aspect of the boundary does not make it less powerful or less persuasive, as Semred Ismet, a retired man born and raised in Mostar, argues:

“One man said that there is an invisible border/boundary (*granica*) in Mostar. He said it would be better if there were a Berlin wall in the city. It would be much better, because the time would come when people would eventually destroy such wall. This invisible one is indestructible; it is so dangerous... It is invisible, and yet it exists.”<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Interview with Semred Ismet. 18 April 2015, at Boemi Kafana, Interview originally conducted in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzimusic.



Figure 31: *Granice su u vasoj glavi* – Borders are in your heads – May 2015

A 29-year-old woman, also born and raised in Mostar, suggests that boundaries exist only in some people's mind, but not others:

“There are borders/boundaries (*granica*) only in people's minds. For me, they do not exist. Mostar is one city for me, regardless how much politicians want to divide it, how much they poison our children telling them that Mostar should be divided... I was asked by him (pointing a guy from Sarajevo) on which side do I live, eastern or western, I could not figure because it is one city for me”<sup>183</sup>.

A contrast between the impalpability of the boundary and the concreteness of the wall is also mentioned by Bozidar, another pensioner from Mostar. When the boundary shifts from a mostly geographical and spatial dynamics to a rather epistemological one - or when the boundary becomes the prism through which

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<sup>183</sup> Interview with Jana Bantas. 19 April 2015. At Jead Vladovic's restaurant, Mostar Old Town. Interview originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzmusic.

people understand and live the city, organize the urban spaces and themselves and make distinctions from ‘right’ and ‘wrong’, ‘ours’ and ‘theirs’, it can become as powerful and operational as the materiality of walls made out of concrete.

“I cross... but mostly I am here... but that has nothing to do... I live in (Aleksa) Santica Street, that’s practically the borderline... The line is imaginative one... I feel that one is worse than Berlin wall...”<sup>184</sup>

Valentina gives a perspective of the boundary through time, arguing that this invisible boundary might be even more powerful than the war-time boundary because it relies on the control of the whole Mostari society:

“I came here in the last year of the war, and I had a permit I could go on both sides. Back THEN I felt ok, there were checkpoints, and people in one checkpoint, in the other checkpoint, and I felt pretty much not having problems passing from one side to the other. But after the war there was this invisible border, you know. And you had the feeling that people were sitting there watching who is passing. And there were many situations when..., like crazy football fans or somebody who needs a fight and sees you going across the line and you... there were many situations, before the city was integrated”<sup>185</sup>.

#### **5.4. Displacing boundaries at Boemi Kafana: alternative spatiotemporal categories**

As it must be clear now, nowadays, boundaries in Mostar operate differently from a typical state border. Here, no one is in the position of deciding on who can cross and who cannot (even though that has already been the case) and, thus, the hierarchizations and power relations produced by the experience of (trying to) crossing are not the main concern of my interlocutors. However, boundaries do entail other forms of categorization and help to destabilize the narrative of ethnonational divided city. The main argument that lies behind this position is that

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<sup>184</sup> Interview with Bozidar Krulj. 18 April 2015, at Boemi Kafana. Interview originally conducted in BSC, translated by Aida Hazimusic.

<sup>185</sup> Interview with Valentina Mindoljević. 6 May 2015, conducted at the Gymnasium building, UWC office, Mostar. Interview conducted in English.



boundaries might be (also) on people's heads, and that they are not enacted in the same way by everyone. Different categorizations and interpretations emerge as dwellers try to counter the homogenizing discourse that portrays the citizens of Mostar as 1) hostages of their nationalist leaders who fail to agree on a solution to the city's deadlocks or 2) the responsible themselves for divisions and the continuous reproduction of a divided city.

A categorization formulated by a high-school student from Mostar in an attempt to go beyond the narrative of the ethnonational divided city expresses the analysis made by many of my interlocutors. Invited by the television show "Perspektiva" to reflect on the challenges of Mostar and the politics of segregation that are constitutive of BiH's educational system, Ivo, a student from Mostar Old Gymnasium, argued that « Mostar is not divided into two sides as people think. Mostar is divided in those who stay in only one side, and those who cross to the other side »<sup>186</sup>. While his analysis still points towards a 'divided city' and does not deny that the Bulevar operates as a boundary, selecting and filtering those who crosses and does who do not, the primary political categories he extracts from his analysis are not ethnonational. Moreover, the divisions between those who cross and those who do not cannot be expressed or understood only on the spatial terms set by the 'divided city' narrative. Those practices that do not corroborate to attempts to perpetuate spatial divisions will be understood here as alternative spatial practices. Those alternative spatial practices are enacted regardless – or, sometimes, precisely in opposition – to the narrative of the divided city.

As it will be explored in the next section, those spatial practices are not only expressed through movement (crossing the Bulevar, for example), but also by disputing and reshifting meanings of places (by choosing the Bulevar/Spanish Square to socialize or stage a peace manifestation, for example) and, finally, by establishing new meeting places to resist a drive to homogenization and segregation in Mostar.

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<sup>186</sup> Perspektiva – Mostar - druga epizoda (2<sup>nd</sup> episode) Available at <http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/media/video/perspektiva-druga-epizoda-mostar/26849554.html> (00:21:11). In BSC, my translation



Figure 32: Boemi Kafana, Tito's photo – April 2015

One such place is Club 'Boemi'. Everything about the two-room *kafana*, which also opens its terrace during sunny days, has a wide symbolical appeal. It has been working since 14 February 2011, the day Mostar celebrates its liberation from German nazi forces during the Second World War, conducted by Tito<sup>187</sup>. Moreover, 'Boemi' is strategically located at Marshal Tito street, 600 meters East from the Bulevar. In fact, 'Tito' is the first figure to salute the visitors that enter this *kafana*: a portrait of the Yugoslavian 'eternal president', as some people still call him in BiH, is strategically hanged on the opposite wall from the door. Ran by an ex-local celebrity, Ismet *Gaga* Smerd, a former player at Velez Football Club on its « golden age », everything about 'Boemi' has a nostalgic aura. Besides Tito, many other references to the past hang on the wall: black and white Velez football team pictures, old images of the city of Mostar, drawings and paintings from artist friends and members. They coexist with a myriad of small and large objects that compose the scenario: books, an old radio, hats and caps, musical instruments, clocks and even two cages for birds. By entering the room, Gaga explains, « one revives the

<sup>187</sup> *Serbedzija i Sokolovic pocasni mostarski 'boemi'*. "Dnevni List", Mostar, 16 Feb. 2011. Ismet *Gaga* Semrt personal archive. My translation.

memories of hardworking people of this city who should not be forgotten, as well as the most valuable and well-known features of Mostar »<sup>188</sup>.



Figure 33 : Boemi kafana. Gaga and Ratko (first picture on the left) ; Serif (picture on the right) ; Gaga (above) shows a picture of Velez football club team where he was a football player – April 2015

<sup>188</sup> Ibidem

As it is common in most of the Kafanas in BiH, regular costumers comprise a vast majority of older man. 'Boemi' is not different when gender and generational categories are in question. Indeed, I have not seen one single woman at 'Boemi', but when I mentioned this fact to them, they acted at the same time disturbed and ashamed. Some said that their wives did attend festivities at 'Boemi'. Different from other kafanas, however, you need to be affiliated to 'Boemi' to enter there. Therefore, it works more as a club than as a traditional kafana.

Thus, 'Boemi' became a meeting place directed to pensioners who were usually involved in their youth with arts or sports - where they socialize, do poetry, discuss, revive memories, criticize and make plans, as Gaga explains. According to my visits to the place, I would add that everything is done while they drink coffee and rakija (a local brandy) and chain-smoke. Most especially, however, the place was created « to preserve Mostar's soul, or spirit (*sacuvati mostarski duh*)<sup>189</sup>», and that means not taking into account other people's ethnonationality or religion. They are proud of saying they celebrate there every kind of Holiday – Catholic Easter, Orthodox Easter, Eid, Christmas, but also non-religious ones such as Earth Day and First of May. Many are sons of 'mixed marriages' and 'mixed families', or have married someone from a different ethnonational group. For them, being Mostari is not only determined by one's place of birth, but it is rather a lifestyle, a philosophy. A true Mostari 'thinks wide open', is 'full of spirit' and is 'ready to make jokes, even about oneself'.

Some of the men gathered at 'Boemi' know each other since they were born<sup>190</sup>. They live in both sides of the Bulevar. According to the Ivo's classification presented in last section, they would define themselves among those who 'cross'. Even more importantly, some of them would not even say that they cross, since some of them reject the very existence of a boundary, as they explain:

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<sup>189</sup> Ibidem

<sup>190</sup> Interview with Ismet 'Gaga' Semrd. 17 September 2015 at Boemi Kafana. Interview conducted in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzimusic.

“Look...there is no physical borders/boundary (*granice*). I go through my city every day. I never think about borders/boundaries (*granice*). For me, it is one city. People feel the city as one. If we are talking about government and official things, we can talk about divisions. As far as it comes to the citizens, I do not have any problem. I do not go “there” (*There is no “there” and “here” for him*) There is an intention to make young people not go to other parts of the city, because if they (political elite) raise youth to lead a mutual life, their politics is doomed.”<sup>191</sup>

“It does not influence my life. I do not have such problem since I live in the western part and I work in the eastern side where I used to work before the war. It is normal for me. I do not feel the influence in my life. Other people do, whose family members got killed, maybe.”<sup>192</sup>

“I lived on the other side... now I repaired an apartment here, and I live here (East side)... I go to both sides... I do not have problems. There is more spirit here, though. All my friends are here. Let me tell you... For me, borders/boundaries (*granice*) do not exist! I have friends everywhere! My friends come here as well... It is not a problem! We do not mind about the border! Only sick people have problems with border/boundary (*granica*). (...) We, normal people, are not ballasted with the border (*granica*)! Only idiots are! You can sense those politicians are those who do that intentionally. *Divide and rule* - that is their motto!”<sup>193</sup>

Besides the categorization between ‘politicians’ and ‘ordinary people’, widely spread in everyday discourses in BiH as it has already been suggested in chapter 3, and ‘people who cross’ and ‘people who don’t cross’ presented earlier in this section, those men affiliated to ‘Boemi’ still divide the city in another way. ‘True Mostaris’, or ‘native mostaris’ are often contrasted to ‘newcomers’, more precisely, those who moved to Mostar during or after the war. ‘Newcomers’ are often a diffuse category that might comprise ‘rural people’ who fled their villages after a campaign of ethnic cleansing during the war, war profiteers and tycoons, and a new economic elite that benefited from market liberalization and privatization at the transition of socialist Yugoslavia to a market-oriented economy in BiH. Yet,

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<sup>191</sup> Interview with Semsudin Zlatko Serdarevic. 18 April 2015. At Boemi Kafana, Mostar. Interview originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzimusic.

<sup>192</sup> Interview with Serif Aljic. 18 April 2015. At Boemi Kafana, Mostar. Originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzimusic.

<sup>193</sup> Interview with Ismet ‘Gaga’ Semrd. 18 April 2015 at Boemi Kafana. Interview conducted in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzimusic

what they have in common is that they are often perceived as not sharing the same lifestyle of ‘true Mostaris’, associated with ideas of multiculturalism and openness.

The opposition between Mostaris’ and ‘newcomers’ reveals yet a different dynamic within the city that cannot be expressed only in spatial terms, and thus escape the widespread narrative of spatial divisions in East and West Mostar. In fact, it introduces a temporal reading of the city, and of the relations that produce urban space and everyday places. ‘Mostaris’, thus, are people who grew up in Mostar during Yugoslavia, widely associated today in BiH with the idea that the past was a better time than the present.

Such feeling is called Yugonostalgia, and can be broadly defined as “nostalgia for the fantasies associated with a country, the SFRY (...) No necessary relationship exists between the temporally and spatially fragmented memories of a Yugoslav past and the present desires, expressed by and through Yugonostalgic representations of this past. Yugonostalgia can be experienced culturally or individually, directly or indirectly (...) What different forms of Yugonostalgia share in common is a critical engagement, either implicitly or explicitly, with the symbolic geography of *disunity* that has dominated political discourse in former Yugoslavia for the last two decade”. (Lindstrom, 2005:233).

However, ‘Boemi’ is not moved only by ‘Yugonostalgia’, but mainly by a longing for a Mostari lifestyle that was forged during Yugoslavian years. In common, there is this critical engagement with the symbolic geography of disunity, not only of the region, but more specifically of Mostar. Unity, expressed in Yugoslavian times through the slogan “brotherhood and unity” is also defended here as a value cherished by ‘true natives’ of Mostar:

“(I cross) Every day, twice or three times a day! I do not mind! I feel the same everywhere! I have friends there, they come here... Those people are true natives in Mostars! We have many people from rural areas now. Division is their dream, they cherish it! We do not mind... no matter who you are, we accept you ... no matter who you are, we accept you, regardless if you are Serb, Croatian, Roma! Many Roma people come here or Albanians! All these people are very nice! They are not ballasted with religion... We were tapping eggs for Ester! Recently we had

both Orthodox and Catholic Easter and we tapped enough eggs for the whole year! Eid is to come! We celebrate it all, like one soul.”<sup>194</sup>

Gathered on the terrace in a hot Friday afternoon in September, Gaga and some other ‘Boemi’ point me to the fact that the *kafana* also became a meeting place from those who left Mostar during the war and never came back unless to spend summer in the city. Those “summer birds” find, in “Boemi”, not only their old friends but also the atmosphere of Mostar as they remember to be. They seem to be subjected to distinct social rules and spatial practices. As it happens with tourists, “summer birds” might engage in ‘crossing’ more easily. This is also a conclusion reached by the main character of Kulidzan’s (2010) short story. The plurality of temporal experiences of the city might lead to the perception or enactment of boundaries in alternative ways.

“Denis and I have agreed to meet by the flimsy, improvised suspension bridge that is now the Old Town’s main connection to the west. Unlike my Croatian friends who never left Mostar, Denis has no qualms about meeting me on the east side. Again, the segregation applies only to those who would stay in Mostar past the summer heat”<sup>195</sup>.

Socializing at ‘Boemi’ might thus also be understood as an alternative practice to Dayton’s spatial organization of Mostar along ethnonational lines, as a form to cope with a widespread feeling of displacement Mostari had and still have about the prevalent social order. War displaced people’s lives and, as one of my interlocutors highlighted, post-Dayton normalcy is not what it used to be: “I got back, and I know nothing is the way it used to be, and it’s hard for me to admit that it never will be again!”<sup>196</sup> Both for those who stayed through the war and for those who left and came back, the changes were so abrupt that many felt *from other planet and* wished they could go back not to a place, but to “*the time before the war*”. Lejla’s story, told by Calame and Chalesworth (2009) summarizes this feeling. Born in Mostar, Lejla left the city during the war, and upon her return, she realized

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<sup>194</sup> Interview with Ismet ‘Gaga’ Semrd. 18 April 2015 at Boemi Kafana. Interview conducted in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzmusic.

<sup>195</sup> Kulidzan, Nikolina (2010) “Across the River”, in: Spirit of Bosnia, Vol 5, No 4. Available at: <http://www.spiritofbosnia.org/volume-5-no-4-2010-october/across-the-river/>

<sup>196</sup> Interview with Aleksandra Savic. 18 April 2015. At Club Aleksa, Mostar. Interview originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzmusic.

that few of her friends and relatives had remained or returned. In the meantime, tens of thousands of Bosnian refugees from the countryside had occupied apartments in Mostar. Lejla's perception is that "there are more Mostarians all over the world than there are in Mostar itself" and she feels like she does not belong to this space-time anymore: "You belong to your memories... and I wouldn't say that I was not disappointed" (p. 107).

Shapiro (2013) argues that 'displacement' is often used in a negative valence (the term evokes an image of displaced persons who had their lives disrupted and forced into exile, who are still attached to their homelands, customs and memories and, therefore, have difficulty in adapting to their new homes). Indeed, this chapter employs this word in this sense many times, as it just did. However, 'displacement' may also be productive in the sense that "events that move bodies across juridical and sovereign boundaries provide a critical politics of identity/difference. To be displaced is to be invited (...) into a reorientation and reframing of one's sensible world" (Shapiro, 2013: 315-316). This productive valence is also employed here, for feeling displaced in their own city allowed my interlocutors to engage with urban space in a transformative way. In fact, displacement allowed them to displace ethnonational lines expressed spatially in Mostar. By inventing a place where 'real Mostari' can restore social practices as they were 'before', Gaga and the other members of Boemi displace spatial boundaries, drawing, nevertheless, temporal ones between "real Mostari" and "newcomers"; "before" and "after the war".

Displacing boundaries from a spatial to a temporal configuration entails a widespread feeling of displacement, even when one still lives in the exact same place where s/he was born. One woman who works in a nearby restaurant and was a refugee during the war, but went back to Mostar afterwards, describes a feeling that oscillates between placement and displacement. When she enumerates the good and bad aspects of living in Mostar, she points that "the good thing is that you live with your family; in your own place...A disadvantage is the fact that there is a new



social surrounding... the city and people are not the same as they used to be”<sup>197</sup>. She adds that her biggest dream is to resurrect people that used to live in Mostar ‘before’ and live for ten days with them. After that, she says she could die.

### 5.5. Inventing places: disrupting the ‘divided city’

From Boemi, we re-cross the Bulevar, direction Spanish Square, where the Old Gymnasium imposingly stands. As it was mentioned, education in post-Dayton BiH has been segregated among ethnonational lines. The Old Gymnasium, however, was the first (and among the few) public school in BiH to be reunified, in 2004. The international community and local politicians celebrated this reunification as the most important step towards a united city. In practice, however, the reunification means that Bosniak and Croat students attend the same school, which is under the same direction, but they do not attend the same classes and have separate instruction in all subject (Hromadzic, 2011: 275). The Dayton Peace Accords understand that every constituent people have the right to education on its own language (see “Lost in Translation” to a discussion on language and boundary-making), i.e., Bosnian, Croat or Serbian. Therefore, the Old Gymnasium runs two parallel curricula, one in “Croat language” and the other in “Bosnian language”<sup>198</sup>. Physical classrooms are thus distributed according to the curriculum you attend and the classroom sequence is Croat-Bosnian-Croat-Bosnian-Croat etc. That does not translate, however, into integration between students from one curriculum and another, nor between teachers, who despite having an ‘integrated’ teacher’s room, still reproduce spatial segregation practices by placing themselves on one side or another of a large oval wooden table, as Azra Hromadzic (2011: 275) notices.

In her article entitled “Bathroom Mixing: Youth Negotiate Democratization in Postconflict Bosnia and Herzegovina”, Hromadzic (2011), who spent nine

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<sup>197</sup> Interview with Anđelka Vucic. 19 April 2015. At Mostar Old Town. Interview originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzimusic

<sup>198</sup> According to the school’s website: <http://gimnazijamostar.ba/>

months doing ethnographic research in Mostar's Old Gymnasium analyses how, when and where the popular concept of 'mixing' (*miješanje*) takes place in this school. Official places for mixing inside the school exist, however, as Hromadzic explains, 'mixing' does not happen there:

"The spatial ethnicization of the school disciplines, the movement, orienting ethnically defined bodies to ethnically embedded territories. For instance, during the short breaks between classes, students (especially those who do not smoke) typically stand in ethnically homogenous groups in the hallway in front of their classroom, while occasionally gazing from a safe distance at the students of the different group standing in front of their classrooms (...). There are several spaces at the school that were designed by the IC (international community) and the school management as "open to all" and "shared". They include the library, the computer lab, the student council room, the teacher's room, and the student duty room. Even within these spaces, however, the ethnic distribution is preserved (...)" (p.275)

*Miješanje* (to mix or to mingle) is a word used in BiH to describe a form of public sociality (Ibidem, p. 277) especially in rural areas, where in the cities, the term stood up usually to refer "mixed marriages" or being a child of a mixed marriage. In Mostar's Old Gymnasium, that kind of sociality Hromadzic found only, and accidentally, in the bathrooms. During breaks, the bathrooms were resignified: students would gather to smoke illegally and mix. As Hromadzic frames it, private needs were suspended, while the public character of the bathroom was stressed. The bathroom remained, however, an improvised and marginalized place to meet (p. 279). The marginality of the bathroom and the lack of adult presence, in contrast to the official, ethnicized setting of the classroom, provided a place of experimentation and playfulness (p. 279). There, students not only got to meet their peers from the other curriculum, but also to experiment and challenge their own feelings of belonging. On multiple occasions, flirting was among these experimentations. Hromadzic says that a "Bosniak girl, who mentioned she would never date a Croat, gave a warm hug to a Croat student (...) she said that "superficial flirting [in the bathroom] is OK, but serious dating [outside the bathroom] is not". (p. 280)

Thus, the ephemeral character of the school bathroom as a place for 'mixing' provides the possibility to experiment outside of a more constraining

setting of the classroom. Practices of mixing in this marginalized space are, however, precarious and not enough to form lasting bonds among students from both curricula (p. 278). When the bell rings, the bathroom regains its original meanings and students go back to their “proper” place:

“The bell rings, signaling the end of recess. The bathroom empties of students who passionately gasp the last bits of smoke before they toss the butts in the sinks. The students go away, leaving me in the company of the grubby sponge and swollen butts (...) Is this stinking, stained, and dirty bathroom the only place in which mixing in Mostar happens these days?”

A few examples explored in this chapter will give a negative answer to Hromadzic’s question. However, it is paramount to make a distinction between places such as ‘Boemi’ and other venues, and places such as Spanish Square and, more still, the Old’s Gymnasium bathroom.

Indeed, what we observe, with ‘Boemi’, and a few other places such as club Aleksa and OKC Abrasevic<sup>199</sup>, is that they have been created with the very aim of allowing for ‘mixing’ in less marginalized settings. The purposes for creating such places seem to vary. While ‘Boemi’ argues that they have to preserve Mostar’s spirit and multicultural traditions, Aleksandra, the owner of Club Aleksa, located one block from the Bulevar towards the Easter side, says she opened the place “out of spite”<sup>200</sup>.

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<sup>199</sup> Youth Cultural Center Abrasevic, named after Kosta Abrasevic (1879-1898), a well-known poet for its socialist ideas. Located in Aleksa Santica Street, the club existed in pre-war time as RKUD (Workers’ Cultural Artistic Society), but it was almost completely destroyed during the war, due to its location. In 2005, the centre was officially reopened as a café and a multi-purpose concert hall. Through the years, OKC Abrasevic became an important place of contestation in Mostar, and has been working towards the reunification of the city. Besides promoting cultural events and even political protests, OKC Abrasevic also provides a much-needed meeting place for young people in Mostar. (Interview with Ronald Panza ; Carabelli, 2012: 180-182; Palmberger 2013; my own visits to OKC Abrasevic)

<sup>200</sup> Interview with Aleksandra Savic. 18 April 2015. At Club Aleksa, Mostar. Interview originally in BSC, translated by Aida Hadzimusic.

Aleksandra describes people like herself ‘a fallacy in the system’. According to her, “projects that promote multiculturalism are a fallacy in the system (after describing she has faced many obstacles to keep her projects running). It’s all planned, so that they destroy everything... they want to make a new history and destroy it all...”. She argues that this politics of transforming the city is an ‘ongoing war’, that is far more perfidy. According to her, “the goal is to destroy all symbols, traditions and marks of Mostar and everything that we are so proud of...”. In that ‘ongoing war’, thus, she describes her actions as political.

“(...) everyone comes here (meaning, Club Aleksa), regardless of the age, nationality or religion. Everyone is open and they come. That was our goal. We wanted to set up the culturally independent stage. You know...if you do not deal with politics, the politics will deal with you! Everything is about politics...Here, we wanted that anyone with good intentions feels good. With this concept, we brought together culture and catering industry. We have set up a culturally independent scene. Everyone is welcome, regardless of everything, material constraints for example... (...)”<sup>201</sup>

Aleksandra was born in Mostar, but, as a young girl, she left the city in 1992, when the war started. She recalls leaving the city “as a Mostari” and going back to Mostar, in 1999, also as a “Mostari”. She argues, however, that leaving as a ‘Mostari’ was easy, whereas returning as a “Mostari” in 1999 was hard, because that category did not exist anymore for people who left Mostar during the wartime. “It was as if we lost the right to be “Mostari”. Instead, they were called “returnees”, a designation she finds pejorative, since it always reminds her of war and conflict, and opposed those who stayed through the war against those who left<sup>202</sup>.

Lately, though, she feels like she is “losing the battle”. She also feels unwelcomed in the city as it is today, and alternates feeling as belonging to Mostar

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<sup>201</sup> Ibidem

<sup>202</sup> For more on the subject of inclusion and exclusion in BiH post-conflict society based on one’s experience during the war, please refer to Ullen, Sanda “Connecting Past and Future – Negotiating Present: Memories and Belongings in Post-War Sarajevo” In Past – Present – Fieldwork. Noura Kamal, Eva Kossner, Klaudia Rottenschlager (eds). Conference Report Vienna Anthropology Days, 2013.

with feeling displaced by the changed social surrounding of her city. She adds that, if she could decide, she would even give another name to the city (because Mostar, as she used to know, no longer exists). “Life in Mostar does not exist in a way. There is only defiance”.

The examples described above evince attempts not only to occupy urban spaces but also to produce much-needed meeting places in Mostar – places that counter the narrative of a divided city among ethnonational lines. In cases such as Aleksa (and also OKC Abrasevic), those moves are clearly defined as political. Aleksandra even employs a war-like vocabulary: in her view, the city is still experiencing an ongoing conflict, although the current victims are a certain Mostari lifestyle and the memory of a shared past. In the case of ‘Boemi’, the role they attribute to themselves of guardians of Mostari multicultural spirit – bearing in mind that the war and the subsequent division of the city represent its complete opposite – can also be easily defined as a struggle against segregation.

As such, places are sites within which disputes occur. They are shaped by those disputes through relations and practices, and also by quotidian negotiations around or within them (Massey, 2005). Inventing, (alternative) places, in the context we are looking at, might be as well understood as a political tool in a struggle to confer urban meanings and social and spatial practices within the city.

In chapter 3, we analyzed how taxi drivers in Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo employed ‘*tactics*’ to displace boundaries and enact different spatial practices than the ones authorized by administrations both in the Federation and in Republika Srpska. “Tactic”, as employed by De Certeau (1984), is “a calculus which cannot count on (...) a spatial or institutional localization (...). The place of a tactic belongs to the other. A tactic insinuates itself into the other’s place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance (...) because it does not have a place, a tactic depends on time” (xix). As for Sarajevo taxi driver practices, bathroom mixing might also be interpreted as a tactic. It relies on seized opportunities, and it depends on time to make use of the Mostar’s Gymnasium bathroom as a (only temporary) meeting place. Out of these particular times, the bathroom comes back to its primary meanings and uses.

On the other hand, we have what De Certeau frames as “strategy”. Whereas tactics are able only to manipulate and divert spaces, strategy, inversely, ‘produces, tabulates and imposes’ spaces. It is a triumph of place over time (xix). Differently from the never fully fulfilled seized opportunities that characterize tactics, strategies works on consolidating spatial relations, from which it prepares future expansions, becoming less susceptible to vulnerabilities. As such, strategy operates taking a precise temporal formation, such as the war expressed in Mostar’s urban environment, and make it spatial (De Certeau, 1984:29-30), consolidating the division of the city in “West” and “East”, “this” and “that” side, “ours” and “theirs”.

Initiatives such as “Boemi”, “Aleksa” and “OKC Abresevic” are harder to be framed according to De Certeau’s categorization of strategy and tactics. While the three projects are ways of using and subverting the constraining order in place, they do so by creating places themselves. Thus, they cannot be considered tactics, since they consolidate places within and against the wider order. I argue that they cannot, nevertheless, be considered strategies because the very appropriation and production of meeting spaces aims at disrupting prevalent spatial practices.

‘Negotiation’ is a better concept to be employed. As such, following Massey (2005), I understand the urban space, represented here by Mostar, as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist. Moreover, not only they coexist, but they relate to each other (or do not relate, the absences are also important here). Space is thus the product of those relations (and those absences), which, in turn, are embedded in material practices and, therefore, always in the process of being made. That is what Massey calls ‘stories-so-far’, to remind us that space is always space-time and here, is always here-now (p. 139).

Taking into account the move proposed by Massey, we can reconceptualize our ‘everyday places’, being them the Bulevar, Spanish Square, Boemi Kafana, Mostar Gymnasium and still many others. For Massey, places are spaces to which meaning has been ascribed (p. 183). Moreover, what is particular to places is its ‘throwntogetherness’ (p. 140), and the negotiations that emerge from this condition. As such, there can be no assumption on a pre-given coherence to a place, or even a pre-given collective identity. Rather, the throwntogetherness of the place requires negotiation (p. 141).

Places also need invention, Massey suggests. Looking at Mostar, we might add that it can also be (re)inventions, in the sense of seeking to restore old meanings and practices, as for example, (re)making the Bulevar and the Spanish Square in social meeting-point (instead of disputing practices and meanings that produce those places as a ‘peacetime battlefield’, or, simply, in uninteresting, avoidable empty spaces).

## **5.6. Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have argued that those negotiations do not occur exclusively along and through ethnonational lines, as a consolidated narrative of Mostar as the ultimate case of divided city would suggest. Temporal readings of the city, and one’s place in the city provide new grounds for negotiation. Displacement and placement are not only expressed spatially, they are rather spatiotemporal ascriptions around which those negotiations turn. While boundaries (and, above all, the Bulevar-boundary) have entailed a massive geographical displacement of Mostar’s population and provoked a widespread feeling of spatiotemporal displacement even among those who have stayed in Mostar, we perceive that many dwellers try to be placed again exactly by displacing a currently rather invisible boundary(ies).

Searching for boundary(ies) and its meanings in post-Dayton Mostar, I came across a city that can be read not only as a story-so-far, but as stories-so-far, where the ‘divided city’ is not statically spatially divided, but where relations and disputes undergo claims of the urban space and its everyday places.

In the next chapter, I will analyze how everyday places in the city of Sarajevo are also a site in which demarcations such as local and international and public and private are enacted and reshifted.

## 6

**‘Meeting at BBI’ (or, on shopping malls, the ‘local’ and the ‘international’)**

Figure 34

**6.1****Introduction**

In this chapter, we look into the city of Sarajevo in order to examine how boundaries between the ‘local’ and the ‘international’ are practised, enacted or dissolved in the urban everyday. The Dayton Peace Agreement reserved a very important place to the ‘international community’ in Bosnia and Herzegovina, translated into key administrative positions, the creation of a High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina and military missions led by NATO and EUFOR (European Union Forces). The afflux of dozens of thousands of ‘peacebuilders’, or ‘internationals’, as they referred to themselves in Bosnia and Herzegovina, combined with the opening of the markets to foreign investment, just after the



signature of the Dayton Peace Agreement, gave BiH the title of ‘the world capital of interventionism’ (Jenkins “NYT” apud Chandler, 2000:2).

Here, however, I look at the everyday – and, more specifically, the shopping mall BBI Centar and its square, in order to challenge clear-cut distinctions between the ‘local’ and the ‘international’ and how they are produced. Looking at ‘BBI’ (which here represents both the mall and the square) helps us to take a transversal intake of the dynamics that take place there, rather than reproducing a ‘top-down’ approach in which we would depict a ‘local Bosnia’ waiting for (or suffering) an ‘international intervention’. Instead, I argue that what we understand as the international presence is already constitutive of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

By unpacking ‘BBI’, thus, we challenge romanticized images about the ‘local’ being “constructed out of an introverted, inward-looking history based on delving into the past for internalized origins” (Massey: 1994). Rather, the ‘local’ is produced beyond its perceived boundaries. Moreover, it is already a confluence of multiple trajectories, and also the absences, mismatches and exclusions produced by those relations. At the same time, the ‘international’ is also localized, in the sense that it is produced somewhere.

By looking at everyday places, we conclude that those boundaries are not fixed nor stable: they are enacted and, as such, are reinforced or fade away accordingly to temporality and the places where they are being produced (and that they produce). A shopping mall may thus be a place where boundaries of the national and the international are challenged.

## 6.2 Meeting points

December, 2014. I was back in Sarajevo after more than five years, and for the first time as a researcher. A few days before my arrival, I had asked Andrea Peres, another Brazilian researcher who had written her thesis on war “fixers”, for a few contacts, even if only one name, who I could call once I arrived there. And

that is how I met Edin<sup>203</sup> on my second day in the city, a journalist on his late 30s who had joined the forces that defended Sarajevo during the siege. It was a foggy and snowy morning, and he set the meeting “at BBI Centar”. “Meeting at BBI Centar”, of course, does not mean to meet someone *inside* the modern-looking glass building and its 43,000 square meters divided among retail stores, offices, restaurants, parking and other services. “Meeting at BBI”, as dwellers make it short, means to meet at the square in front of the shopping mall.

To set up a meeting at a ‘public’ space, rather than directly at, say, a café, a restaurant, a movie theatre, a store (depending on the reasons why you are meeting that person), is a popular everyday practice in Sarajevo. Generally, the idea is that you meet at a certain place, talk a little, and walk together until the final destination (or, sometimes, just wander around, which is also quite common). From my experience, and at least in what central Sarajevo is concerned, those “meeting points” are always the same, and they reveal a lot about the organization of the city.




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<sup>203</sup> This is not his real name.



Figure 35: Four meeting points: Latin Bridge, the Eternal Flame, the Cathedral and BBI.

One of them is the Latin Bridge (*Latinska ćuprija*), the oldest bridge in the city, dating from the Ottoman Empire<sup>204</sup>. From 1918 to 1992, it changed its name to Principov most, in honor of Gavrilo Princip, for it was on its northern end that he murdered Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, in 1914. Due to the politics of renaming streets, buildings, bridges and other places that we have already discussed on Chapter Three, the bridge was then renamed Latin Bridge, although in everyday life people employ both names when making reference to it. Another meeting point is the Catholic Cathedral, built from 1884 to 1887 under Austro-Hungarian rule, frequently considered as the most central point of Sarajevo. A third common meeting point is the Eternal Flame (*Vječna Vatra*), a monument to all victims of World War II in the city and to all those who help to liberate it from Nazi occupation, located on a sidewalk triangle where one of the city's main street, *Maršala Tita* (*Marshall Tito*), collides with the main pedestrian area of the city.

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<sup>204</sup> The actual date of its construction is not a consensus, but it is estimated that it existed already in 1541.

And, finally, there is BBI square, where I was supposed to meet Edin that winter morning.

Putting all those meeting places together, from the first to the last, would provide for a quick History class about the city. Sarajevo is a ‘longitudinal’ city, squeezed by mountains and stretching, historically, from East to West. Moreover, Sarajevo is often described not as a city palimpsest, with multiple layers overwriting each other; but as a city of accretion, with its historical parts strikingly well lined up in a chronological array (Badescu, 2014:15). From the first to the last ‘meeting point’, passing by the second and the third, there is only 1.5 kilometer, where one has the impression to elapse almost five centuries. However, this is only an impression. Massey (2005) has already warned us about the risks of treating space as a flat surface through which we go from here to there. The ‘presentness’ of the horizontality of space “is a product of a multitude of histories whose resonances are still there, if we would but see them, and which sometimes catch us with full force unawares” (p.118). Thus, Massey completes, we are not simply talking about “a collage of historical periods” (the Ottoman area abutting at the Habsburg zone) but of something at the same time more temporal and mobile. “It is not just buried histories at issue here, but histories still being made, now” (Ibidem).

While walking through those streets and explaining stories connected to buildings and places, Edin acknowledges that and tell me: “Some people ask me to explain just about the recent war, others want me to explain before, or after. It is impossible to separate things. They are all connected. Past and present are intermingled”<sup>205</sup>. Thus, in addition to Massey’s argument that even ‘old’ places are still being produced today (think about the Latin/Principov Bridge, all the disputes that surround it in terms of naming it which expresses and entails different ways of retelling and experiencing the city; all the “mutual indifferences and outright antagonisms of such a myriad of trajectories” [Massey, 2005: 239]), all those stories are strongly connected to each other and they are producing those places now.

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<sup>205</sup> Field Notes, 10 December 2014.

Edin, as many dwellers of Sarajevo, will easily tell the story about all those encounters, that is also the story about BiH and its capital. Encounters between great Empires, our History books tell us, and strong ideologies. Encounters between different people, ethnicities or religions (as if they existed as bounded groups before those very encounters). And the questions that come to mind are the questions that arise when we look to cities in general: what and where is the ‘local’ in Sarajevo?

An idealized notion of the ‘local’ carries with itself romanticized claims about authenticity related to very solid groundedness and deep, immobile roots. More important, this sense of local is based on the idea that it “is constructed out of an introverted, inward-looking history based on delving into the past for internalized origins” (Massey: 1994). The local (and local places) is therefore conceived mainly as a closed container composed by an essentialist, unique and authentic culture – and that which is in the outside may represent as a source of threat to this unspoiled tradition. This is a narrative, however powerful, that does not survive an empirical examination. Sarajevo’s very name derives from the Turkish word “saray”, meaning “palace” or “government office”, while the final portion of the name is more disputed: some linguists claim that it derives from the Turkish “ovasi” – Saray Ovasi – “the plains around the palace” (Donia: 2006), while others state that it comes from the widespread Slavic suffix “evo”, used to designate the name of places. Moreover, as it is the case of ‘Kilburn’<sup>206</sup> for Massey (1994), it would have been impossible to even think about Sarajevo without bringing into play a considerable amount of the world History, disputes and influences, to a point where it is possible to argue that this city and the characteristics that makes it unique are already a hybrid. A ‘local’ place, thus, that is also produced beyond its perceived boundaries.

However, recent movements have yet changed the city space and conceptions of ‘the local’ and also ‘the international’. It is precisely about those particular reconfigurations that have shaped a post-Dayton Sarajevo and particular notions of the ‘local’ and the ‘international’ that we will discuss in the next sections.

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<sup>206</sup> A neighborhood in London that Massey uses to draw these parallels.

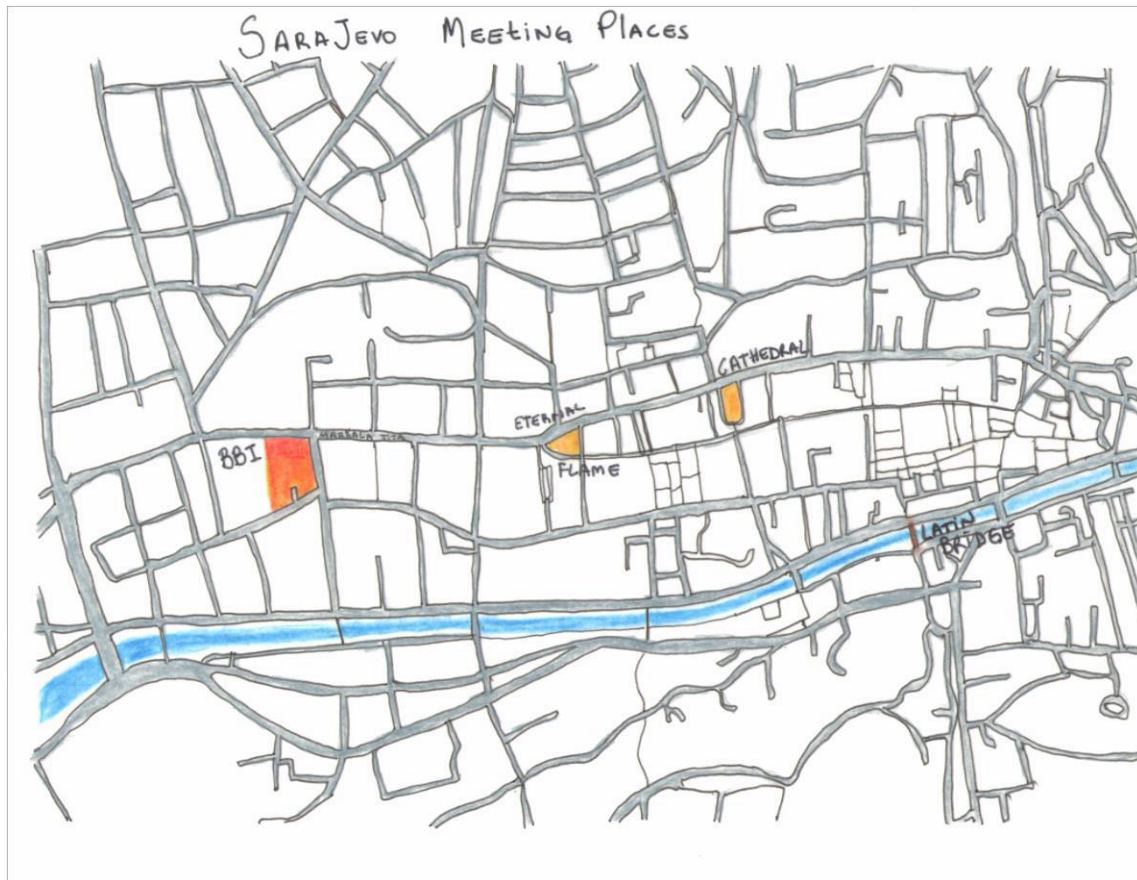


Figure 36

### 6.3 (Re)inventing the square

Let's go back to the square in front of BBI. If one lives in Sarajevo, chances are that one will cross it frequently. That one will stop by to check on book fairs or season markets that take place there regularly. That one will walk through it a lot, or pass it by car, bus or tram, and that one will have several meetings scheduled there, even if to continue walking or driving to other parts of the city. The square will quickly fall into the category of an 'everyday place' and, as such, it will pass as rather unnoticed and unquestioned, as if it has ever been there and as if it represented some sort of neutral place. In this section, however, the aim is to emphasize precisely how the square is conceived by the myriads of trajectories that

collide into each other – or are the articulations between them – under categories such as the local and the international, the public and the private.

It does not take much effort to denaturalize *Trg Djeci Sarajeva*, as the square has been named (Square of Children of Sarajevo). Most inhabitants of the city may remember about the time it did not exist, for it was concluded only in 2009. From 1992 to the official inauguration, the square had been mainly deserted, haunted by the debris of the first department store in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Robna Kuća Unima, which had been completely burnt down in the first year of the siege. The department store, popularly called ‘Sarajka’, and its square, named, then, ‘October Square’ were just two ‘casualties’ among a large campaign to destroy Sarajevo (and other cities) urban tissue.

Indeed, the 1990s seige of Sarajevo had a deep impact in its cityscape. The military campaign against the city was known for purposely aiming at the urban infrastructure. According to a report elaborated by the United Nations Commission of Experts, from 1994<sup>207</sup>, the shelling « has destroyed over 10,000 apartments and damaged over 100,000 others. Of the other buildings in the city, 23 per cent have been reported as seriously damaged, 64 per cent as partially damaged and 10 per cent as slightly damaged ». Moreover, specifically protected targets such as hospitals, medical complexes and medical facilities were attacked. The National Museum, the National Library, media and communication centres, the main post office, the bazaar area of the Old Town, Olympic sites, several hotels and university buildings, schools, the public transportaton network, food markets, the Presidency building; the Parliament; and the Sarajevo Courthouse, the airport, among many others were also partially or completely destroyed (Ibidem).

This deliberated destruction of the built environment has been conceptualized as “urbicide” by former Belgrade mayor Bodgan Bogdanovic, who suggested that the siege was a “deliberate targeting of urban life and cosmopolitanism which Sarajevo symbolized” (Badescu, 2014: 17). Coward (2008)

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Available at  
<https://web.archive.org/web/20010222115037/http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/comexpert/ANX/VI-01.htm#1.E>



reframed the concept arguing that “urbicide” ultimately involved the “destruction of buildings as a condition of possibility of being-with-others” (p.14). For Coward, “to destroy a building is, thus, to destroy that which comprises the condition of possibility of a community in the context of which individuated modes of existence are possible” (Coward, 2008:12).

In the case of *Sarajka* and its October Square, the destruction did not only affect Sarajevo’s “temple of consumerism”, which had been inaugurated in the 1970’s with the promise to put the city in pair with other Yugoslavian republic centers (Zatric and Zatric, 2014:56) amidst a fast economic growth and the strengthening of the middle class, but also, as Coward mentions, the possibility of ‘being-with-others’, at least in that particular place.

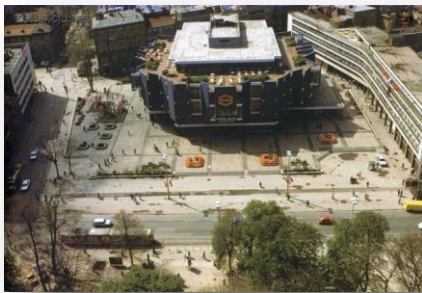


Figure 37: (Credit : BBI Centar website) Sarajka before and after the war



*Sarajka* evokes hybrid memories that encompass a broad range of emotions, activities and disputes. It was, as it was said, a « temple of consumerism » (Zatric and Zatric, 2014:56), where one could find « everything (...) from needles and thread to televisions, latest computers and Olympic skis»<sup>208</sup>. It was built despite protests by artists and architects (the first demanded a significant part of the square to be left open and unbuilt, while the building should « bear a public function, (such as) a library, a youth club, a reading room, a centre of international youth gathering, (or) a leisure center » (ibidem). The later publicity call the local government to leave the area unbuilt, as a “present to the citizen of Sarajevo in the form of a public square” (Ibidem). The department store was built in an area that carried particular emotional attachment for many, as Bosnian author Miljenko Jergović write in a short story named “Robna Kuća” (Department Store):

“(at that time), *Sarajlije* (Sarajevans) couldn’t still get used to the new department store, named Unima, because it had destroyed old *Istrakavana* and some other houses, probably residential, that this story does not recall. Unima has been built during more than a year, half of Tito Street was filled with mud, and when it finally sprouted, in blue and blocks, people were in a typical Sarajevo mood of skeptical fascination”<sup>209</sup>.

The construction of ‘Sarajka’, therefore, had been a source of dispute. In order to make place to this project, many other projects, and places that were part of the city’s everyday, were destroyed. In 1964, they started to be torn apart and it was only on April 6 1975, the day of the city of Sarajevo, that ‘*Sarajka*’ and October Square were inaugurated. People would spend time there for many other reasons besides shopping. The restaurant at the very top was particularly popular

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<sup>208</sup> Raif Čehajić, “Robna Kuća Sarajka”, 07.12.2011, published at <http://www.jergovic.com/ajfelov-most/robna-kuca-%E2%80%9Dsarajka%E2%80%9D/> Free translation

<sup>209</sup> Jergović (1998), “Roba Kuća”. Free translation. *Dani*, No 80, 20 July.

Available at <https://www.bhdani.ba/portarhiva-67-281/80/citanka80.htm> Free translation

for celebrating graduations and Yugoslavian holidays. According to Jergović, however, the building went from cherished to despise in a matter of few years:

“When, in the 1980s Unima changed its name to Magros, it was already an ugly, decadent socialist building that no one loved and which no one visited with the feeling of dedicated greatness. Unima has forever remained Unima. And this – forever – will last as long as Sarajlije lasts”<sup>210</sup>.

And then it came the siege, the fire, and Sarajka was reduced to its skeleton. Like many buildings in a war-ravaged city going through political and economic transitions, ‘Sarajka’ became a monument to an obsolete regime, displaced by history and destroyed by war. For fourteen years after the war ‘Sarajka’ stood « as a symbol of a bygone era, only to disappear forever at the beginning of the new millennium when engineers were given the task of constructing a modern shopping center to herald the coming of a new era », suggests a local guide book<sup>211</sup>. Bosnian writer Raif Čehajić shows how this “sense of place” was still very much present, even if, as Jergović argues, “no one loved” the department store any longer. In his short story, Čehajić is going to a popular kafana at the other side of Tito Street when he sees Sarajka being demolished:

« While watching the demolition of the walls, I feel a pain in my chest. I try to cough to ease the discomfort, but I cannot (...) In half an hour they are able to clean one side of the first floor of the building in front of which there was a chessboard, where retired men spent the whole time until autumn while wisely moving the chess pieces. (...) As walls in Sarajka disappears one by one, my memories of the events that happened there are reinforced. How many hours spent in the « Zlatni Restaurant » on the top floor of the building ? And what about the snowflake painted in front of « Sarajka » ? Oh, it showed up on the floor at the time of the Sarajevo Winter Olympics in 1984, and it never stopped fighting until the last day. Not even the bearded guys uphill shelling it every day during the war time (1992-1995), have managed to destroy it. It was indeed damaged, but it stood up until this summer, a bit sadly, as one of the memories of the Olympic Games held in this city long ago. As if it was predicting its own death and the death of « Sarajka ». And so, the Snowflake lived to be 21 years old, and « Sarajka », after less than three and a half decades disappears in the ashes of its own ruins”<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> Ibidem

<sup>211</sup> ‘Destination Sarajevo’. Available at: <http://sarajevo.travel/en/text/from-sarajka-to-bbi-centar/56>

<sup>212</sup> Raif Čehajić, “Robna Kuća Sarajka”, 07.12.2011, published at <http://www.jergovic.com/ajfelov-most/robna-kuca->

The snowflake on the floor that Čehajić mentions is both a product and reminder of a space-time where Sarajevo was considered a ‘host’ to the international community and of an international event, rather than a ‘recipient’ of international aid or an ‘abnormal’ locality that needs to be readdressed following international standards. The perception of the place Sarajevo (and BiH) occupies in the world has thus been through a great transformation and invokes and produces scalar and cartographic imaginaries. By then, Sarajevo was considered, as a common sense, a place where the international was being produced.



Figure 38: One of the Olympic Snowflakes, this one painted at Sarajevo main pedestrian street.

« Sarajevo in the eighties was a beautiful place to be young – I know because I was young then. I remember linden trees blooming as if they were never to bloom again, producing a smell I can feel in my nostrils now. The boys were handsome, the girls beautiful, the sports teams successful, the bands good, the street felt as soft as a Persian carpet, and the Winter Olympic made everyone feel that we were in the center of the world » (Hemon, 2002 49)

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[%E2%80%9Dsarajka%E2%80%9D/](#) Free translation. Thanks to Azra Polimac for her help.

During and after the war, however, Sarajevo started to being perceived less as a place where the international is produced than as a local place in which the international intervenes and interferes (and where local agency is considered much more limited). The increasing on foreign investment, driven by policies of privatization adopted in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina, influenced on that perception. What was left of ‘Sarajka’ and October Square – until then, owned by the state - was sold to private investors, along with other public owned buildings and terrains in BiH’s capital. Those public buildings and companies – stagnant or destroyed – became important sites in which articulations of local and international were readressed. As such, the Agency for Privatisation of the Sarejevo Canton sold ‘Sarajka’ in 2002 to BBI, a massive business corporation with roots in the Arabic peninsula. More precisely, the BBI Centar is the property of BBI Real State, a company composed by the Islamic Development Bank (with 53,94% of the capital), Abu Dhabi Islamic Bank (32,27%), Dubai Islamic Bank (13,66%) and Bosna Bank International (BBI) (0.03%)<sup>213</sup>.

Besides the BBI Centar itself, which will be analysed with more details in the next section, BBI Real State also owns the square Children of Sarajevo. Although the square has thus been officially privatized, it has also became one of the crucial nodes of Sarajevo’s public life, hosting from concerts and screenings of football games to the main city’s New Year celebration, which is regularly attended by the city’s mayor. BBI Centar website suggests that this was a planned move:

“Once the shopping fever is over and you wish to have some good time outside, the square in front of the BBI Center comprising an area of around 5.500 m<sup>2</sup>, is the perfect opportunity for an open air relaxation, since it was completely furnished with the urban accessories (sitting benches, flower pots, illumination, fountain). The square is a meeting place of the citizens of Sarajevo where, in organization of the BBI Center, artistic performances, kids playgroups and workshops, concerts, promotions, sports competitions and like, take place<sup>214</sup>”.

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<sup>213</sup> According to BBI official website, available at [http://www.bbicentar.ba/eng/about\\_us.html](http://www.bbicentar.ba/eng/about_us.html)

<sup>214</sup> According to BBI official website, available at [www.bbicentar.ba/eng/about\\_us.html](http://www.bbicentar.ba/eng/about_us.html)

All those events are regulated by BBI, which requires that organizers hire a particular security agency, provides and charge for electricity and establish other standards (and fine organizers in case they do not comply)<sup>215</sup>. BBI also is the one to decide which events will take place and which will not. Besides, BBI also selects what will be shown on the big screen installed on the square and the criteria are not necessarily based on ‘public interest’. During Radovan Karadžić<sup>216</sup>’s trial by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), on March 2016, for example, BBI management has finally decided not to show the verdict live, a decision that BBC has disdained: “Perhaps it was concluded that unlike, say, Bosnia’s first appearance in the World Cup, a genocide trial was unlikely to put shoppers in a feel-good, spending mood”<sup>217</sup>.



Figure 39: BBI and the square (Credit: BBI website)

<sup>215</sup> Ibidem

<sup>216</sup> President of Republika Srpska during the war and found guilty of genocide by the ICTY.

<sup>217</sup> Guy Delauney, “Mixed Reaction to Radovan Karadzic verdict in Bosnia” 24 March 2016. Available at [www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35897367](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35897367)

If places are collections of stories-so-far, articulations within a broader geometry of power, then we can think of this square as a product of intersections, encounters (but also mismatches), connections (but also disconnections) and relations that take place there, but also the exclusions that it produces (Massey, 2005: 190). To look at this square is to look at projects of modernization carried in different times by different actors with different aims (and, at the same time, the defeat of other projects, which asked for a bigger square or a social character for that area). It is also to understand processes of privatization of public spaces, buildings and companies in the post-Dayton city – which did not entail as much claims of ‘local’ and ‘international’ divides, but was organized mainly in terms of those who benefited from this process and those who did not (it is important to mention, here, that ‘public space’ is definitely not necessarily less regulated). To look at the square is also to observe the materialization of foreign investment combined with the interest of so-called local groups (however big or small they might be). It is also the reminder of how claims around the local and the international in this geometry of power are constantly changing: the Olympic snowflake was repainted on the square, maybe as a reminder that Sarajevo is also a place where the international is produced (and not only a place where the international intervenes). It is still there.

However, to look at this square is also to try to understand what people make-do of it in the everyday. Although BBI suggests that the square should be used by consumers “once the shopping fever is over”, many people claim the square by using it in alternative ways and enacting it as a meeting point that has little to do with consumerism itself. This is particularly clear at night, when the shopping mall is already closed but (usually young) people gather there before moving to pubs or parties, or for a last chat before heading home. Moreover, although the square is not a particular target or meeting point for political protests or football supporter’s demonstrations, it does become eventually a place of protest and contestation when protesters march towards the nearby presidential building, or when supporters take over Marshall Tito’s street right in front of it. In addition, some initiatives organized in the square have little to do with the shopping mall behind the square. In the

second half of 2015, for example, when numerous refugees were taking the so-called “Balkan route”, it was at that square that aid organizations collected and organized support, food and clothes items to take to refugees in Serbia.

Moreover, people passing through the square, or spending time there, frequently enter the BBI Centar building not to shop or to consume, but to conduct a yet more trivial activity: use the bathroom. In a poll conducted by Tufek-Memisevic (2014), 30% of the people who said to visit BBI Centar affirmed the visit motivation was to use the bathroom (a higher percentage than those who listed as motivations ‘browsing, window shopping’ – 25% - and ‘shopping for needs; groceries and domestic supplies’ – 20%). Yet, the building architecture could dissuade some people, since there is no bathroom on the ground floor, only at the first floor<sup>218</sup>. The elevators are very slow and often full, and the escalators run on the opposite side of the floor where the bathroom is located. There is, however, a possibility to use the emergency stairs, which is the fastest way to accede to the bathroom from someone who is on the square.

The fact that BBI Centar is also used as an access to ‘public toilet’ is very telling of how this shopping mall, deemed by many as a « generic imported program of BBI » (Zatrac and Zatrac, 2014), which “copies the models from some other cities that do not adjust Sarajevo, (...) tailored for those people who do not live here and that do not know or are not aware of the location of this space” (Hamidovic apud Zatric and Zatric, 2014:57), has slipped in the everyday of the city.

## 6.4

### The politics behind ‘non-places’

BBI Center was only the first shopping malls out of four, which would be built in a matter of five years and within a perimeter of two kilometers in Sarajevo.

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<sup>218</sup> There used to be a bathroom in the ground floor, but it is not clear the reasons why it was removed to the first floor. A high number of dwellers (and not only costumers) using it might be one reason.

After BBI, Alta center, owned by an American company, opened in 2010, and the ‘Croatian’ Importanne, also opened in the same year a few meters from there. The last one was Sarajevo City Center, which opened in 2014, almost in front of Alta. At the same time that Annex 9 of the Dayton Peace Agreement, which deals with Bosnia and Herzegovina Public Corporations from Yugoslavia times, opened the way to a large-scale process of privatization, combined with the necessity to rebuilt buildings and infrastructures that were destroyed by the war. This shopping mall phenomenom, thought, may not be understood as something unevitable, for what gets to be rebuilt, what stays destroyed and what is reconfigured in such circumstances are political decisions. In Sarajevo, these decisions were made around disputing claims involving the inclusivity and exclusivity of those projects. Those claims, I will argue in this section, are less about perceived international and local boundaries or ethnonational boundaries, and more around socioeconomic categories (even though those sometimes get conflated).

As for BBI Centar, the construction of other shopping malls in Sarajevo is also sources of dispute and several aspects of those malls (location, architecture, project, price, the concept of shopping malls itself) have been questioned by individuals and organized groups<sup>219</sup>. Common arguments (not always made by the same people and not necessarily cohesive among them) imply that 1) Bosnia and Herzegovina is a country where unemployment is extremely high (ranging around 40%, the highest official rate in Europe) and its citizens cannot afford the goods offered at those malls<sup>220</sup>; 2) those spaces should be used to build factories (or other activities that create more jobs) or to social purposes<sup>221</sup>; 3) public space is shrinking and has being sold to international private companies which do not respect any form of space planning in the city (Borelli, 2012); 4) thus shopping malls are either too big for the terrain they occupy (BBI structure has surpassed the surface area of

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<sup>219</sup> Such as the group Gradologija, which maps destroyed buildings in Sarajevo and suggest new uses for them. Available here: <http://www.gradologija.ba/>

<sup>220</sup> See, for example, “Sarajevo, the Shopping Centres Bloom”, Centro Balcani e Caucaso, <http://www.balcanicaucaso.org/eng/Areas/Bosnia-Herzegovina/Sarajevo-the-shopping-centres-bloom-150432>

<sup>221</sup> Ibidem



Sarajka by 300%) or they interfere in a negative way on the city (Sarajevo City Center faces a lawsuit moved by a community centre because of light pollution produced by giant neon advertisements<sup>222</sup>).



Figure 40: Sarajevo City Center and its neon lights (on the left and below).

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<sup>222</sup> See: Wealthy Arabs Buy Sarajevo, In: <http://www.mo.be/en/report/wealthy-arabs-buy-sarajevo>



Figure 41: Alta mall – the white building on the right of the church, reflected on Sarajevo City Center mall

On the other hand, those shopping malls present themselves as « shopping galleries», where Sarajljie can enjoy “shared spaces, in the absence of public funding for the creation of new public spaces” (Lamphere-Englund, 2015: 23). There are, therefore, claims about inclusivity made by the management staff of those shopping malls. BBI Centar, for example, was inaugurated on 6 April (2009),

a symbolic date since it is the day of the city of Sarajevo. The architect who project it announced that he wanted to ‘give something beautiful to Sarajevo’ (Zatrac and Zatrac, 2014; 57). Sarajevo City Center, a 40,000 square meters shopping mall opened in 2014 by the group Al Shiddi, from Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, just one kilometer away from the BBI Centar, is another example. Al Shiddi Group, which controls, Sarajevo City Center, decided to include the word ‘Sarajevo’ on the mall’s name to express its “immense respect for this country and its capital ». By associating the mall’s name to the city, Al Shiddi Group argues, « citizens were assured that this new landmark is a present that is being built just for them »<sup>223</sup>.

The inauguration of Sarajevo City Center was also a moment in which those connections were stressed. Representatives of every ‘sphere’ of government attended, pointing out an intersection between them, rather than exclusive claims about local and international, public and private. It was inaugurated on March 20, 2014, in the presence of some five hundred Sarajevans, the mayor of the city, the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Saudi ambassador and the owner of Al Shiddi Group, Sulejman Al-Shiddi. The later emphasized on his speech that « the shopping center is our gift to the citizens of Sarajevo », and the High Representative for BiH, Veljko Ostojich, reinforced : « this building will soon become one of the new symbols of the city »<sup>224</sup>.

On the other hand, those shopping centres raise claims of exclusion. Urban activist Danijela Dugandzić argues that “they abuse the spirit of Sarajevo to integrate into the community with a lie. Slogans written on the walls (of Sarajevo City Center), picture shopping as important for personal status. That has got nothing to do with self-management or solidarity.”<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> According to its official website. Available at: <http://www.bluecapital.com.tr/index.php/en/al-shiddi-group-riyadh-sarajevo-city-center>

<sup>224</sup> ‘Sarajevo, the shopping centres bloom’ <http://www.balkanicaucaso.org/eng/Areas/Bosnia-Herzegovina/Sarajevo-the-shopping-centres-bloom-150432>

<sup>225</sup> The activist is making reference the fact that the area was bought by the Al Shiddi group after the privatisation of wholesale Magros, whose motto was « self-management, will and loyalty », in 2008. <http://www.mo.be/en/report/wealthy-arabs-buy-sarajevo>

Also, both BBI and Sarajevo City Center do not serve alcohol in their cafes and restaurants, and it is not possible to find neither alcohol nor pork at their supermarkets, even though they are “Konzum”, a Croatian brand that sells such products in all their stores. This detail could be only anecdotic, if it weren’t for the complex debates about the role of religion in post-Dayton BiH, as we have explored in the previous chapters. Many Orthodox, Catholics and also Muslims argue that Sarajevo has been islamized since the war. And most people, including here moderate or non-religious Bosniaks, are afraid that investments from Arab Gulf countries (that include, among many others, renovation or construction from scratch of Mosques<sup>226</sup>) bring along a stricter interpretation of Islam than the one that has been practiced in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although the aim of this chapter is not to discuss religion and the transformations they have been through the past two or three decades in BiH, the fact that those two places (BBI and Sarajevo City Center), which intend to be ‘shopping galleries’ and to replace the role of public spaces in what concerns socialization in Sarajevo, are identified as Islamic do have an impact in how people perceive and use those places in the everyday.

Besides, in a country where unemployment is very high, many residents wonder about the opening of so many malls in the past years. Thus, for many people, there is not only the impression that those are ‘imported’ projects but also that they have been imported to attend, mainly, the ‘international community’ living in Sarajevo, which will be discussed in the next section. Edin, the journalist who was unemployed when he sat a meeting at BBI, told me he found “curious” that new shopping malls were opening in a country experiencing economic recession, but he soon added that those malls were generally built to attend the ‘international people’, even though he recognized Bosnia had their own ‘tycoons’ and there were always ‘locals’ who spend a lot of time there, “the whole day drinking only one coffee, but instead of drinking in an old café, they prefer to drink it at the mall. It looks modern”. Borelli (2012) also acknowledges that “if it is clear that this total

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<sup>226</sup> For example, Saudi Arabia built the largest mosque and Islamic centre in the Balkans in Sarajevo and is helping to fund the new university library. Countries such as Qatar, Kuwait and the UAE have all provided aid and investments. Qatar, for example, gave a US\$ 8,8 million grant to rebuild The Gazi Husrev-beg library, which houses Bosnia’s ancient Islamic manuscripts.

area (of shopping malls) abundantly exceeds the needs of a city of 291,000, this is because the target audience is not composed only by the local population, but includes a wider consumer society composed by (...) abundant international staff (of embassies, military bases, NGOs) set in Sarajevo”, but also a growing number of visitors from the Arabian Peninsula. From 2010 to 2015, the number of visitors from the Arabian Peninsula rose from 1,000 to more than 26,000<sup>227</sup>, along with investments, mainly at the real estate market and a growing connection between Sarajevo and that region through the launching of direct flights<sup>228</sup>.

Selma Colić, who works as marketing assistant for BBI Real Estate, however, says that “it is true that we (BBI Centre) aim at a select clientele, but not only at Arabs”, although she acknowledges that most of Bosnian population cannot afford clothing sold at the shopping mall<sup>229</sup>.

Moreover, there is a debate whether a shopping mall can be a place of inclusion, as the idea of “shopping galleries” suggest, or if, instead, they are primarily a place of individualism, surrendered to ‘solitary individuality’ (Augé, 1995 78 ), often putting the individual in contact only with another image of himself (herself) (p.79). For Augé (1995), the proliferation of shopping malls corresponds to the proliferation of *non-places*, a feature that characterizes contemporary life and space. While Augé defines place as ‘relational, historical and concerned with identity’ (p. 52), non-places designate two complementary but distinct realities: “spaces formed in relation to certain ends (transport, transit, commerce), and the relations that individuals have with these spaces” (p.77). Non-places do not mention History (unless if it is part of a spectacle) and operate as if they were a perpetual

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<sup>227</sup> ‘The Economist’. Available at: <http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21688928-arab-tourists-and-investors-are-giving-bosnia-new-shine-ottoman-comfort>

<sup>228</sup> The airport of Sarajevo is rather small, and flights connect it to Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Turkey and, from 2014, the Emirates.

<sup>229</sup> ‘Wealthy Arabs Buy Sarajevo’ <http://www.mo.be/en/report/wealthy-arabs-buy-sarajevo>

repetition of the present. As such, they try to erase their specificities, as if they belong to an universal abstract.

This universal abstract is, however, only an illusion. Augé describes that, “when an international flight crosses Saudi Arabia, the hostess announces that during the overflight the drinking of alcohol will be forbidden in the aircraft (...) returning after an hour or so to the non-place of space, escaping from the totalitarian constraints of place, will be just like a return to something resembling freedom” (p. 116). Augé, however, does not mention that even at this supposed non-place of the spaces, many rules, costumes and cultural codes apply. A pretense universality of the non-place might thus be, in fact, parochial. Moreover, as it was mentioned, BBI Centar and Sarajevo City Center have both adopted rules forbidding, for example, alcohol and pork consumption and commerce. That should make us conclude that ‘non-places’ are never completely fulfilled in its objective. However, even if we adopt Augé’s notion of “non-places”, it is important to remind that places must always be understood as place-time, and that they are by no means static or an eternal repetition of itself.

A world where non-places proliferate is a world where, in Augé words, ‘people are born in the clinic and die in hospital, where transit points and temporary abodes are proliferating under luxurious or inhuman conditions (...); where a dense network of means of transport which are also inhabited spaces is developing; where the habitué of supermarkets, slot machines and credit cards communicate wordlessly, through gestures, with an abstract, unmediated commerce; a world thus surrendered to solitary individuality, to the fleeting, the temporary, the ephemeral (...)’ (p.78).

Moreover, according to Augé, while places create ‘an organically social’, non-places produce relations that are only indirectly related to their purposes, and, thus, the kinds of relations that unfold within them are limited to solitary ‘contractuality’. The ‘contract’ Augé makes allusion to is not with other individuals or the society. Alone, but one of many, the individuals make the contract with the very ‘non-places’ (even though he admits that non-places have specific rules accordingly to where they are located, thus this contract may vary).

However, and most importantly, ‘places’ and ‘non-places’ are never pure categories, and are not in contrast against each other. According to Augé, both categories usually co-exist in a palimpsest. While places are never completely erased, ‘non-places’ are never totally completed: “places reconstitute themselves in it; relations are restored and resumed in it”. Moreover, with repetition, a ‘non-place’ may become familiar (p.98). As such, one might get used to, and even develop affective relations in places such as a shopping mall, if he or she visits it time and time again and connect it to memories and social activities. It may become an everyday place.

However, contrary to places, which are organized when individuals come together and engender the social, non-places concern only individuals in their capacity of customers (or passengers, etc). Indeed, as Augé points out, “a person entering the space of non-place is relieved of his usual determinants”:

“No doubt the relative anonymity that goes with this temporary identity (customer) can be felt as a liberation, by people who, for a time, have only to keep in line, go where they are told, check their appearance (...) a person entering the space of non-place is relieved of his usual determinants. He becomes no more than what he does or experiences in the role of passenger, customer or driver (...) Subjected to a gentle form of possession, to which he surrenders himself with more or less talent or conviction, he tastes for a while – like anyone who is possessed – the passive joys of identity-loss – and the more active pleasure of role-playing” (Augé, 1995:103).

In the contexts explored by Chapters Three and Four, this relative anonymity provided by shopping malls might also turn it into ‘contact places’, as it is the case of Mepas Mall. The shopping mall has opened in West Mostar almost along the symbolic division between East and West Mostar, in 2013. It houses the only cinema in the city, and it is the only place in Mostar where you can find well-known fast-fashion stores and fast-food chains. In Mostar, almost everyone who I would ask about the mall agreed that it was considered neither West nor East Mostar (although, by mere geographically standards, it would be considered ‘West Mostar’), and that it was one of the rare places where everyone would go, despite where they lived. But one woman who I interviewed in Mostar summarized the point:

“(...) money turns the world around, when money is in question, there are no boundaries... all buses will stop here and there. For me it is interesting how Mepas



mall became a common space. (...) nobody knows who is who in Mepas Mall, everybody goes there for shopping, or for coffee, or something... We were like, 'it is ugly there, a new shopping center and so on' but as time goes by I have the feeling it became a very good neutral space, everybody goes there, it became really a city part, it is not a West Mostar place, it is a whole city place. Now when I see that it (Mepas mall) really helped to open it (Mostar) up and becoming a contact space, I am very happy that it is there"<sup>230</sup>.

Although the anonymity of a shopping mall might thus produce a 'neutral' place, Augé (1995) argues that 'non-places' does not create relations, "only solitude and similitude". However, because places and non-places exist in a continuum - "the first is never completely erased, the second never totally completed" (p. 79) - they are open for the 'millennial ruses' of the everyday, in the words of De Certeau (1984). They are thus never completely pre-determined.

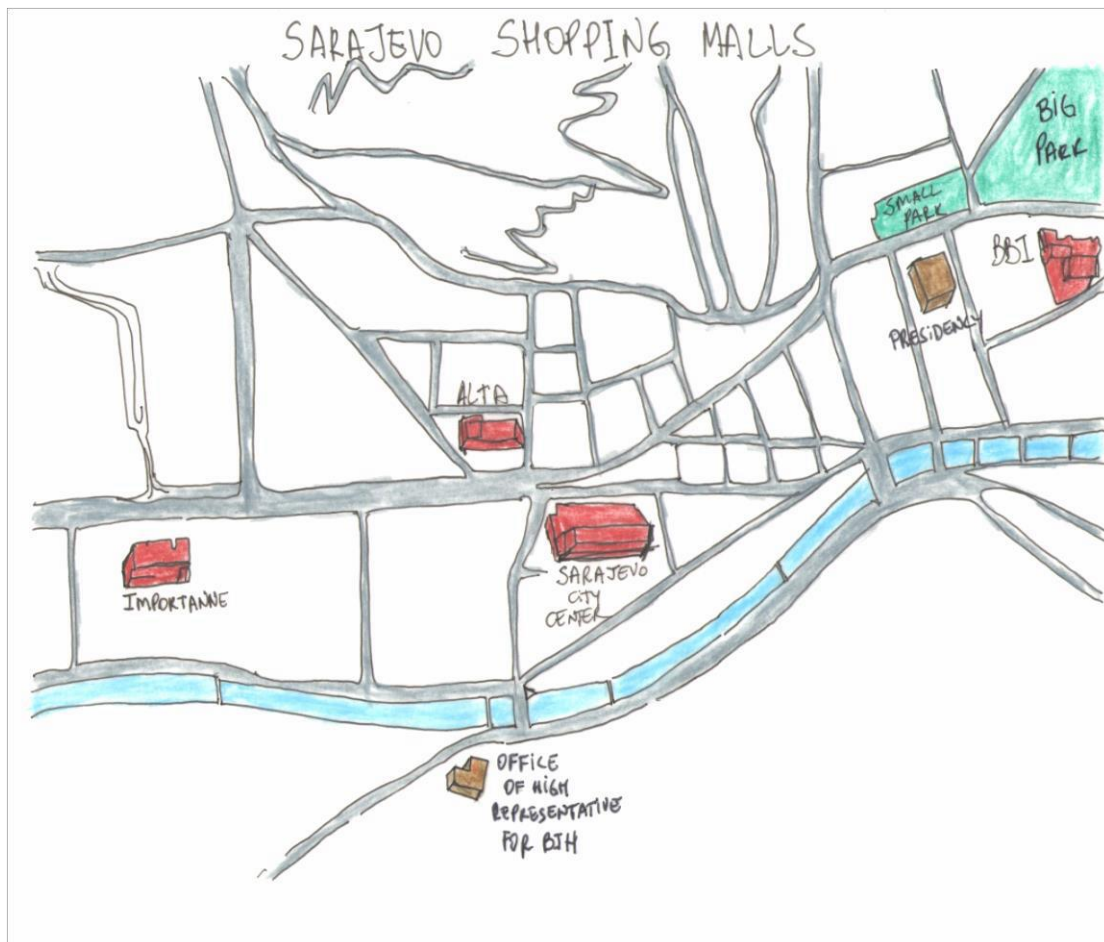


Figure 42

<sup>230</sup> Interview with Valentina, 06 May 2015, conducted at the Old Gymnasium building, Mostar.



## 6.5

### The international and/in the city

“I will pick you up at BBI”. It was a Sunday morning in the end of March and I was invited to Jahorina Mountain by my colleagues of my Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian class – composed by two young college women from Turkey and a NATO officer. C’s car was easy to identify when he drove by due to its NATO license-plate, we got inside and followed the route, first crossing into Republica Srpska and then driving up to Jahorina, one of the Olympic Mountains near Sarajevo, before spring raises the temperature and melt all the snow. C. had been in Sarajevo for eight months by then, and had been at least twice in each one the cafes and ‘nice places’ of the city, as he acknowledged. Some places he had been dozens of time, like Cordoba Café, a café-restaurant on the ground floor of BBI Centar that has a terrace over the square, and which makes this division between the shopping mall and the square less clear.

C. is in BiH with the status of ‘international’, “mostly European members of the international organizations who have, since 1995, been charged with the task of building a democratic Bosnia-Herzegovina” (Coles, 2011: 256). Although labeled as such, ‘internationals’ are a very diverse group which, in many ways, incarnate the broader category of ‘international community’ – and shows that they are much less cohesed than what the term ‘community’ might imply. Indeed, this label might be applied from high-level officers working for the UNPD to the dozens of young students that pour into the city every summer to do a three-month internship in one of the many international organizations and NGOs. It encompasses very different levels and areas of expertise, since the international community is involved in activities that range from organizing elections to the strengthening of the military in BiH. It involves people who work for international organizations but also for diplomatic missions and agencies related to specific countries, as the ‘statebuilding’ in BiH nowadays has been increasingly influenced

by bilateral negotiations<sup>231</sup>. It also encompasses both civil and military spheres. It is translated into a myriad of hierarchies between all of them.

In the case of C., more than referring himself as ‘international’, he uses the term ‘NATO’, that has been turn into a substantive and is employed in phrases such as “but you are NATO”, or “I am NATO”, in order to evoke their place in Sarajevo, and BiH in general. Being ‘NATO’ is a particularly privileged status in BiH. Under the Dayton Peace Agreement, the (European) High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, chosen by the Peace Implementation Council <sup>232</sup>, has the “final authority in theater regarding interpretation of this Agreement on the civilian implementation of the peace settlement ». It does not have authority, however, over the military annex, which is currently represented by EUFOR (European Union Force) and NATO.

As a NATO officer, C. trajectory within the city space is embedded in a certain temporality. During the day, he works mainly at the Ministry of the Defense building, in central Sarajevo, where NATO occupies the last floor (‘the highest’, as they joked when I went there to conduct interviews). At night, C. goes back to the Butmir camp, the biggest facility of its kind in the country, which is also the headquarter of both EUFOR and NATO mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina, located at the Sarajevo suburb that gives its name: Butmir.

Butmir camp started functioning on 2000, when NATO was still completely in charge for the peacekeeping mission in BiH under the name of Stabilization Force (SFOR). At that time, NATO forces were transferred from the Sarajevo suburb of Ilidža to the purpose-built Camp Butmir<sup>233</sup>. In geographical terms, Camp Butmir occupies an old military area south of Sarajevo airport and Dobrinja neighborhood (see Chapter 3). More interesting, Butmir Camp sits on both

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<sup>231</sup> Interview with D. at Ministry of Defense building, central Sarajevo. Interview conducted on 9 April 2015. Interview with S., at Austrian Development Agency building, Sarajevo. Interview conducted on October 28, 2015.

<sup>232</sup> PIC is an international body charged with implementing the Dayton Peace Agreement. The PIC comprises 55 countries and agencies that support the DPA in many ways: financially, militarily or running social activities in Bosnia.

<sup>233</sup> According to NATO’s official website.

Federation and Republika Srpska, while the InterEntity Boundary Line (IEBL) passes in the middle of the camp. In that particular area, in matter of few meters, the attempts to organize spaces and places according to categories such as ethnonationalities and concepts such as ‘local’ and ‘international’ in post-Dayton Sarajevo is particularly exposed. Although Camp Butmir lies in Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo, when I visited it, in March 2015, I was told to take a passport with me, which was checked by the personnel securing the Camp’s main entrance. Symbolically, the main road inside the camp is called “Dayton Road”, as Lord George Robertson, then NATO Secretary General, observed during the open ceremony of the camp in 19 July 2000:

“(…) As you can see by the sign in front of this headquarters, the main street of Camp Butmir has been aptly named Dayton Road, and it is appropriate because the Dayton-Paris Peace Accord is indeed the road to a self-sustaining peace for Bosnia and Herzegovina. SFOR guards the road, and for the time being, secures the peace. The High Representative and the International Community guide the way, but it is the political leaders and the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina who must choose to travel along the road and at a pace of their choosing. (...) But this headquarters was not built to last forever. (...) It's up to the political leaders and to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina to use the opportunity to travel along that road. »<sup>234</sup>

NATO <sup>235</sup> and EUFOR officers live in the camp, and this represents a difference between them and civilian ‘internationals’, who might live anywhere in the city. Unlike many other cities that have been subjected to international intervention in the form of peacekeeping, peacebuilding and statebuilding missions, in Sarajevo there is no clear ‘international’ neighborhood, although civilians do

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<sup>234</sup> Statements by General Ron Adams and Lord Robertson at the Ribbon Cutting Ceremony. Source: NATO, Camp Butmir, 19 July 2000. Available at <http://www.nato.int/sfor/trans/2000/t000719a.htm>

<sup>235</sup> Although NATO’s SFOR - Stabilization Force - has retreat from BiH and paved the way to EUFOR, NATO is still present in BiH in the form of a stabilization mission. They are still based in Camp Butmir, although they no longer constitute the main force inside the camp, being easily outnumbered by EUFOR troops. Because their mission is mostly ‘advisory’, usually NATO forces in Camp Butmir are considered to perform a higher-level activity compared to EUFOR

tend to live in wealthier and more central neighborhoods. On the evenings and free time, however, NATO and EUFOR officers are free to circulate in the city.

“(Butmir) is a military compound, but I just go there to sleep. (...) If you compare with others, like Kosovo, Afghanistan, Libya, it (Butmir) is quite different, this area is not like the other ones. Situation in Bosnia now is easier than in the other places. In Kosovo, the people inside the camp is not like us, they are not happy, they have some regulations about drinking, going out, they have some restrictions, here in Bosnia we don’t have (that), it is easier, life is good, no problem”<sup>236</sup>

Like C., other NATO officers highlight that this is one of the main differences regarding other missions they have taken part elsewhere: unlike other missions, in Sarajevo they can circulate in the city. This mobility, however, has changed with time. In the first months after Dayton, when dozens of thousands of internationals, among which NATO troops, arrived in BiH, the spaces they could occupy and through which they could circulate were much more restrict. Although the work of many of them involved precisely acting upon what they called ‘hotspots’ – i.e., “places where there might still be tensions between the three groups’, as a NATO advisor formulated – in their free time, no socialization or mingling with the ‘local population’ was possible. At that time, although NATO mission was classified as “peace support”, everyday life of its troops were much more similar to combat operations such as in Afghanistan and Iraq, as one NATO officer who served in BiH during the transition from IFOR to SFOR (1997) recalls:

“My first one (mission), here, (was) the same operation, “peace support”, but the restrictions for us were a lot tighter than they are now. The other missions were in Iraq and Afghanistan. Those were combat operations, which clearly it is not safe to go anywhere”.<sup>237</sup>

In combat missions, another NATO officer explained, restrictions and regulations upon troops are much higher. Most of them regard circulation: who can

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<sup>236</sup> Interview with E., in central Sarajevo, 15 May 2015.

<sup>237</sup> Interview with H., in central Sarajevo, 15 May 2015.

circulate, where, and in what conditions. C., who had previously served for a year in Afghanistan, said that they could never leave the compound where they lived, worked, socialized etc. Those restrictions impose a more severe distinction between the place of the locals and the place of the internationals. Indeed, on those situations, internationals demarcate themselves also spatially, by drawing boundaries where it is deemed safe and they are allowed to circulate and where they cannot.

The current situation in BiH is, nevertheless, different, since it is marked by a low occurrence of violent crimes and the international community is not considered a specific target<sup>238</sup>. NATO officers also highlight that this mission is different from many others they have been to, because “it is a peace support mission that has been going on for almost 20 years”<sup>239</sup>, and it has reached a level of ‘stabilization’ that, although “it is within a military context, it is a bit unusual compared to what people think military is”<sup>240</sup>. Restrictions regarding NATO and EUFOR officer’s everyday practices are, therefore, almost non-existent. As for C., many NATO officers work in the city center everyday, and enjoy cafes, restaurants, bars, clubs and open spaces in the city in their free time. In fact, some say they “try to get out (of Butmir Camp) as often as (they) can”<sup>241</sup>.

“This is a different mission to me, because I am allowed to leave the camp, and mingle and meet people – the local people I am talking about - this is kind of unique to me, this is my fifth deployment abroad overseas, but is my first deployment

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<sup>238</sup> According to the United States Department of State, “The expatriate community is not specifically targeted (by organized crime groups) ». Available at : <https://www.osac.gov/pages/ContentReportDetails.aspx?cid=16908>

<sup>239</sup> Interview with H., in central Sarajevo, 15 May 2015

<sup>240</sup> Interview with F., in Ministry of Defense and Palma Café, Sarajevo Both interviews on 4 April 2015.

<sup>241</sup> From all international workers who I have spoken formally and informally during my field work, which comprises workers from NATO, OSCE, the UN, few NGOs and diplomatic representations such as Austrian and Czech Republic, only one person, from NATO, said he didn’t have develop some kind of relationship with ‘locals’: “To be honest, I have no any private relations with any kind of local personalities, I believe I have relations with locals through NATO, because there are local interpreters with whom I have official relations, but I don’t have any kind of private relations here.” Interview with C., in Ministry of Defense, Sarajevo, on April 4, 2015.

where I get to interact with people, get to know them, eat the local food, and actually make friends too, so I tried to get away from the camp as much as I can”<sup>242</sup>

“I have been here for only few months, I have lived basically the winter here, with its limitations, so I have basically lived the life in Sarajevo city (...) It hasn’t been difficult to make friends here, quite the opposite, I have to say that I am actually living very well, in a very positive way, people are very available, this relation with local people, they don’t make you feel excluded, they try to involve you in their everyday life. Then, obviously, it depends on you, if you want to integrate yourself, if you want to live this city. One of the first things I did was to take classes of the local language (...)”<sup>243</sup>

NATO officers such as A., G., and E., thus, ambivalently enact the ‘international’ in the city: they depart from Camp Butmir in their military uniforms, and they reach work driving NATO-license plated cars. They perceive this enactment, or embodiment, of the international as part of their job:

“Sometimes I say: ‘oh my god, I don’t do anything here’, but sometimes I think: ‘oh, it is enough just to show this NATO-plate on my car, going around the country, inside the city, and for people to see it, and... even some EUFOR plates (...) it gives some positive effect (in terms of security and avoiding recrudescence of war)”<sup>244</sup>

Once the work is over, however, they are “allowed to circulate in the city by themselves (instead of being obliged to circulate always in two, as in other missions), wearing civilian clothes and are not obliged to carry a gun”<sup>245</sup>. Moreover, my interlocutors highlighted a willing to mingle and to use and occupy everyday places in civil clothes as ‘ordinary people’ do, in opposition to staying at places demarcated to be used predominately by them (such as Butmir camp). Indeed, Sarajevo does not have a strong social scene addressed exclusively to

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<sup>242</sup> Interview with H., in central Sarajevo, 15 May 2015.

<sup>243</sup> Interview with F., in Ministry of Defense and Palma Café, Sarajevo. Both interviews on 4 April 2015.

<sup>244</sup> Interview with E., in central Sarajevo, 15 May 2015.

<sup>245</sup> Ibidem.

‘internationals’ or ‘expats’, although this demarcation might occur in more expensive place, which continue to be relatively cheap for those who do not earn in ‘local’ currency.

In places such as BBI Centar, once they had parked their NATO cars and changed to civilian clothes, they circulate in that kind of anonymity to which Augé makes reference. “Non-places” have this paradoxical capacity of evoking familiarity in the anonymity, circled by multinational brands and advertisements in English that might constitute reassuring landmarks (Augé, p. 86; 106). They sit at cafés such as Cordoba, in that terrace where no one is sure whether they are at the shopping mall or at the square. They order Bosnian coffee, just like any dweller of the city. Dweller, here, is, used on the sense employed by Heidegger, who stresses that the term is etymologically connected to “build” and to “be” (Heidegger apud Coward, 2009: 64). Thus, a dweller who dwells because s/he builds (the place, the city) and because s/he ‘is’ in the word, or, in Heidegger terms, being-in-the-world (Ibidem).

## 6.6 Conclusion

In “Ambivalent Builders”, which analyzes the role of ‘internationals’ in building a Bosnia and Herzegovina towards ‘the road to Europe’, Coles (2007) enumerates privileges enjoyed by the ‘internationals’, such as passing through borders only by displaying their (international) organization ID cards to the border agent (rather than showing passports), and cutting lines at the border (p. 268). Coles highlights that more than privileges, the ‘internationals’ have in fact developed ‘parallel structures’: they do not partake (or only minimally partake) in the services provided by public and private Bosnian institutions (such as banking, healthcare, transportations, schools), and they are not always subject to Bosnian state regulations (such as border control, taxes and traffic laws). In addition, international organizations often provide replacement services to their international employees. For that reason, Coles affirm that internationals are ‘supranational’ vis-à-vis the

Bosnian state (p. 266) and, due to those practices, they undermine the state capacities they are supposed to build.

In this chapter, I have showed, however, that those practices are localized. They do not occur in an abstract sphere, above somewhere, in a higher stance, nor ‘supranationally’. They are not abstract, and not even universal. They are localized in the sense that they take place somewhere, they are situated. And, as such, boundaries between the ‘local’ and the ‘international’ are more about categorizations and possibly hierarchization, inclusions and exclusions, than about an exact correspondence to where they are produced.

As we have seen, NATO officers may use ‘local/Sarajevan’ streets to enact their ‘internationalism’ and the international presence within Bosnia and Herzegovina. A shopping mall, on the other hand, might be a place where those boundaries are dissolved into anonymity. Demarcations might vary with the time of the day. Moreover, the process of differentiation does not have ‘distant exoticism or spectacle as its source’ (Coles, 2007), and the ‘daily shoulder-rubbing’ produces at the same time, ‘othering’, as Coles suggest, but also encounter and connection. Those encounters, it was suggested, are never between two (or more) closed units (individuals, groups), but they produce entanglements between them, reshaping them and showing the fluidity of categories that are deemed very solid.

A closer look into post-Dayton Sarajevo everyday life, therefore, reveals a rather more complex figure than the local/international dichotomy suggested by documents such as the Dayton Peace Agreement. If we take into account that what is being conceived here as ‘international’ is more related to a (privileged) geometry of power, rather than something that is completely external to the local, or that happens and is produced above or outside the local, we have a more nuanced and complex picture of that dynamic. Moreover, looking at the everyday, those categories get sometimes much more intermingled, and at other times, they reveal to be precarious and ephemeral. As such, they are contingent upon space-time.



## 7 Conclusion

This work was born, initially, from a quest to understand the relations between practices of demarcation, space and inclusion/ exclusion, more particularly in what concerns post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. Through this research, however, I felt the need to engage with other concepts and ended up concluding, for example, than more than inclusion and exclusion, the boundaries I looked at operate by connecting and disconnecting. Here, I will summarize the main conclusions of this work and point out what were the main consequences of the choices I made for the final results of this thesis.

Adopting a “top-down” approach and, thus, analyzing how the Dayton Peace Accord (DPA) has impacted local Bosnia and Herzegovina was not a viable possibility to undertake this research. First, because BiH is not only a product of the DPA, but it has also produced it and it is constantly subverting, contradicting and challenging Dayton. Second because, represented on a map, the DPA is translated into fixed lines, bounded spaces and spatial homogenizations that were never attained. Moreover, although I have showed how much BiH has changed since the DPA, BiH’s map remained the same since 1995. This apparent staticity stands up in a sharp contrast with the more dynamical account that was provided by this work. We know that spatial representations (and maps) are never only spatial in its character. They are always spatial-temporal representations. However, although it is clear that current BiH maps refer to a specific period of time – the *post-Dayton* term expresses this temporal dimension - a map still suggests a frozen image of a specific situation, which is hidden beneath claims of neutrality and objectivity.

My concern, however, has been, since the beginning, with the lived space of the everyday. And this entails a focus on movement, however difficult it is to seize it (in order to seize it, we have already to pin it down somehow, the photographs and maps employed in this work being a proved of that). Still, my concern here has been with a more dynamic account than the one that is provided by official documents or maps. Therefore, I have suggested transforming nouns –

borders, boundaries, places – into verbs – bordering, boundary-making, placing, displacing – and to put them into movement, to put them into action. As such, the focus of this work relies not on lines and its representations but on practices that enact boundaries and that place and displace them.

Paying attention at enactments is going one step further in the study of practices. Practices ‘do’ objects and bodies, by performing them, by attributing meanings, by enacting them. As such, we cannot isolate boundaries from the practices in which they are enacted. That claim has two direct consequences for this work: 1) boundaries are not essential lines that exist out there, independently of practices and from the environment in which they are embedded; rather, they are ‘done’ through those practices and are affected and affect the environment; 2) meanings acquired through enactments are precarious and, as such, should be examined within the context that they are being produced at that particular moment. From this move, I have argued that enactment of boundaries and meanings are always in the making – and, therefore, they might be changeable.

Situating – or placing – those practices, thus, is paramount for an analysis that take ‘practices’ and ‘enactments’ into account. Here, I have taken everyday practices nor as mere repetition and reproduction of a structure created by the Dayton Peace Agreement, but as a site of politics in itself. It takes a lot of effort, and a great amount of curiosity, to not take the everyday – and everyday practices and places – for granted, in multiple ways. As it was discussed previously, the everyday is often considered “unworthy of thought” and the everyday as a category is frequently undertheorized.

However, here, it was argued that the everyday is not a naturally bounded realm clearly demarcated from exceptional or nobler activities, conducted by the elites in public spheres. Instead, I have claimed that the everyday is a site in which to study precisely the connections between private and public; mundane practices and high politics; the routine and the exceptional; ordinary people and the elites. The everyday is thus not the lower or inferior ground of those dichotomies; it is precisely the category which allows for questioning this dichotomist way of understanding how politics, or international politics, work. As such, the everyday is the realm where it is possible to see what is made of official documents,

institutions and map representations when they are ‘played’, performed, enacted. The conclusion we gather is that everyday practices may work as re-employment of those ‘official structures of power’, such as the DPA, and on this re-employment there is always a potential for creativity, subversion and resistance. Studying the everyday, therefore, allows for exploring alternative practices, formulated in places other than in strongly institutionalized realms. By taking the everyday seriously, therefore, I have made an important methodological claim about how to study enactments (of boundaries).

Also for methodological reasons, I have suggested that we look into the everyday not as such, but at ‘everyday places’. I have stressed a notion of ‘place’ as incomplete and unstable sites where encounters and dispute happen and not as bounded units ready-made to be analyzed. Moreover, by looking at everyday places, I have not made a claim for a micro analysis, or for a bottom-up approach. Instead, I have claimed that everyday places are crucial sites in order to investigate boundary enactments and its subversions. What is in question here is not the size of the places that are being analyzed, but the capacity they have to create patterns and articulate the dynamics we aim at investigating, and the questions that get to be raised by looking at even the smallest and seemingly less important site such as a beauty salon or a café.

Furthermore, everyday places provide for excellent entry points to analyses such as this one, because they favor a transversal approach in which politics of scale such as ‘top-down’, ‘bottom-up’ or ‘micro-macro’ and ‘macro-micro’ are destabilized. Through this approach, scales are somehow flattened, and we understand relations horizontally. From the metaphor of the pyramid we pass, therefore, to the metaphor of the common ground.

I have argued that, in many ways, everyday places might be understood as a materialization of enactment of boundaries in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. The coach station that has been built where the final stop of the trolleybus used to be before the war, and that only makes sense in that suburban area because of the Inter-Entity Line that transformed Sarajevo into Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo, is one such example. Another example is the school Petar Petrović-Njegoš, which was built despite the existence of a much more traditional

school (Osman Nuri Hadzic) just few meters from there, and with the aim of allowing children to attend school following a distinct curriculum. On the other hand, there are other everyday places that have been built or reconstructed in order to ‘soften’ boundaries, such as the Spanish Square in Mostar, which was refurbished in order to provide for a contact place between East and West Mostar, or, yet, the Catholic School in Sarajevo, where by setting up strict rules against discrimination and segregation, and acquiring a strong reputation about its academic level, it has assured a school environment that is not permeated with ‘trivisions’.

This is, however, just a few of the multiple trajectories that produce everyday places. Everyday places are places of dispute and in dispute, and encompasses divergent trajectories with its disputed meanings. As such, the coach station, which was supposedly a place of movement, designed to consolidate division and separate people is, also, a place of socialization among dwellers of the area, and provides an excuse for crossing for many who would not have a reason to go to the other side otherwise. At the same time, the Spanish Square, which was refurbished to address boundary-making between East and West Mostar, might as well be enacted as a “peacetime battlefield”. A grim space between the final trolleybus stop and the coach station, which operated for many years like a buffer zone, is also a place where small shops and cafes have sprung, along with an informal market (which is considered here by no means as an organized form resistance, quite the opposite, it reveals also the precariousness of life conditions that boundary enactments might entail) where boundaries get blurred. The BBI square, which used to be public and has been privatized, plays an important role on Sarajevo social and public life, ranging from being a popular meeting point for dwellers to hosting events such as the New Year’s celebration in the presence of the city mayor. And the BBI Centar itself, designed to bring a ‘modernizing’ project for the city and both loved and hated for being a ‘center of consumerism’ is used by a considerable amount of dwellers because of its bathroom.

Moreover, a bathroom also becomes a place for meeting, mixing and experimenting different social codes in a school in which almost all other spaces are divided along ethnonational lines. The original and more prevalent function of the bathroom is detracted and diverted: from time to time (more precisely, during

the breaks), the bathroom becomes an ‘illicit’ space, where students engage in practices that are forbidden either by official or by unofficial social rules of the school, such as smoking and flirting among people from different curricula. During other times of the day, the bathroom goes back to its regular usages. That because everyday places have their own temporalities.

The Spanish Square, for example, has been claimed and experienced differently before, during and after the war – having even changed its name – but it is also enacted differently on a football game night or on a Sunday morning when an art festival takes place. Klub Boemi is full on a Saturday afternoon, but it might be quite different in other days of the week. And in the summer, it becomes a place where Mostari who have left the city gather and get nostalgic together about the times “before”.

It is thus, in the everyday, that we need to search for meanings of everyday places, even knowing that they are ephemeral, that they are never completely fulfilled, and that they are unstable. And that because everyday places have breaches and may provide for breaches in the very narrative of the city or of the State. De Certeau considers that those breaches or, on his words, “opportunities”, can be used by “the weak” only as offensive in time, although they are not able to take over space in its entirety.

This clear distinction De Certeau makes between space and time, relegates space to a static category, already consolidated by the practices of the “strong” and stripped of life and of politics (Massey, p. 56). However, I have shown that some of the practices that would be considered ‘tactical’ in character by De Certeau work to consolidate places within and against Dayton, while disrupting prevalent spatial practices. Everyday places, thus, should not be taken as an already constructed and coherent realm that expresses a structured order imposed by ‘the powerful’. They should be considered as the very dimension of the social, where trajectories collide and dispute takes place. It is through those relations and disputes that they are (re)produced, challenged, negotiated - lived. Here, I am not ignoring or denying power relations or hierarchical formations, I am just suggesting that they not always operate in a straightforward manner, nor create such a consistent and absolute order. Fissures are thus intrinsic to this order.

I have showed that those places are largely related to post-Dayton boundaries. Boundaries affect their surroundings, which are permeated with practices to enforce them, to counter them or to contour them. I have insisted that boundaries are both heterogeneous and polysemic: they perform several functions of demarcation simultaneously and, as such, they are experienced differently by different social groups. A boundary might be ‘invisible’, working as a widespread myth – and, therefore, it exists. Although I have started with a concern about inclusion and exclusion, through this work I have demonstrated that boundaries work also by connecting and disconnecting. I have also showed how boundaries are made and unmade; in short, I have exposed both their strengths and precariousness. Even more important, boundaries do not stand up by themselves, they are dependent on the myriads of practices through which they are enacted. I have shown how people, in their everyday lives, draw, redraw, cross, minimize and even dismiss boundaries. I have, thus, exposed how the everyday is a site for demarcations, and thus of politics.

Demarcations are made, in many occasions, along different categories than those suggested by the Dayton Peace Agreement, evidencing that life in BiH is not and may not be summed up to the categories formulated by and institutionalized by Dayton. As such, boundaries are drawn in the everyday among ‘those who cross’ and ‘those who do not cross’; ‘ordinary people’ and ‘politicians’; ‘true Mostari’ or “Saraljie” and “newcomers”; “those who stayed through the war” and “summer birds”; “normal” and “sick” people; those who profited from privatizations and the great majority who did not. Even in Klub Boemi, where they declare to be open and accept everyone, the absence of women suggest a strongly gender demarcation.

In this work, I have thus shown some of the practices that contradict Dayton’s logic. The everyday operates through and opens for the possibility a myriad of contradictions that subvert the narrative advanced by Dayton. Through this extensive analysis with which we have engaged, it becomes clear that Bosnia and Herzegovina will never be what Dayton wants it to be. The presence of the so-called ‘international community’ in BiH more than twenty years after the end of the war, and with no clear exit strategy, already indicates to the incompleteness of this project.

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[www.bbicentar.ba](http://www.bbicentar.ba)

**Gradologija**

<http://www.gradologija.ba/>

**Gimnazija Mostar (Gimnasium Mostar)**

<http://gimnazijamostar.ba/>

**Herceg Bosna**

[www.hercegbosna.org](http://www.hercegbosna.org)

**Istočna Ilidza Municipality**

[http://www.istocnailidza.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=36&Itemid=184](http://www.istocnailidza.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=36&Itemid=184) (accessed on 04/05/2016)

**Office of High Representative**

[www.ohr.int](http://www.ohr.int)

**Osman Nuri Hadzic Elementary School**

<http://www.ostonh.edu.ba/new/onama1.php>

**Sarajevo City Center**

<http://www.bluecapital.com.tr/index.php/en/al-shiddi-group-riyadh-sarajevo-city-center>



## 9 Anexos

### 9.1. Interviews

| Name            | Occupation                                       | Date of Interview         | Language    | Location  |
|-----------------|--|---------------------------|-------------|---|
| Ivica Mrso      | Headmaster/Principal of Catholic Centar Sarajevo | 25.03.2015                | English     | Sarajevo/Catholic Centar  |
| Ivana Čivša     | High School Student at Catholic Centar           | 26.03.2015                | English     | Sarajevo/Catholic Centar  |
| Stella Dujmušić | High School Student at Catholic Centar           | 26.03.2015                | English     | Sarajevo/Catholic Centar  |
| Paula Vujčić    | High School Student at Catholic Centar           | 26.03.2015 and 07.05.2015 | English     | Sarajevo/Catholic Centar and Central Sarajevo Cafe Brazil             |
| Hazima Pecirep  | Head of Općina (Municipality) Novi Grad Sarajevo | 27.03.2015                | English/BSC | Sarajevo/Općina Novi Grad   |
| C.              | Human Resources Advisor NATO                     | 09.04.2015                | English     | Sarajevo/Ministry of Defense/NATO Headquarter                         |
| F.              | NATO   | 09.04.2015                | Italian     | Sarajevo/Ministry of Defense/NATO Headquarter and Sarajevo/Palma café |
| D.              | NATO   | 09.04.2015                | English     | Sarajevo/Ministry of Defense/NATO Headquarter                         |
| A.              | NATO   | 09.04.2015                | English     | Sarajevo/Ministry of Defense/NATO Headquarter                         |
| Z.              | Pensioner  | 11.04.2015                | BSC         | Sarajevo/Istočno Sarajevo Café Tetak (at IEBL)                        |
| Slobodana       | Pensioner  | 11.04.2015                | BSC         | Sarajevo/Café Tetak (IEBL)  |
| Sara Dudurovic  | Student at Petar Njegos                          | 11.04.2015                | BSC         | At the square between Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajvo                    |
| Djokic Milorad  | Sportist/pensioner                               | 11.04.2015                | BSC         | Klub pensioner/Istočno Sarajevo                                       |

|                            |  |                           |            |   |
|----------------------------|--|---------------------------|------------|---|
| Ratko Orozovic             | Film Maker                                 | 11.04.2015                | BSC        | Sarajevo/Istočno Sarajevo                     |
| Kadic Alan                 | Fruit Vendor                               | 11.04.2015                | BSC        | Sarajevo/Dobrnja                              |
| Samir Mujezin              | Bartender                                  | 11.04.2015                | BSC        | Sarajevo/Dobrnja/Rock Bar                     |
| Nemanja                    | Master student at University of Sarajevo   | 12.04.2015                | English    | Istočno Sarajevo/His flat                     |
| Ranko                      | Taxi driver                                | 12.04.2015                | BSC        | Istočno Sarajevo/Autobuska Stanica            |
| Gorana                     | Waitress                                   | 12.04.2015                | French     | Istočno Sarajevo Autbuska Stanica/Café blabla |
| Krizko Barbavic            | Pensioner/Red Cross                        | 12.04.2015                | BSC        | Dobrnja 2/ His flat                           |
| Borislav Livopoljac        | Sveštenik (Orthodox Priest)                | 14.04.2015                | BSC        | Orthodox Church Sv. Vasilija Ostroškog        |
| Mirjana Golijanin          | Hairdresser                                | 15.04.2015                | BSC        | At IEBIL, at her Beauty Salon                 |
| Daniela Knezevic-Kapetina  | Public servant                             | 15.04.2015                | Portuguese | Istočno Sarajevo/Tom Mall                     |
| Semsudin Zlatko Serdarevic | Journalist - RTU Mostar                    | 18.04.2015                | BSC        | Mostar/Boemi Kafana                           |
| Serif Aljic                | Actor at Mostar National Theatre           | 18.04.2015                | BSC        | Mostar/Boemi Kafana                           |
| Slavenko Beganovic         | Photograph                                 | 18.04.2015                | BSC        | Mostar/Boemi Kafana                           |
| Bozidar Krulj              | Pensioner (Electromecanic)                 | 18.04.2015                | BSC        | Mostar/Boemi Kafana                           |
| Semrd Ismet - Gaga         | Funder of Boemi Kafana/ Pensioner          | 18.04.2015 and 18.09.2015 | BSC        | Mostar/Boemi Kafana                           |
| Safet Begovic              | Vendor/ turistic guide                     | 18.04.2015                | BSC        | At the bank of Neretva River                  |
| Jladina Sljanjak           | Restaurant owner                           | 18.04.2015                | BSC        | Ath er restaurant at East Mostar              |
| Andjellca Vucic            | Cook assistant                             | 18.04.2015                | BSC        | Restaurant at East Mostar                     |
| Jead Vladovic – (Gucc)     | Painter/ Owns a gallery/ Owns a restaurant | 18.04.2015                | BSC        | At his Restaurant at East Mostar              |

|                       |  |            |                 |  |
|-----------------------|--|------------|-----------------|--|
| Jana Bentas           | Gucc's assistant/ Painter  | 18.04.2015 | BSC             | At Gucc's Restaurant at East Mostar                  |
| Aleksandra Savic      | Director of World Music Centra Owner of Cluba Aleksa               | 18.04.2015 | BSC             | Club Aleksa  |
| Gatalo Veselin        | Writer   | 18.04.2015 | French          | At a shopping gallery in West Mostar                 |
| Lejla Arapovic        | Student at Osman Nuric School                                      | 02.05.2015 | English/ BSC    | Dobrinja   |
| Lejla Sisic           | High School Student at United World College                        | 06.05.2015 | English         | United World College, Old Gymnasium Building, Mostar |
| M.                    | High School Student at United World College                        | 06.05.2015 | English         | United World College, Old Gymnasium Building Mostar  |
| Andrew Mahlstedt      | United World College Deputy Head, Anthropology and History teacher | 06.05.2015 | English         | United World College, Old Gymnasium Building Mostar  |
| Valentina Mindoljević | United World College Principal/ Headmistress                       | 06.05.2015 | English         | United World College, Old Gymnasium Building Mostar  |
| Ronald Panza          | Colaborator, OKC Abrasevic   | 06.05.2015 | BSC             | OKC Abrasevic, Mostar                                |
| H.                    | NATO   | 15.05.2015 | English         | Music Pavillion, Sarajevo                            |
| E.                    | NATO   | 15.05.2015 | English         | Music Pavillion, Sarajevo                            |
| Tea                   | Student at University of Sarajevo                                  | 16.05.2015 | English/ French | Tea House, Sarajevo                                  |
| N. and K.             | Employees at OSCE  | 19.10.2015 | English         | At UNTIC, OSCE building, Sarajevo                    |
| S.                    | Employee of the Austrian Development Agency                        | 28.10.2015 | English         | Austrian Development Agency building                 |
| Margherita V.         | Freelance/ Human Rights activist                                   | 30.10.2015 | English         | At Cafe Tito, Sarajevo                               |