2018

Exploring Memory of Place and Place Identity Through Narrative Inquiry: A Study of Partisans' Square in Uzice, Serbia

Sofija Kaljevic

Follow this and additional works at: <https://researchrepository.wvu.edu/etd>

Recommended Citation

Kaljevic, Sofija, "Exploring Memory of Place and Place Identity Through Narrative Inquiry: A Study of Partisans' Square in Uzice, Serbia" (2018). *Graduate Theses, Dissertations, and Problem Reports*. 7195.
<https://researchrepository.wvu.edu/etd/7195>

This Dissertation is protected by copyright and/or related rights. It has been brought to you by the The Research Repository @ WVU with permission from the rights-holder(s). You are free to use this Dissertation in any way that is permitted by the copyright and related rights legislation that applies to your use. For other uses you must obtain permission from the rights-holder(s) directly, unless additional rights are indicated by a Creative Commons license in the record and/ or on the work itself. This Dissertation has been accepted for inclusion in WVU Graduate Theses, Dissertations, and Problem Reports collection by an authorized administrator of The Research Repository @ WVU. For more information, please contact researchrepository@mail.wvu.edu.

**Exploring Memory of Place and Place Identity Through Narrative Inquiry:
A Study of Partisans' Square in Uzice, Serbia**

Sofija Kaljevic

Dissertation submitted to the
Davis College of Agriculture, Natural Resources and Design
at West Virginia University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Human and Community Development

Deborah A. Boone, Ph.D., Chair
Joshua W. Arthurs, Ph.D.
Malayna B. Bernstein, Ph.D.
Ronald E. Dulaney, Jr., M. Arch.
Harry N. Boone, Jr., Ph.D.

School of Design and Community Development

Morgantown, West Virginia
2018

Keywords: Narrative Inquiry, Collective Memory, Place Memory, Place Identity,
Architecture

Copyright 2018 Sofija Kaljevic

ABSTRACT

Exploring Memory of Place and Place Identity Through Narrative Inquiry: A Study of Partisans' Square in Uzice, Serbia

Sofija Kaljevic

This study is an analysis of the relations between memory, place, and identity through the narratives of local citizens about Partisans' Square located in the city of Uzice, Serbia. It examines twenty life-stories connected to this specific public area. Participants' testimonials are not treated as a source for the construction of a historical narrative, but rather as representations and memories of various events that took place in and around this location in the second half of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century. This study considers how these eyewitnesses represent turbulent local history in the present and examines the role of place in memory construction, the role of memory in place construction and the impact of these processes on identity formation. The dissertation argues that the urban landscapes and architecture in general, represent significant sites of memory that not only trigger memory, but are also constantly manipulated to shape it. Furthermore, it examines how the past, present, memory, and identity are tied to structures of power. This study engages in an extensive review of literature on memory, space and place, history and memory, life story narratives, and the interaction of social groups, generations, and politics. It synthesizes and uses all these elements to examine citizens' personal representations of events that took place on Partisans' Square in order to understand better the role of place in memory and identity construction.

DEDICATION

For my father, Dragoslav

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all of those people who helped make this dissertation possible.

To the members of my graduate committee: First of all, I am grateful to my advisor Dr. Deborah Boone for her relentless support, encouragement and uncompromising dedication to this project. Her optimism and enthusiasm guided me through the toughest times. I will be forever indebted to her for the countless hours devoted to discussing, reading, and editing my work. To Dr. Malayna Bernstein for generously sharing her vast research knowledge and experience. She fiercely aided me through my periods of doubts and self-distrust. I could not finish dissertation work without her. I further want to thank other dissertation committee members, Dr. Joshua Arthurs, Dr. Harry Boone and Professor Ron Dulaney, for encouragement and support to pursue my true research passion.

To the Davis College of Agriculture, Natural Resources, and Design at West Virginia University: Thank you for the generous financial support during my graduate career. The research and writing of this dissertation would not have been possible without it. I received 2017 and 2015 Stitzel Graduate Student Support Grant. Furthermore, I received 2016 and 2014 Robert H. Maxwell Memorial Travel Endowment Grant. West Virginia University awarded me with NCFDD Dissertation Success Program partial scholarship in 2015. In addition to being the fellow of Landscape Architecture Foundation during spring and summer semester of 2017 which enabled me to focus more on dissertation research and writing.

To my interview participants: Thank you for your cooperation and dedication to better understanding of role of Partisans' Square in the lives of Uzice's citizens. Through the research investigation process, I acquired friendships that will last forever.

To those individuals at Uzice's National Museum and National Library: The generous staff made the four months of research I spent there easy and enjoyable.

And finally, to my family and friends: Thank you for your support and encouragement; I couldn't have done it without you. I am eternally indebted to Marko for his love and patience.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
CHAPTER I.....	1
Introduction.....	1
Rationale	6
Place Research	6
Place Research of the Region	9
Significance of the Study	12
Research Approach	15
Purpose of the Study	15
Research Questions and Objectives of the Study	16
Theoretical Framework	17
Conceptual Framework of the Study	20
CHAPTER II.....	22
Review of Literature	22
Architecture as Memory	23
Memory, Forms and Functions	41
Between Memory and History	52
The Memory of Places	57
CHAPTER III	72
Methodology	72
Method Selection Rationale.....	72
Epistemological Stance	72
The Qualitative Inquiry and the Interview Method	74
Narrative as Methodology.....	76
Interview Protocol and Materials.....	86
Research Instrument.....	86
Interview Questions Alterations	89
Interview Procedures	92
Interview Settings	92

Participants.....	93
Data Collection Process and Procedures.....	100
Rigor of Research Design and Implementation	103
Limitations and Delimitations.....	114
Data Preparation and Analysis.....	117
Transcription	117
Translation	119
Analysis.....	122
CHAPTER IV	125
Case Study	125
Historical Context of the Region	125
The Role of Yugoslavian Architecture in Nation Building	130
Architecture of Partisan's Square in Uzice	134
Findings.....	144
Era of State Socialism 1945-1990.....	147
Collective Public Memories of Place – Organized from Above.....	150
The Decade of 1990s	231
Collective Personal Memories of Place	280
Period from the Year 2000 to Present.....	297
Collective Public Memories of Place – Organized from Below	320
CHAPTER V	325
Discussion	325
How Generations Remember	332
Historical Contexts, Question of Power, and Construction of Collective Memories ..	338
Collective Memories Tied to the Period 1945-1990.....	340
Collective Memories Tied to the Decade of 1990s.....	343
Collective Memories Tied to the Period from Year 2000 to Present.....	345
Implications and Suggestions for Future Research and Application	346
REFERENCES	351
APPENDIX A.....	374
McAdams Life-Story Interview Protocol	374
APPENDIX B	380
Adapted Life-Story Interview Protocol – English Language	380
APPENDIX C	386

Adapted Life-Story Interview Protocol – Serbian Language	386
VITA.....	394

LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Figure 1. Components of Sense of Place, Montgomery (1998)</i>	7
<i>Figure 2. Interdependence between collective memory, autobiographical narration, and identity with place in time</i>	21
<i>Figure 3. Components of Place, Canter (1977)</i>	62
<i>Figure 4. Components of a Sense of Place, Punter (1991)</i>	63
<i>Figure 5. Components of Place, Montgomery (1998)</i>	63
<i>Figure 6. The Square opening ceremony, Tito's monument on the left</i>	161
<i>Figure 7. The Square opening ceremony, Tito's image on the tallest building on the Square, Tito is walking below</i>	162
<i>Figure 8. First page of newspapers Vesti, July 3, 1961, published one day before the square opening</i>	162
<i>Figure 9. Photo of Marija's class after Pioneers initiation ceremony, 1982</i>	183
<i>Figure 10. Pioneers as Tito's honorable guard/protectors, through years 1980-1988, images published by local newspapers Vesti</i>	186
<i>Figure 12. "Yes or No," front page Vesti, March 22, 1991</i>	243
<i>Figure 13. "From cult - to museum," front page Vesti, August 30, 1991</i>	243
<i>Figure 14. A child, ten to thirteen years old, sitting on the monument after it was pulled down with Serbian Orthodox Church flag in his hands. Vesti, August 30, 1991</i>	248
<i>Figure 15. Relationship between state powers and memory construction in Yugoslavia</i>	341
<i>Figure 16. Group membership performed on Partisan Square 1961-1990</i>	342
<i>Figure 17. Relationship between powers and memory construction in the decade 1990s</i>	344
<i>Figure 18. The relationship between powers and memory construction 2000-present</i> ..	346

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Drawing on the latest discoveries in the fields of neuroscience and cognitive psychology, Goldhagen (2017), one of the most prominent modern critics of architecture, observes that the physical environment that we inhabit during a particular experience plays the dominant role in memory itself. These findings are hardly novice, they represent conformation and addition to many studies that have been conducted in the last century through different scholarly fields on relation of place and memory, starting with the prominent work of Maurice Halbwachs first published in 1925. Goldhagen (2017) explains: “In the contemporary world, where our environments are overwhelmingly *built* environments, what this means is that buildings, landscapes, and urban areas we inhabit are central to the constitution of our autobiographical memories, and therefore to our sense of identity” (p. 83).

Neurologically, different kinds of long-term autobiographical memories are consolidated and prepared for long-term storage in the part of the brain called the hippocampus and the adjacent parahippocampal region. Working with the other areas of the brain, this exact part of the brain also facilitates our ability to navigate space. “Place cells” Goldhagen (2017) claims, “enable us to both identify a place and consolidate a long-term memory” (p. 84). Therefore, the cognitive processes of autobiographical memory situate the built environment inside us, and that way, it constitutes “the internal architecture of our lives” (Goldhagen, 2017, p. 88). In this way, place based experiences create a unique framework of self-understanding and perception of who we are.

Although remembered images of space around us help us store, recall, and reproduce events from our past repeatedly and biological processes of memorialization happen the same way for every human being, each one of us never remembers the past events in the same way. Memories are always fragmented, never complete, and never pure. The idea of memory as a storehouse, database, or archive where one can go and retrieve a particular file was abandoned a long time ago. Assmann and Czaplicka (1995) argue that “No memory can preserve the past” (p. 130), but it is up to society in each era to reconstruct it within its contemporary frame of reference. In Halbwachs’ work entitled *The Social Frameworks of Memory*, the author argued:

I do not need to seek out where the memories are, where they are kept, in my brain, or in some corner of my mind to which only I would have access, because they are recalled to me from outside, and because the groups to which I belong continuously offer me the means to reconstruct them.” (as cited in Frates, 2002, p. 9)

The author emphasized the memory as the social, collective construct. Halbwachs never denied that the individual recollection exists, but firmly stated that individual memories are actually shaped by the society and the time to which a person belongs. Furthermore, the specific memories are always interpreted from the perspective of the present. They are recalled and reconstructed in the present to satisfy current agendas. Memories are not about the past, but about the present and the interrelationship between the two, or as Nora (1989) states: “Memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, bond tying us to eternal present” (p. 8). Bakhtin observes that everything is perceived from a unique position in existence, and therefore, meaning of whatever is observed is shaped by time and place

from which it is observed (Holquist, 2002). We remember inside our own framework of time, place, language, social relations, our histories and myths, “the whole material and moral life of the societies of which we are, or have been, a part” (Connerton, 1989, p. 36).

Place, as memory, is a social construct or as Lefebvre (1992) argues “a social product.” It is closely tied to cultural meanings and social activities. Nora states that collective memories attach themselves to sites, they are “grounded in geographic sites, providing geographical and spatial location upon which social meanings, and concomitantly, social identities, are fabricated” (as cited in Flores, 1998, p. 429). This is particularly important in discussion of built and urban areas where the politics, economy, and state powers play an important role in shaping the local environments, and therefore, memory and identity of the locals. As expression of culture, built forms often play a communicative role embodying and conveying meaning between groups at a variety of levels. Design of city spaces is usually grounded into a set of needs, everyday dynamics, and necessary movements of its users. However, the way public spaces are organized and constructed cannot be separated from the national politics and forces of the state economy (Harvey, Herod, Wright, & Heynen, 2009; Lefebvre, 1992; Soja, 1980). Nora emphasizes that “topographical” sites of memory, or *lieux de memoire*, should be not be confused with architectural sites. Sites of memory, constructed specifically to preserve and convey memories, are “their own referent: pure, exclusively self-referential signs” (Nora, 1989, p. 23). However, *lieux de memoire*, positioned as part of the broader urban city fabric often becomes one with adjacent architectures through time. That way, architectural spaces, public spaces, urban spaces, even whole cities could irreversibly

become *lieux de memoire*. Those sites not only spark the memories, but also are constantly manipulated to shape memories. Those sites do not simply store memory but also produce them. Through time, those open public areas designed for everyday leisure and enjoyment often become tools for memory reconstruction and transformation, to be retrieved and used when necessary. Those spaces are in a fluctuating state of being completely invisible to being overly visible, which all depends on present political trends.

Architecture was considered as monumental from the start. Born with the birth of the history, Victor Hugo argues how up to the fifteenth century architecture was the chief registry of humanity. Hugo (2002) claims that “Every thought, either philosophical or religious, is interested in perpetuating itself; because the idea which has moved one generation wishes to move others also, and leave a trace” (p. 167) and often these processes would occur through architectural representations. Built environments keep alive the sense of earlier times, and is often “haunted” by the past (Hood & Erickson, 2001, p. 185). Wigley (1999) considers buildings as invaluable devices of collective synchronization. He argues how architectural structure happens to be “a witness of something that has been lost, maintaining the memory of a lost purity, an innocent origin, a ghostly spirit that supposedly animates the solid object” (Wigley, 1999, p. 36).

Architecture domesticates space, it shapes our living worlds and offers a horizon for behavior, learning, and understanding. It provides stability, safety, and continuity to our existence. But maybe the most important of all, architecture is our ground for symbolization and meaning.

This study explores the architectural space, one of many similar spaces in Serbia that symbolically dominates over a wider urban environment and is powerfully

intertwined with the lives of local citizens. Various concepts developed in the twentieth century tied to place research, like place attachment, sense of place, spirit of place, meaning of place, place identity, place belonging, image of the place, genius loci, placelessness, etc. will not be measured through this research. By the end of the twentieth century, scholars of place openly expressed concerns through publications about the lack of coherence of place-concepts mentioned, stressing that empirical adequacy and theoretical progress of place-research is lost. “Slow, unclear, stuck, lack of theory, little empirical progress” (Hernandez, Hidalgo, & Ruiz, 2013, p. 115) are just a few of many terms used to describe all research done on different aspects of place. Others argue how the lack of systematic progression results from viewing place-research as if it constitutes a single research tradition. They urge that place-concepts to be treated as “a domain of research informed by multiple research traditions” (Patterson & Williams, 2005, p. 367). Various researchers advocate for *critical pluralism*, the need to learn from the integrity of different research traditions and expertise.

This study looks at the people’s memory through verbal testimonials to understand the role of architectural spaces in identity construction. Nora (1989) explains that memory is and could be preserved in all kinds of physical spaces, ranging from the monuments to archives to commemorative practices. Yet, these were not the only places we came to gather and study memories. Life story narratives are intimately connected to memory. Those are much more than a source material. For Bruner (1987) and McAdams (2001) identity itself takes the form of the story complete with the setting, scenes, character, plot, and theme. According to McAdams (2001), “Life stories are psychological texts that are jointly crafted by the individual himself or herself and the

culture within which the individual's life has meaning" (p. 115). It is through autobiographical narratives that we can see the importance of place in remembering and the way in which the past is a present construction.

Rationale

Reasons to investigate and organize the study this way are threefold: as a researcher I am interested in the impact of different environments on people's lives and behaviors, but also I am a citizen of Serbia now residing outside the country where the case study is located, and I am an architect with a decade of practical experience. Therefore, investigation foundation and reasons to conduct the research in this way are established not only based on my research interests and critique of existing knowledge, but also on the unique context of my life, knowledge, experiences, and professional values I brought to this study.

Place Research

The physical features of the space are transformed into place through people's activities and everyday practices, through "the actual experience of meaningful or moving events and the establishment of individual and communal identity, security, and concern" (Pred, 1984, p. 49). Therefore, place is qualitative, a "total" phenomenon. In place research we cannot reduce its meaning solely to any of its properties because the meaning of everyday life will be partially lost. Norberg-Schulz (2012) states, "Being qualitative totalities of a complex nature, places cannot be described by means of analytic, 'scientific' concepts" (p. 12). Nevertheless, majority of place-based studies done through the fields of architecture, urban planning, geography, environmental psychology, completely neglect or mistreat cultural and historical context of the explored area.

Scholars within the urban design field summarized and categorized knowledge on place gained in last 50 years of research through the set of diagrams showing basic place elements and relationships established between them (see Figure 1). Relph (1976) was the first scholar who separated place features into three groups: physical features, activities, and meanings. From this point, mentioned categorization only grew in its extensiveness by including new aspects of place into the existing list of elements (Canter, 1977; Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001; Montgomery, 1998; Punter, 1991). However, this early divide of place features, which later directly impacted the way place is studied, was flawed from the start. The Image/Meaning component of place (see Figure 1) cannot in any way be separated from the other two place features, Physical Setting and Activity. It is only through activities in physical environments meanings are created. This categorization provided research framework which often removed focus from relationship between place and place users onto place exclusively. To explore place is to explore the nature of human life within specific spatial boundaries.

Figure 1. Components of Sense of Place, Montgomery (1998)

Pred (1983) argues how the place concepts like “sense of place” or “place attachment” are usually seen as free-floating phenomenon completely detached from its historical context. They often oversimplify the meaning developed between people and place. In real life, these occurrences do not evolve in a biographical vacuum but in relation to the time-space specific everyday practices. “The feelings, meanings, and memories are rooted in the interaction with and things at very precise local sites and times” (Pred, 1983, p. 59), and consequently, the way data about place meaning can be retrieved and later analyzed is through narration and the diverse literature of remembering. Opposite of a majority of place-based studies, this research does not try to measure place or any of its features. It tries to investigate the place as a whole, “total” phenomenon by looking through the lens of its users. To do that, this study relies on people’s memories and life story narratives, a role which has neither been fully understood nor sufficiently valued in place-based research. Most prominent humanist geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1991) emphasizes how the language is an important part of life in every place. According to the scholar, place is usually seen as the result of physical and material transformation of nature, influenced by man. Tuan states that the visual alone does not rise to the full potential of place power. The language, words, talk, stories – all verbal means are crucial for the process of place creation. Tuan supports the idea that storytelling transforms objects from outside into the real presence. Knowledge of the space is more direct than knowledge of time, and “the words supply a temporal dimension to the landscape that the visual image alone cannot provide” (Tuan, 1991, p. 691). The past history of the place, expressed by words through text or verbal stories, carries the value and “prestige” of the place.

Place Research of the Region

After an extensive literature review, it was determined that no inductive local-level empirical research has been done in Serbia with people-place relations at its center. Scholarship on Yugoslavian history, politics, religion, and economy can be found in a variety of sources. Moreover, in the last twenty years a considerable body of knowledge has been produced about the destruction of Yugoslavian Federation, where topics of nationalism, nation construction, memory and identity construction, memorial sites and monuments, commemoration, Yugonostalgia and Titoism, etc. prevail. Babic (2013) argues that “the history of Socialist Yugoslavia remains secondary to the disastrous history of the post-Yugoslavian period, and even more so the architecture of the time” (p. 7). It could be said that research of architecture of that period and its impact has been overlooked for a variety of reasons. Firstly, due to the lack of clear belonging of the region to either Eastern or Western spheres of interest and partial isolation of the state during the communist era, scholars were not particularly involved in exploration of the region. For both foreign and domestic investigators, the research situation in Yugoslavia was twofold: with certain levels of freedom, but with various restrictions in place because of political and economic turmoil. Babic (2013) argues how in the first few years of the country’s existence the state practiced politics of self-preservation and self-definitions and as such the government “enforced a higher level restraint for non-partisan expression” (p. 8). One can argue how Yugoslavian state modernism concepts were monotonous compared to the architecture of SSSR and whole Eastern Block. It failed to send new, innovative, and a radical message like Social Realism did. Additionally, the lack of the state institution with a role to collect and distribute research data between all

federal units was one of the reasons why architecture and place research was invisible. Although Yugoslavian provinces were politically united and connected, many dissimilarities in origin and history of the ethnical groups occupying different territories failed to unify architectural knowledge across the state. It is important to notice that, at the same time, architectures of the pre-Yugoslavian period have been thoroughly researched: from medieval Byzantine religious heritage, Ottoman heritage to the architectural legacy of Austro-Hungarians, including scholarship on the avant-garde in the region at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Despite very active global activity of place research, the specific topic of this study – the role of architecture and built environment in memory and identity construction throughout the territory of Serbia – stays completely unexamined. No single empirical study that covers relations of memory and place, or further, meaning of place, sense of place, place attachment, meaning of place, etc. has been done in this region. Similarly, while the scholarship that studies architecture mostly covers the building itself, examination of open public spaces and squares in Serbia and former Yugoslavia is completely overlooked. The fields of applied art and film have somewhat covered the role of open public spaces in social identity and nation construction of Yugoslavian citizens. Extensive work by Marta Popivoda (2013) is an excellent example of that. Through a 62-minute-long movie *Yugoslavia – How Ideology Moved Our Collective Body*, premiered in US MOMA in March 2016, this video artist addressed the issue of the ideology of the communist regime and how it revealed itself in public spaces through public state performances.

Partisans' Square in Uzice, Serbia the selected case study for this research has been sporadically investigated by local, city scholars with a focus on its unique architectural features, beauty, and functionality, and the strong political message that the square conveys. Moreover, other squares and piazzas in the region have a similar destiny. Only a few publications and usually in catalogue form are available, prepared more out of the tourist necessity than a need for systematic and in-depth research of the place. Two books, one dissertation, and few scientific papers have been published about Partisans' Square, covering the fields of history (Markovic, 2008), history of architecture (Ciganovic, 2013; Milivojevic, 2013, 2014), and anthropology (Bogdanovic, 2011). Local daily newspaper companies are the only sources that continuously observe and deliver stories of events that unraveled in and around Partisans' Square, and as such, their archives are probably the richest sources of factual data currently available about this place. During two-months of archival research conducted during the summer of 2016, a collection that includes a little less than 700 articles about the square published in local newspapers *Vesti* was assembled. It is important to add that those articles were not used as primary data sources and were not analyzed in depth, but are included to cover the researcher's gaps in knowledge, to confirm the narratives of study participants, and to increase rigor of data analysis and validity of this study. Stories that have been covered by local journalists include executions of local patriots during 1941 by Nazi soldiers, numerous political rallies, demonstrations, celebrations through different political systems, the square erection and reconstruction, detailed descriptions of president Tito's visits and his death, visits of new presidents and important political actors, 1999 bombing and destruction of the square, etc., but also the beauty of everyday life in this place,

which includes musical concerts, art exhibitions, school celebrations, sport manifestations, theater shows, and scientific discussions. Published articles portray extremely rich and often controversial political, cultural, and social life in Partisans' Square in Uzice, a relatively small community with only around 80,000 citizens.

Significance of the Study

Aside from the heavy political and historical burden that the square carries, it is important not to forget the invaluable spatial significance of Partisans' Square's ambience, the quality of the whole architectural concept, and current attempts of local activist and scholars to preserve it. The square project is considered as one of the biggest achievements of the modernist movement in architecture of ex-Yugoslavia. In an interview with the most prominent Serbian architect and scholar Mihailo Mitrovic, he acknowledges that "the Partisans' Square is one of most significant and noteworthy architectural triumphs that proudly presented Yugoslavia in the world" (Kuzovic, 2014, para. 2). Thus, more than 65 years of experience shows that a well-designed and integrated architectural space will always find its users. Therefore, it cannot be stressed enough that preservation of Partisans' Square, as many other open public spaces in the region of this type, is endangered by current political practices and problematic transitional economy. It is hoped that testimonials collected for this manuscript would help to increase the awareness about ongoing abuse of open public spaces, including this one. Although various local organizations, newspaper houses, and civic associations publicly boycott and condemn abuses of the square, not much progress has been made against those attempts. This document can be one of many to urge decision reevaluation

of the local agencies to protect the site as an architectural ambient of exceptional importance.

In addition, this study hopes to contribute to the wider conversation that has been developed around the question: “What are the ways of studying the public space to promote urban justice in the city” (Sezer & Niksic, 2017, p. 166)? Recently, public space has received increasing attention and became part of urban policy discussion as one of main facilitators of urban justice. Obvious decline of the welfare state model and its transition into a neo-liberal approach of urban development only emphasized already increased inequality between society members. The city urbanity, with the open public space in its center, has become a tool for economic competitiveness on a global scale. The “splintering urbanism,” where investments are purposively concentrated in specific city areas to promote its economic prosperity, is an excellent example of inequalities in modern cities. Good public space is often recognized as a crucial element to achieving good quality of life for every member of the community as it supports the local economy, contributes to a sense of community, encourages interaction across social, cultural and economic boundaries, but also increases mobility and contributes to better health and wellbeing (Sezer & Niksic, 2017, p. 165). However, it has been frequently reported that urban inequalities within cities keep growing. The British newspaper *The Guardian*’s blog *Cities* has presented a series of articles related to “unjust” conditions in the cities in relation to public spaces through the themes of privatization, exclusion of social groups, lack of accessibility, and distribution of amenities (Ayala & Fallshaw, 2017; Engelen, Johal, Salento, & Williams, 2014; Garrett, 2015; Hatherley, 2016; Sezer & Niksic, 2017).

By claiming space in public, Mitchell (2012) argues, social groups themselves become public. It is well known that the use of public spaces has always been constrained by class, gender, and race. Even Greek Agora, “the place of citizenship, an open space where public affairs and legal disputes were conducted, marketplace, a place of pleasurable jostling... where judgments, decisions, and bargains were made” (Hartley, 1993, pp. 29–30) was a place of exclusion. Those open public arenas were available to a homogeneous public usually consisting of those in power, legal standing, and responsibility. In newer American history admittance of women, the people of color, and foreigners “in public” has been shockingly recent (Mitchell, 2012). And today, marginalized social groups, like a homeless group as one of many, can represent themselves as a legitimate part of community only in public spaces.

According to Maros Krivy, a critic and urbanist from Bratislava, in Eastern Europe the “rapid privatization and restitution of land and property were significant in the 1990s as the nationalization of land was in the late 1940s” (as cited in Hatherley, 2016, para. 9). Talking about nature of public spaces in Yugoslavia, Sekulic (2014) claims that land nationalization specifically allowed for open spaces to become a resource whose development should bring equality, not the bases for profit making. After the crippling crises in 1980s and especially after wars during the 1990s, the attitude toward public areas changed from societal to private form, from “ours” to “mine.” In this context, varieties of injustices become visible in open public spaces: from uneven patterns of accessibility to urban amenities, to selling green areas and renting sections of public zones to private developers, and giving additional development rights to allies of the current political system. “Privatization is stripping cities in Russia and Eastern Europe of

their public assets,” Hatherley (2016) claims, “leaving a chaotic mix of advertising, dilapidation and new development.” Partisans’ Square has not been excluded from this trend (para. 1).

With this in mind, the nature of research that explores open public space needs, as the nature of public space itself, to be organized to facilitate diversity, equity, and democracy. It must challenge urban injustices by giving the voice to all social groups equally. Furthermore, the results of place studies need to spread beyond the “academic bubble” to reach professionals in practices of architecture, urban design, public policy, and politics.

Research Approach

Purpose of the Study

This research examines the ways in which the human encounter with built environment has an active role in shaping people’s memory and identity. It explores the dynamics between the place, different representations of the place articulated through narration, and renegotiation of identity in relation to memory of life events which happened in this place through a whole lifetime. To achieve that, twenty in-depth interviews of Uzice’s citizens related to everyday life in Partisans’ Square were conducted and examined. Detailed narratives, collected using McAdams life-story interview protocol, were analyzed to uncover any aspect of built environment that impacted personal self-understanding. Life-stories of Uzice’s citizens are embedded into the time framework constructed of the three historico-political periods, the period of socialist Yugoslavia (including the constituting period of WWII), the wars in the 1990s,

and the post-war period. The stories were reviewed in detail with regard to patterns and themes, but also differences in participants' narrated memories of this place.

Extremely disruptive historical, political, and societal changes that happened through whole 20th century on territory of ex-Yugoslavia were the main guides in discussion of interaction of place, memory, and identity. Selected case study of Partisans' Square in Uzice, Serbia represents a memory theatre where different versions of history constructed by different stakeholders were performed, and furthermore, adopted by its users to varying degrees. This study considers how eyewitnesses represent turbulent local history in the present and examines the role of the place in memory construction, role of memory in place construction, and the impact of these processes on identity formation. The dissertation argues that the urban landscapes, and architecture in general, represent significant geographical sites that not only trigger memory, but also are constantly manipulated to shape it.

Research Questions and Objectives of the Study

In order to meet the purpose of the study and to help develop detailed research objectives, the following research questions were applied:

1. What are the major themes found throughout people's testimonies about life in Partisans' Square in Uzice, Serbia?
2. What are the differences, if any, in narration of life events that took place on Partisans' Square connected to different life stages?
3. What are the differences, if any, in interpretation of historical events between different generational groups looking through the lens of a particular place?

4. Whether, and in what way group membership (political, educational, economic, gender, etc.) influences memories and interpretations of people's experiences connected with Partisans' Square?

This study aims:

- To determine, by looking into repetitions and frequencies, similarities and differences, and relations between themes in life-story narratives told, types of experiences that study participants remember as most important and that took place on Partisans' Square during their lifetime;
- To identify the life stage, if there is one, in which dominant memories were constructed and to determine if traumatic events are likely to leave an imprint on the lives of individuals regardless of life stage - by comparing the frequency and nature of events that happened in Partisans' Square as told between different study participants,
- To detect and compare different interpretation of the same historical events that happened in Partisans' Square through four different generational preselected groups; and
- To detect and compare different interpretations of the same historical events which happened in Partisans' Square through different gender, class, educational, and political groups.

Theoretical Framework

Two theories guided construction of this study: McAdams' Life-Story Model of Identity (2001) and Halbwachs' Theory of Collective Memory (1980). Both nominal works position the role of spaces that we inhabit, although often not explicitly stated, as one of vital elements in memory and identity construction. In addition, to interpret collected data Mannheim's Theory of Generations (1952) was applied.

In the Life-Story Model of Identity, identity itself takes the form of a story, together with its setting, scenes, character, plot, and theme. McAdams (2001) claims:

In late adolescence and young adulthood, people living in modern societies begin to reconstruct the personal past, perceive the present, and anticipate the future in terms of an internalized and evolving self-story, an integrative narrative of self that provides modern life with some modicum of psychosocial unity and purpose. (p. 101)

McAdams emphasizes the reconstructive nature of autobiography and life story that changes with age in correlation together with current life context(s). This theory stresses the role of “composing a self” in on-going identity lifework and focuses on the way in which stories of self, mediate the cultural frames in which narrative work is located. Although based on biographical facts, life stories go beyond the facts as people selectively appropriate aspects of their experiences and imaginatively interpret both past and future to construct stories that make sense to them and to their audiences. “Life stories are psychological constructions,” McAdams (2001) argues, “co-authored by the person himself or herself and the cultural context within which that person’s life is embedded and given meaning” (p. 101). Therefore, life stories always reflect cultural norms and values, including assumptions about race, gender, and class. They are interpreted and understood within a particular cultural frame, but also they are modified from one person to another.

Halbwachs (1980), a pioneer in the field of collective memory, claims that a person remembers only by situating himself within the viewpoint of one or several groups and one or several currents of thought. He states that all memories are, in fact,

collective and they are shaped by the society in which one lives. Group memberships provide the materials for memory and push the individual into recalling particular events and into forgetting others. Moreover, groups can often produce memories in individuals that they never experienced directly. Halbwachs (1980) emphasizes that space and spatial images, as a part of the cultural context that a particular group occupies, plays an important role in the collective memory. Moreover, every collective memory unfolds within a spatial framework. Halbwachs (1980) claims:

Now space is a reality that endures: since our impressions rush by, one after another, and leave nothing behind in the mind, we can understand how we recapture the past only by understanding how it is, in effect, preserved by our physical surroundings. (p. 140)

Each aspect of a particular place has a meaning recognized only by group members, “for each portion of its space corresponds to various and different aspects of the structure and life of their society” (Halbwachs, 1980, 140). Halbwachs claims that a truly major event in a life of a group always includes some kind of abrupt alteration in relationship between a group and their place.

In his seminal work *The Problem of Generations*, first published in 1928, Mannheim (1997) introduced the concept of generational memory. Based on the impression that there appears to be a critical period for the construction of people’s identity tied to adolescence and young adulthood, impacts of the events on one’s memory are much stronger during those periods. Except for this idea, generational groups are defined also based on the different historico-political periods that individuals of different groups have lived through. Olick (1999) argues that Mannheim “has redefined

generations not as objective periods but as subjectively defined cohorts: a generation exists if and only if a number of birth cohorts share a historical experience that creates a community of perception” (p. 339). In this study the notion of generations are recognized as a “heuristic devices,” transmitters or receivers of group memory, where the narration takes a central role and the group members are not passive consumers of experiences, but rather play an active role in meaning interpretation (Palmberger, 2016, p. 10). Or as Rothberg (2009) suggests for multidirectional understanding of memory: “generations borrow, cross-reference, and negotiate individual and shared past in finding their narratives, and therefore constructing their identities” (p. 3).

Conceptual Framework of the Study

Theoretical synthesis and interdependence between memory, autobiographical narration, and identity with a place (in time) in its center is presented through Figure 2.

Figure 2. Interdependence between collective memory, autobiographical narration, and identity with place in time

CHAPTER II

Review of Literature

For indeed, the greatest glory of a building is not in its stones, nor in its gold. Its glory is in its Age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness, of stern watching, of mysterious sympathy, nay, even of approval or condemnation, which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity. It is in their lasting witness against men, in their quite contrast with the transitional character of all things, in the strength which, through the laps of seasons and times, and the decline and birth of dynasties, and the changing of the face of the earth, and of the limits of the sea, maintains its sculptured shapeliness for a time insuperable, connects forgotten and following ages with each other, and half constitutes the identity, as it concentrates the sympathy, of nations: it is in that golden stain of time, that we are to look for the real light, and colour, and preciousness of architecture; and it is not until a building has assumed this character, till it has been entrusted with the fame, and hallowed by the deeds of man, till its walls have been witnesses of suffering, and its pillars rise out of the shadows of death, that its existence, more lasting as it is than that of the natural objects of the world around it, can be gifted with even so much as these possess, of language and of life.

John Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 1849, p.186-187

Memory studies extends through many disciplines, including history, literature, anthropology, sociology, communication and media studies, cultural studies, and others. Since the 1980s scholars paid considerable attention to memory, often relying on then nearly forgotten work on collective memory done by Halbwachs which is still in the center of contemporary memory knowledge. The old theoretical models have been re-evaluated and re-developed in order to address contemporary issues. The emphasis has been moved from individual to social and collective aspects of memory. By the end of the twentieth century the number of memory studies exploded, leaving us with extensive literature tied to this topic. Erll (2011) even suggests that memory had become a leading study concept in the humanities worldwide.

Architecture as Memory

Architecture has always been tied to study of memory. In her work on Medieval and Renaissance memorial strategies, *The Art of Memory* (1968), Yates explains how mnemonic systems developed in the Ancient, Medieval, and Renaissance periods were based on loci, where the placement of allegorical images happened inside imagined mental architectural spaces. Roman orators made deliberate use of imagined “architectural memory” as an aid to memorize speeches. Yates (1968) claims how this classical mnemonic device “consisted in fixing in memory a series of places, usually places in the building, or buildings, or in the streets of the city” (p. 573) were furthermore used to create spatial images and align them in a particular order that every one of them represents a specific point of a speech. “We have to think of the ancient orator as moving imagination through his memory building whilst he is making his speech,” Yates (2014) writes, “drawing from the memorized places the images he has placed on them” (p. 3). She argues that in times before printing was invented and writing materials were not common, when books often had to be memorized from the manuscript copies, trained memory was a necessity. Masses of valuable materials were preserved by using those mnemonic strategies. Yates observes that this “method of loci” or “the art of memory” which uses *loci* and *imagines*, places and images, was invented by the Greek poet Simonides and recorded in 264 B.C. for the first time. Yates (2014) claims we know today that this memorization technique was used by Greek and Roman orators equally based on the writings of unknown author of *Ad Herennium*, Cicero’s *De Oratore*, and Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria*. According to *Ad Herennium*, there were two types of memory: the natural one, born simultaneously with our thought; and artificial memory,

product of an art and one that can be improved by training and discipline. This artificial memory classified as “mnemotechnics,” while vitally important back then, has become a rather unimportant branch of human activity in modern times. Marot (2003) argues, “Classical rhetoric and syllogistics, as codified by Aristotle, seem to be profoundly governed by this assimilation of *logos* or speech, into a space that has been structured into places (*topoi*)” (p. 12).

Yates (1968) observes that memory architecture, or the art of memory, changed with the changing style of real architecture through periods. However, what fundamentally destroyed “memory buildings” as a memorialization tool was the arrival of printing. Books became the storage of knowledge for easy reference. Yates (1968) writes:

The carefully spaced and lightened artificial memory whose possessor could wonder through its streets and buildings, drawing from the places, the images to remind him of all that he had stored in his vast inner treasure house, become thing of the past, replaced by the printed page which need not to be memorized, since easy access to books and writing materials made memorization on the old scale unnecessary. (p. 577)

Although, according to Yates, the art of memory was not immediately killed by the spread of printing, however, by the nineteenth century was almost forgotten. Changes brought by printing press gradually abolished the spatial and architectural memories of the past. Around the same time, Victor Hugo (2002) writes: “The architecture will no longer be the social art, the collective art, to dominating art. The grand poem, the grand edifice, the grand work of humanity will no longer be built: it will be printed” (p. 172). His famous phrase “ceci tuera cela” or “the one will kill the other” (or “this will kill

that”), designated the printed book as a gravedigger of the built book – the cathedral (Marot, 2003). Yates (1968) addresses the twentieth century condition of architecture and memory, and cleverly predicts that the memorialization function of a building, which depends on detail, will die out as the cities have grown more uniform and travel blurs the distinction between places. She reflects here on rise and spread of Modernist Movement in architecture and its rigid and formal appearance, but also its core philosophy which refuted any type of historical memory.

What differentiates Modernist Movement from all other prior historic periods and styles in architecture is that the main design principles were established on the rejection of past, historicism, and traditional architectural styles and values. With the rise of modernity in general, Assmann (2011) argues, authors constantly “devalued all forms of memory in the name of reason, nature, life, originality, individuality, innovation, progress, and whatever other gods they may worship” (p. 3). The growth of the Modernist Movement in architecture by the end of the 19th and beginning of the twentieth century went hand in hand with development of new building technologies and materials, and new needs of contemporary society. Only after WWII old discourses emerged again to broaden understanding of how architectural practice and theory ought to relate to the past. It came as a response to the “dogmatic teachings of the CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne) and environmental consequences of a period dominated by the doctrines of functionalist design and planning” (Ekman, 2013, p. 3). In the beginning of the 1960s terms like “history” and “historian” became redefined in the field of architecture. New connotations of “culture, tradition, and memory” arose against notions of “function, technology, and international style.” Ekman (2013) claims that the

change in the field happened when phenomenology was introduced to architecture. Scholars started paying attention to “man’s intimate and emotional relationship with the built environment, especially that of the home and of childhood environments, accessed through dreams, reveries, and memory” (Ekman, 2013, p. 133). Works of phenomenologists like Edmund Husserl (1859–1938), Gaston Bachelard (1884–1962), Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908–1961) became mandatory reference points in faculty of architecture. Like in many other research fields, architects had to step out of the comfort of their own profession and find new theoretical approaches that would help them reestablish a relationship between the past and current goals of their profession.

Although memory scholars, or “memorilogists” (Gedi & Elam, 1996), often included relation between memory and place, space, monument as primary in their research, interest in memory drastically declined in architectural theory studies in the last four decades. Except for the work of Lynch (1960, 1976) and Rossi (1984) where ideas and theories of Halbwachs were introduced to the architectural discourse, scholars from the field purposively overlooked the issue of memory. Ekman (2013) states that the function of architecture as a mnemonic in Lynch’s case is tied to relation of memory to perception and formal legibility, and in Rossi’s to historical continuity and collective identity. That way, Lynch and Rossi offered renewed, and certainly different understanding of relation between the past and architecture comparing to work of architectural historians of the Modern Movement.

The Image of the City was one of the first writings from the field of contemporary architectural theory where the terms like memory, collective memory, and common

memory was mentioned, with an obvious reference to Halbwachs' work (Lynch, 1960). Lynch argues how environmental images takes on emotional quality, moreover, images become "soaked in memories and meanings" (p. 1). Lynch (1960) states:

The landscape serves as a vast mnemonic system for the retention of group history and ideals ... Maurice Halbwachs makes the same point in reference to modern Paris, when he remarks that the stable physical scene, the common memory of Parisians, is a potent force in binding them together and allowing them to communicate with each other. (p. 126)

Lynch acknowledges how the mental construct of "environmental images" is slightly different from person to person. However, he emphasizes that the members of the same social group who interact with the same architectural space most often construct very similar environmental images. Lynch distinguishes them as a "group" or "public environmental images" and defines them as the "common mental pictures carried by large numbers of a city's inhabitants: areas of agreement which might be expected to appear in the interaction of a single physical reality, a common culture, and a basic physiological nature, and idiosyncratic images held by the individual" (Lynch, 1960, p. 7). Lynch's argument fully resonates with the central hypothesis of Halbwachs theory of collective memory: that memory is social construct, it is tied to the spatial frameworks, and it differs from one to another social group. Lynch (1976) emphasizes how a "desirable environmental image" (p. 1) is one that celebrates and expands present while making connections with past and future. His theory of legibility, meaning to what extent the cityscape can be "read" based on spatial and architectural elements found, can be tied to Halbwachs' idea of *points de repère collectifs* or collective landmarks in space. While

for Halbwachs a collective landmark connotes social meaning, it represents a place that overlaps collective points of reference, for Lynch a landmark (or edge or node) represents an element of city space singled out by the mind because of its ability to aid orientation and way-finding. Halbwachs' collective landmarks are not universal, but a group-related point of reference tied to a specific social milieu in a specific point of time. For every social group, those landmarks act as "crossroads for different frameworks of the collective memory" (Ekman, 2013, p. 153). For Lynch (1960), a landmark holds only one purpose: to assist users to create mental maps by engaging mental images in order to orientate better in the city. Nevertheless, he acknowledges the role of memory in this process. Lynch (1960) argues: "In the process of way-finding, the strategic link is the environmental image, the generalized mental picture of the exterior physical world that is held by an individual. This image is the product both of immediate sensation and of the memory of past experience, and it is used to interpret information and to guide action" (p. 4).

Lynch expands his study of memory in the book *What Time is This Place?* published in 1976, where he addresses the relationship between time and architectural space. He claims that the environment in which a thing is learned inevitably becomes part of what was learned, "Special mnemonic devices associate what is to be learned with vivid perceptual images" (Lynch, 1976, p. 123). According to Lynch, temporal organization of memory uses external props, like spatial clues or recurrent environmental events. By using references from the writings of Proust, Lynch (1976) agrees that "Memory is the basis of self-identity, the self is a way of organizing temporal events" (p. 124). He repeatedly addresses the importance of social group in memory construction,

claiming that memory, expectations, and present consciousness is not just personal possession, but it is socially supported. Furthermore, Lynch addresses the theme of forgetting as well. He argues that memory is the result of a process of selection and organizing what is selected: “We prefer to select and create our past and to make it part of the living present” (Lynch, 1976, p. 37). This process of past recreation in present is exclusively based on the knowledge and values of the present. Lynch (1976) argues that memory changes the same way as present knowledge and values change, claiming that we “should expect to see conflicting views of the past, based on the conflicting values of the present” (p. 53). Additionally, he touches upon the idea of collective memory as synthesis of “communicative” and “cultural memory,” which will be defined and explained in length only later through work of Assmann (2010). Lynch (1976) states that “Near continuity is emotionally more important than remote time, although the distant past may seem nobler, more mysterious or intriguing to us” (p. 61). He argues how our strongest and deepest emotions that accompany our everyday lives are tied to our own lives and those of our family and friends, people that we know personally. This correlates with Assmann’s “communicative memory,” type of collective memory which is shared and conveyed within a social group through the means of verbal communication over a time span of only 80-100 years or three generations. Lynch (1976) furthermore makes spatial analogue, claiming that feeling locally connected and rooted, in immediate environment, is often much more important than being connected on the federal level, although often “latter can impart a brief thrill” (p. 61). If we examine our feelings that accompany daily life, Lynch claims, we find that memories tied to historic monuments occupy only a small portion of ourselves. He differentiates the spatial forces that impact

memory construction on the local level and on a broader national level. Lynch (1976) criticizes governments, cultures, societies who often celebrate “generals and statesmen now in limbo” throughout city spaces rather than local persons whom local citizens care about (p. 63).

In *The Architecture of the City* (Italian: *L'architettura della città*, first published in 1966), Rossi (1984) argues that the city is a repository of history that has played out there; it is a material artifact, a man-made object built over time “retaining the traces of time, even in a discontinuous way” (p. 128). Cities are “historical texts” and to study urban phenomenon without the use of history is not possible. Rossi claims that by learning the history of the city we can learn about history of human civilization. Lynch (1976) agrees on this, claiming how “The city itself can be a historical teaching device” (p. 54). Here, by portraying a city as “a historical text,” or as “a teaching device” to be studied with the help of archeologist and historians, both researchers unknowingly made a reference to Assmann’s (2011) “cultural memory” defined as “memory that transcendence eras and is supported by normative texts” (p. 4). Furthermore, Rossi (1984) redefines concept of *loci* in architecture, a specific place determined not only by spatial terms but also by time, by topography and form, and by “its having been the site of a succession of both ancient and more recent” (p. 7). He ties history to memory through city architecture: “The soul of the city becomes the city’s history, the sign on the walls of the municipium, the city’s distinctive and definitive character, its memory” (Rossi, 1984, p. 130). Furthermore, influenced by the work of Halbwachs, Rossi states that city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory, it is associated with objects and places in it. For him, city is the locus of the collective memory; it is both

a product of collective and a design for collective. Furthermore, Rossi (1984) explains an unbreakable connection between form and function of a building, history, and memory: “History exists so long as an object is in use; that is, so long as a form relates to its original function. However, when form and function are severed, and only form remains vital, history shifts into realm of memory. When history ends, memory begins” (p. 7). In the book introduction, Eisenman tries to relate Gioulio Camillo’s “theatre of memory” which is tied to the ancient concept of “the art of memory,” and Rossi’s cities as theatres of human events. Eisenman claims: “For Rossi, the city is a theatre of human events. This theatre is no longer just a representation; it is a reality. It absorbs events and feelings, and every new event contains within it a memory of the past and a potential memory of the future” (as cited in Rossi, 1984, p. 7).

With his work, Rossi tried to reconcile the time-place interruption or discontinuity in architecture proclaimed by the Modernist Movement. He, as Lynch, brought together a vast range of interdisciplinary scholarship on memory and on city, case studies from classical and medieval cities as well as modern settlements. By doing this, these two scholars redefine city as a collective construct over time, an open ended process that stood against town planning conceptions of the twentieth century architects like Le Corbusier and Hilberseimer who assumed that an “ideal city” can be designed once and for all. This break corresponded to a shift in the academic architectural debate, which has been described as “turn from investigating the continuity and tradition of architectural modernism and the critique of modernism as a style toward the problems of the city and town planning” (Ekman, 2013, p. 162). With regard to all that the Modernist Movement

in architecture represents, Rossi (1984) reminded contemporary architects that “The new time of architecture is thus of memory, which replaces history” (p. 7).

Except for Lynch and Rossi, who tried to deepened often frivolous analysis on the meaning of architecture in contemporary society by engaging Halbwachs’ work on collective memory, not many other researchers from the field of contemporary architecture pay much attention to the relationship between architecture and memories tied to it. Although often criticized for that, both scholars revive the idea among architects to recognize architecture not only as a form, function, and material, but as a vehicle for social and cultural processes and values. Architecture may appear as the most material, firm, and permanent of all the works of man. It uses solid materials, heavy and lasting comparing to “fleeting words of poetry or fading designs of painting” (Yates, 1968, p. 573). However, from the oldest days all great architectures carry with it a strong sense of immateriality. Yates states how from the Renaissance onward scholars dwelt on this theme of the immateriality of architecture. In *De re aedificatoria*, first printed book on architecture from 1485, Alberti emphasizes that the building exists first in the mind of the architects, prior but also after the building is completed. Furthermore, Yates (1968) argues that the building has “many immaterial existences in the memories of those who have seen it” (p. 573).

The idea of architecture as immaterial, which has been closely tied to its mnemonic function, is equally related to feature of space as to feature of time. However, architectural theory through all eras involves space as its primary subject of research, while question of time was left for physicists or philosophers to work on. The idea of timelessness, or duality of being architect “in time” and “identified with time,” was

present in architecture from beginning of its existence, both in profession and in discipline. Discussion about timeless architecture started with Vitruvius's treatise *De architectura*, written between 30-15 B.C., where he claimed that the main principles of timeless architecture were "Firmitas, Utilitas, et Venustas" or "Strength, Utility, and Beauty" (1960). Alberti was the first to introduce the concept of "building outside the time," creating architectural spaces that can stop the design clock, and moreover, history of humankind (Bordeleau, 2014). Alberti emphasizes how "man is capable of expanding time (for design), compressing it (for facture), and, most significantly, collapsing time and turning back the clock (against duration/change)" (Trachtenberg, 2005, p. 128). Ruskin (1989) wrote:

Therefore, when we build, let us think that we build forever. Let it not be for present delight, nor for present use alone; let it be such work as our descendants will thank us alone, and let us think, as we lay stone to stone that a time is to come when those stones will be held sacred because our hands have touched them, and that men will say as they look upon the labor and wrought substance in them, "See! This our fathers did for us." (p. 186)

Cockerell considered that art and architecture which aims at perpetuity must necessarily "form itself upon those models which have best attained the quality of duration" (Bordeleau, 2009, p. 134). Thus, the more solid a building is, the longer its materiality lasts, more immaterial it becomes.

The point that Lynch and Rossi and many other scholars before them wanted to make was that although materiality of architecture may often appear dominant over other features of architecture, its image that resides in the minds of different users and different

groups through time cannot be reduced to a singular representation. Their work further introduced changes in the field of architecture, creating a path for postmodernism in architecture to live.

Michel de Certeau claimed that every new time finds its legitimation “in what it excludes” (Boyer, 1996, p. 6). The relation between architecture, time, history, and memory drastically changed in the beginning of twentieth century through the spread of modernism. And if the Modernist Movement blew apart the relationship between history and the city, Boyer (1996) argues, “then architecture in the 1970s and 1980s attempted to restore the public realm of the city, to reweave the shredded urban fabric, and to reconstruct a sense of collectivity and cooperation” (p. 4). Postmodern architects hoped that traditions would be regained, that history and everyday visual reality once rejected could be re-inscribed onto city flesh. However, Boyer (1996) argues further, that invention and explosion of the cinema, television, video and Internet destroyed “our visual perspective of city scenes, our shared memories, that enliven representational views” (p. 125). Hugo wrote that the book killed architecture, and Venturi claimed that television has killed the book. Based on this idea, Venturi proposed that architecture should draw its consolation from the mass media by accepting the role as a marginalized social force “yet gaining in return from popular appeal” (Boyer, 1996, p. 125). Wigley (1999) argues, “tuned-in architects and artists have to embrace CinemaScope, glossy magazines, push-button controls, chromed kitchen appliances” only to throw them away in favor of whatever comes next (p. 32). He stresses that the meaning and the purpose of architecture drastically and irreversibly changed, and memorialization function of the building had been displaced by images. Architecture has become nothing more than the

image and architects are nothing more than image makers (Choay, 2001). Pallasmaa (1998) argues that buildings lost their temporal essence, and turned into instantaneous commodities and objects of fashionable images (p. 55). In *The City of Collective Memory*, Boyer (1996) states: “A certain passivity prevailed, urging the spectator to accept the city as it appeared and to forget about one’s civic obligations, humanity’s sufferings, or the construction of perception and social connectedness” (p. 126). Postmodernism in architecture found new, different way to preserve the past: the act of reproduction and repetition – of architecture, monument, image – offered us a new type of monumentality.

Although the Postmodernist Movement ended by the end of twentieth century in the profession, attitudes toward mnemonic function of the building has not. With exception of building technology, architecture has not change much in the last 60-70 years. Ricci (2017) states how architecture has been, for a while now, in the state of eternal present, “Where the sensitive forms and their representations in solid space no longer carry an idea of the future.” (p. 2). Architects deserted postmodernism’s historical preoccupation and entered an era of supermodernism or architecture in time of globalization (Ibelings, 1998). Abstract architectural form languages, in part revived from the Modern Movement’s developments, became new norms. For practicing architects terms like “memory,” “history,” or “tradition” would not connote favorable values (Ekman, 2013). In the decade when the memory studies exploded through humanities, architecture has seemed to distance itself.

Ongoing discussion about the threat posed on material building by other systems of representation in architectural theory directly translates into architectural practice.

Bastea (2004) states: “A distrust, or even disregard for memory has become a badge of honor for many architects, who fear that acknowledging influences from the past might relegate them to the dreaded status of preservationists” (p. 18). Fisher (2004) emphasizes how the unique quality of architectural practice lays in the peculiarly “Socratic way” in which architects learn and then apply lessons to the world. However, he also acknowledges that is the biggest weakness of the method considering that the Socrates himself distrusted memory. Fisher (2004) argues that many architects today firstly try to forget their own past in order to become good successful practitioners, and furthermore, they also ignore the past of their own clients “as if with new buildings should come new people, without memory” (p. 284). Lynch (1976) argues how often “symbols of the recent past are sought out and destroyed to clear the way for new behaviors,” and therefore, construction of new memories (p. 42).

Through design process, architects must firstly value the collective memory of the people and the places for which they build, but also make spaces to accommodate memory and imaginations of others (Bastéa, 2004). Most importantly, architecture designed and constructed must be flexible to allow the possibility for all users to appropriate it for themselves. Lynch’s “environmental image” is both spatial and temporal, a time-place. Therefore, time must be important in architecture as space. Lynch (1976) argues: “we must design settings in which the distribution of qualities in both time and space are considered” (p. 242). Furthermore, Jackson (1996) observes that involvement with places over time can make the most mundane space a part of people’s memory because of events that occur there. For him, but also others, spatial memory is the result of habit or custom, and not an unusual composition of spaces and forms

(Bourdieu, 2000; Lefebvre, 1992; Tuan, 2001). Ordinary people possess imaginative ability to make the most unremarkable space memorable over time. Duty of architects lies in accommodating the memory and imagination of others, to create spaces that leave the possibility for others to appropriate architectural spaces for themselves. Until we understand better how ordinary places impact and contribute to the memories of ordinary people, and what role memories those people bring into the place play in this process, the architectural profession will remain an “isolated and misunderstood profession” (Fisher, 2004, p. 291). In *Collage City*, by making the reference to Yates writings, Rowe and Koetter (1984) ask the questions: “Why should we be *obliged* to prefer a nostalgia for the future to that for the past? Could not the model city which we carry in our minds allow for *known* psychological constitution? Could not this ideal city, at one and the same time, behave, quite explicitly, as both a theatre of prophecy *and* a theatre of memory” (p. 49)?

Memory

TYRELL: After all, they are emotionally inexperienced with only a few years in which to store up the experiences which you and I take for granted. If we gift them with a past... we create a cushion or pillow for their emotions and consequently we can control them better.

DECKARD: Memories. You're talking about memories.

Ridley Scott, *Blade Runner*, 1982

The mystery of human memory goes hand in hand with other essential unknowns of human existence: What is life? What it means to be human? What is reality? What is memory? Ridley Scott's movie *Blade Runner* deals with the issues of humanity and personhood by tackling all of these questions through the theme of distinction between humans and machines (or *replicants* in the movie), and the role of memory in it. To

create the perfect android, a human copy, is to create a machine completely identical with human, inside and out, soul and brain. One way to do that is to provide them with the memory that they lack; but not synthetic, fabricated memories, but memories created by and borrowed from a real human being, existing human being. Rachel, last generation replicant, “more human than human,” is the first one of the all replicants ever made that is not aware of being a machine. What differentiates her from others is that she was given a gift of memory, “gift of past.” The moment when the machine stopped being aware what it was – the artificial creation – was the moment when real life memory was given to it (her?).

The ability of the human brain to retain and recollect an event, person, or scenery from memory has been a subject of considerable interest of many. Furthermore, how the process of construction and reconstruction is happening in present, what people choose to remember and to forget poses an even bigger mystery than the process of recollection itself. The opinions and thoughts on this topic varies from one scholarly field to another, and “it seems almost impossible to find a common underlying conceptualization of the process” (Misztal, 2003, p. 9). However, seeing the explosion of memory exploration through different fields, not only scientific but art as well, the topic must be considered as significant.

In *Digital Memory Studies: Media Pasts in Transition*, Hoskins (2017) proclaims “the end of collective memory” due to development of the twentieth and twenty-first century digital technologies and media. He introduces the idea of “the multitude” as the “defining digital organizational form of memory beyond but also incorporating the self” based on the fact that digital technologies have transformed remembering and forgetting

to “an extent and on a scale that should have shattered the canon (of collective memory)” (Hoskins, 2017, p. 85). Hoskins (2017) states that the term “collective memory” is the example of stasis of the comfortable that provide little examination, explanation, or justification. He argues:

Collective memory – the most used term for memory beyond the self and of the group, of society – needs upgrading in light of the digital’s ushering in of much more complex dialogic modes of communication, undermining previous configurations of individual-group-societal relations, and the forging of new flexible community types with emergent and mutable temporal and spatial coordinates (p. 86).

Furthermore, Hoskins debates that in contrast to the fact that traditional forms of memory developed from the social, and as non-archival entity, “the multitude” is inherently archival. The new *modus operandi* of everyday communication, the link, like, tweet, email, text, are archived into a chain of media-memory. “The memory of the multitude is thus made from human-archival entanglements of communication through digital devices and networks,” Hoskins (2017, p. 87) argues, and these entanglements are today part of what it means to be social. Membership of the multitude may feel like being part of a traditional collective, however, the multitude forges a “non-sociable social” or “a sharing without sharing” because its digitally connected memory is both humanly and algorithmically archived. The archive is no longer only collected, organized, managed, walled and kept by an array of institutional memory keepers, but is also diffused through a “new memory ecology” (Hoskins & Tulloch, 2016). As Van House and Churchill (2008) observe: “Archives sit at the boundary between public and private. Current

archives extend well beyond a person, a space, an institution, a nation state. They are socio-technical systems, neither entirely social nor technical” (p. 306). Hoskins (2017) states how this digital archive has broken free of its bonds, consuming everything in its path. This memory of the multitude “softens the history,” fundamentally changing the parameters of the who, what, when and why of remembering (Hoskins, 2017). There is little unseen, untouched, and uncommented by the multitude, and therefore, the multitude diminished the authority of the former gatekeepers of the memory. Lowenthal (2012) observes: “No longer what elites and experts tell us it was, the past becomes what everyman chooses to accept as true” (p. 3).

Technologies and media have changed the nature and understanding of architecture, of remembering; they have, furthermore, changed the way of human thinking and being in the world in general. In his essay, Hoskins (2017) proclaimed the end of collective memory as we know it by saying that traditional resources of memory study became obsolete, and further, how the twentieth century memory scholarship failed due to lack of recognition that digital media and technologies have transformed remembering. However, Hoskins’ essay is heavily based on Nora’s 1989 groundbreaking paper *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire*. Nora (1989) states: “Modern memory is, above all, archival. It relies entirely on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, the visibility of the image... hence the obsession with the archive that marks our age, attempting at once complete conservation of the present as well as the total preservation of the past” (p. 13). Furthermore, Nora claims how now vocation of memory is to record and what we call the memory is in fact a storehouse of material stock of what it would be impossible to remember. Materialization of memory

has been “dilated, multiplied, democratized,” Nora (1989, p. 14) argues, allowing everybody to equally contribute to the memory archive. The change in the way memory is organized has been “to deprive the historian of the monopoly he traditionally enjoyed in interpreting the past” (Nora, 2011, p. 441). Production of archives is a consequence of “new consciousness,” the expression of the terrorism of “historicized memory.” The task of remembering today makes everyone his own historian (Nora, 1989). Although Nora did not explicitly find development of technology and media responsible for this tremendous shift in nature of remembering, it is clear that his writings were influenced by it.

Huyssen (2011) argues that “we cannot discuss personal, generational, or public memory separate from the enormous influence of the new media as carriers of all forms of memory” (p. 431). Nevertheless, we cannot yet dismiss the existing memory knowledge and discourage further scientific progress which is based on, as Hoskins (2017) stated, “traditional memory resources.”

Memory, Forms and Functions

Defining memory is not so straightforward. Memory has many forms and it operates on many different levels; we remember different things for different reasons. Misztal (2003) differentiates a few of the many types of memory already defined by other scholars: procedural, declarative or semantic, cognitive, habit memory, personal or autobiographical, collective, social, communicative, cultural, etc. (pp. 10–11). Lavabre (2000) notes, “...the very notion of memory is complex,” and it includes things as individual representations of past events; collective representations of the past in the form of national narratives, commemorative ceremonies, monuments, among others; as well as

nostalgia, founding myths, and legend (p. 2). Confino (1997) observes that we have to distinguish between memory as a heuristic device and memory as part of the mental equipment of society and its age (p. 1403). Furthermore, Confino (2010) argues that the study of memory undertakes to explore how people imagine the past and not how the past actually happened, therefore, the past is not constructed as a fact but as a cultural artifact to serve the interest of particular community. Assmann (2011) addresses Nora's definition of memory, saying that by memory "Nora probably does not mean the learning capacity of mnemotechnics so much as the general cultural tradition of educational memory, which binds the individual to a particular region or nation" (p. 3).

Until the twentieth century, memory was viewed as a storehouse, private chamber within the individual consciousness, a sort of recording where things were filed away and where one could go to retrieve them. Nora observes:

At the end of the last century, when the decisive blow to traditional balances was felt – in particular the disintegration of the rural world – memory appeared at the center of philosophical thought, with Bergson; at the core of the psychological personality, with Freud; at the heart of literary autobiography, with Proust. (1989, p. 15)

The notion of a memory as "database" was challenged in the mid-1920s by the French sociologist and student of Durkheim, Maurice Halbwachs, who argued that individual memory, a notion that psychologist embraced, did not exist. In his work, Halbwachs stressed that memories are only recalled in contact to outside social environment, offering people a means to recollect and reconstruct what was remembered. Halbwachs' work was, however, largely overlooked for a number of decades. The reason for that, as Thelen

(1989) writes, lies in the fact that psychologists, historians, and others believed memory to be an objective representation of events of the past. Back then, scholars were more concerned about how memories were stored and retrieved from the individual mind rather than how they were constructed (Thelen, 1989). Halbwachs' work was reconsidered again in the 1980s, when the idea of memory as a fragmented construction of the present arose. From that moment forward, Halbwachs' work have become central to all faculty of memory, and it "provides, to a greater or less degree, the theoretical anchor for all memoriologists" (Gedi & Elam, 1996, p. 35).

Memory is, first and foremost, associated with the individual. Shudson (1993) argues, "locating memory outside individual minds is likely to seem suspect..." (p. 51). "Two radically different concepts of culture are involved here," Olick (1999) observes, "one that sees culture as a subjective category of meanings contained in people's mind versus one that sees culture as patterns of publicly available symbols objectified in society" (p. 336). Assmann (2010) separates this memory as "our personal memory," created on the *inner level* of self, "the only form of memory that had been recognized as such until 1920s" (p. 109). However, the fact that memorizing is not ever free of social constrains and influences suggest the importance of another type of memory – collective or social memory. Assmann (2010) claims, "On *social level*, memory is matter of communication and social interaction" (p. 109). He acknowledges Halbwachs's great achievement to show that memory depends, like the consciousness in general, on socialization and communication and that memory can be analyzed as a function of social life. Halbwachs, recognized as an architect of collective memory theory, argued that there is no such thing as individual memory. He never denied that individual recollection

exists, that there are “personal remembrances that seem to be uniquely our own” (Halbwachs, 1980, p. 47). However, for Halbwachs all memories are collective. That does not mean that individual memories are simply grouped together in “some magically constructed reservoir of ideas and images” (Irwin-Zarecka, 2007, p. 54), but are framed, shaped, and organized by society in which one resides and by social groups to which one belongs. We cannot remember outside of the parameters of our own language, place, time, people, and “whole material and moral life of the societies of which we are, or have been, part” (Connerton, 1989, p. 36). Halbwachs (1980) wrote: “The collective memory, for its part, encompasses the individual memories while remaining distinct from them. It evolves according to its own laws, and any individual remembrances that may penetrate are transformed within totality having no personal consciousness” (p. 51).

Nonetheless, Palmberger (2016) argues “that we should not assume individual naively take on new dominant public discourses and simply overwrite their previous experiences,” or memories of those experiences (p. 5). While she acknowledges insightfulness and great progress of memory studies, she also claims that one binary set of distinctions has remained: the division between individual and collective memory. Furthermore, Misztal (2003) claims that remembering, while being constructed from cultural forms and constrained by our context, is an individual mental act. She claims,

Despite the fact memory is socially organized and mediated – individual memory is never totally conventionalized and standardized. Memories of people who have experienced a common event are never identical because in each of them a concrete memory evokes different associations and feelings. (p. 11)

Assmann (2010) notes that memory is the faculty that “enables us to form an awareness of selfhood (identity), both on the personal and on the collective level” (p. 109).

Memories of events are not only created by people’s direct participation in social life, but are also shaped by socially shared memories of others or by “memories of memories” (Sturken, 1997, p. 4), which are often transmitted through direct interaction and verbal means of communication. For Halbwachs, memory is always “memory of memory,” past represented on the basis of external classification systems that are the frameworks of intelligence in general. Generated from the outside, these frameworks are not “of another nature than the memories” but they are made of stable and dominant memories, “stable because they have served as a fixed point of organization over a long term... dominant because other memories will be linked to them as to a centre of organization, according to their logic and their worldview” (Marot, 2003, p. 30).

Assmann breaks up Halbwachs’ concept of collective memory into “communicative” and “cultural” memory. While the cultural memory, based on Warburg’s notion of “social memory,” is an institution “exteriorized, objectified, and stored away in symbolic forms” (Assmann, 2010, pp. 110–111), communicative memory lives in everyday interaction and communication and has limited time depth. Assmann (2010) observes that communicative memory is non-institutional and “not supported by any institutions of learning, transmission, and interpretation; it is not cultivated by specialists and is not summoned or celebrated on special occasions; it is not formalized and stabilized by any forms of material symbolization” (p. 111). Although communicative memory is not necessarily tied to material symbols, texts, images, sites, regularly repeated practices like cultural memory, still communicative memory uses “communicative genres,” tradition of

communication and thematization, affective ties that bind together families, groups, and generations. Palmberger (2016) notes that the division of personal and collective memory often coincides with the division of “firsthand and secondhand experiences,” or division between memory of events and “memory of memory.” In her book *How Generations Remember*, Palmberger (2016) investigates theme of generations recognized as “mediators” between individual and collective memory, by focusing only on Assmann’s communicative memory theory. She claims that the tension developed between collective and personal, between persistence and change, is central in the discussion of “generational positioning.” Palmberger (2016) observes that “generations borrow, cross-reference, and negotiate personal and shared pasts in finding their narrative, as suggested by Rothberg’s multidirectional understanding of memory” (p. 8).

It is well accepted today that memories are not only about the past, but past in the present and the relationship between the two through time. Memories are reconstructed and (re)created in the present to meet our present needs, as Hutton (1993) observes, “The past continually being remolded in our present discourse” (p. 3). This “presentist” argument about collective memory is recognized as being the most important contribution of Halbwachs’ work (Gensburger, 2016; Olick, 2007). Coser (1992) writes:

Halbwachs was without a doubt the first sociologist to stress that our conceptions of the past are affected by the mental images we employ to solve present problems, so that collective memory is essentially a reconstruction of the past in the light of the present. (p. 372)

The memory that is present in the consciousness of the social individual is simultaneously recognized and reconstructed (Gensburger, 2016; Halbwachs, 1992). It is

about the past being used in the present, Frates (2002) argues. Assmann (2011) claims that remembering always starts in the present, and therefore, it is unavoidable when the memory is recalled “there will be shifting, distortion, revaluation, reshaping” (p. 19). Boyarin (1994) writes that “memory is neither something pre-existent and dormant in the past nor a projection from the present, but a potential for creative collaboration between present consciousness and the experience or expression of the past” (p. 22). Memory, and moreover remembering, is an active process of “not only welcoming, receiving images of the past, it is also searching for it, ‘doing’ something” (Ricoeur, 2006, p. 56). Therefore, our present but also future is shaped by memory. “Memory is a construction that is always changing,” Frates (2002, p. 13) observes and adds how “this fluidity undermines the idea of authenticity.” Thus, memories cannot be the accurate reflection of past events. Considering collective memory as a political-cultural process, Olick and Levy (1997) argue, “thus remedies the presuppositional tendency to view it either as an unchanging and definite past or as a pure strategy, always malleable in the present” (p. 923).

Memory is about remembering and memory is about forgetting. Memories that are not suitable in the present are forgotten or at least suppressed. Construction of collective memory does not represent elimination of a memory, but as a “substitution of one memory for another” (Davis & Starn, 1989, p. 2). Remembering and its counterpart, forgetting/silencing, have little to do with a mere retrospection of the past, but relate to the way one’s present and future are conceptualized (Palmberger, 2016). The crucial issue in the history of memory, Confino (1997) discusses, is not how a past is represented but why it was received or rejected. Misztal (2003) argues that division of the past into “memorable” and “forgettable” is a social convention “as it is society that ensures what

we remember, and how and when we remember it” (p. 11). Forgetting is, in fact, “counter-memory,” phrase borrowed from Foucault to describe “the discursive practices through which memories are perpetually revised” (Frates, 2002, p. 14). Assmann (2010) divides cultural forgetting into active and passive. Active forgetting includes intentional acts such as trashing and destroying, often violently destructive when directed toward an alien culture or a persecuted minority. Additionally, censorship is also recognized as forceful type of active forgetting, a powerful instrument for destroying material and mental cultural products. The passive form of cultural forgetting is related to non-intentional acts such as “losing, hiding, dispersing, neglecting, abandoning, or leaving something behind” (Assmann, 2010, p. 98).

With this said, reconstruction of memories is inevitably tied to power. Johnson (2002) writes that the development of “extra-local memories” is intrinsic to the mobilization of Anderson's imagined communities’ of nationhood and “new memories that necessitate the collective amnesia or forgetting of older ones” (p. 295). Misztal (2003) states, “major changes in the way we view the past usually correspond to major social transformations that affect entire mnemonic communities” (p. 11). She observes that the most radical examples can be recognized throughout numerous studies of change in attitudes toward the past in post-communist countries after the collapse of communism. The nature of the political power can influence content of memories in different ways. Foucault (1975) writes “Since memory is actually a very important factor in struggle (really, in fact, struggles developed in a kind of conscious moving forward of history), if one controls people’s memory, one controls their dynamism” (p. 25). Confino (1997) observes that the last few decades of discussion about memory have been reduced

to a relationship between memory and politics only. “Memory is viewed here as a subjective experience of a social group,” he argues, “that essentially sustains a relationship of power” (Confinio, 1997, p. 1393). According to Confinio (1997), memory actually represents who wants whom to remember what, and why. Collective memory turns out to be political memory of liberalism, socialism, communism, anarchism, regionalism, Catholicism, and often to ignore the category of social (Confinio, 1997). Representations of the past are mainly used to explain political relationships, but are silent about the effect of memory on social and cultural relationships. However, different versions of memory, often based on group belonging and differentiations, persist because (political) hegemony is never absolute (Frates, 2002). Some memories are more persistent than others, and the attempt to control memories is never completely possible. It is important to mention here Bodnar’s (1993) work on dichotomous nature of collective memory, which is also closely tied to the process of forgetting, and what is forgotten, when, and why. He divides public memory into “official and vernacular” type, first defined as construction of cultural leaders grounded in institutional and professional structures, which “in the latter part of the 20th century... remains a product of elite manipulation, symbolic interaction, and contested discourse” (Bodnar, 1993, p. 20). Vernacular memory represents views based on reality originated from firsthand experience in small-scale communities rather than “imagined communities” of a large nation. “Vernacular memory was derived from the lived or shared experiences of small groups,” Bodnar (1993) observes, “unlike official culture which was grounded in the power of larger, long-lasting institutions” (p. 247). However, while constructed official memory is often separated from vernacular, vernacular memory cannot ever be separated

from official memories and official narratives. Stories of the past, although highly personalized, are always drawn from a repertoire of available narrative resources like “public narratives” (Somers, 1994), “meta narratives” (Malson, 2004), or “macro narratives” (Esin, 2008) that are closely tied to institutions of power.

Memory/collective memory is tied to identity/social identity. Different types of memory mentioned, represent open and dynamic systems which very often rigorously overlap in real life. Confino (1997) defined it as “multiplicity of memory” (p. 1399). Assmann (2010) claims that individuals possess not one, but many identities according to various groups, communities, belief systems, political systems which they belong to. “We can understand each memory as it occurs in individual thought,” Halbwachs (1992) observes, “only if we locate each within the thought of the corresponding group” (p. 53). He argues that we cannot properly grasp the ways in which memories are combined with individual thought until we connect the individual to the various groups of which he/she is simultaneously a member (Halbwachs, 1992). Furthermore, people are bind together in different social systems through the process of collective remembering, and that the system is often related to local culture(s). Research on collective memory is an exploration of a shared identity that unites a social group, Confino (1997) claims, either family or nation. Collective memory allows people to experience social identification to a degree, on both collective and individual level. Communities cannot be formed, Nora argues, without memory. “Identity, like memory,” Nora (2011) writes, “is a form of *duty*... It is at this level of obligation that the decisive tie is formed between memory and social identity” (p. 441). Remembering is a realization of belonging and it often can represent a social obligation for a group member. Assmann (2010) summarizes one of the

most important insights of Nietzsche's *On the Genealogy of Morality*, claiming how “One has to remember in order to belong” (p.114). For Schwartz (2003), memory has an essential role in social life; and collective memory “is part of culture’s meaning-making apparatus” (p. 17). He argues how our need for meaning is incorporated into something that transfigures individual existence, grants enormous importance to collective memory since it “establishes an image of the world so compelling as to render meaningful its deepest perplexities” (Schwartz, 2003, p. 17). Therefore, study of memory can also reveal the way in which people define themselves. Irwin-Zarecka (2007) argues that collective memory is an “orientation force” (p. 9) that we need to study in order to understand why people do what they do.

Study of memory and collective memory, although revolves around the past, it is inevitably tied to different representations of the past in the present. It represents the crossroad of power, politics, culture, and identity. However, in order to understand memory better it is also important to address its relation to history. The differences but also interrelation and interdependency between two has been central to the study of history in last few decades. Confino (1997) observes:

Memory is a new field of research, but this is not sufficient to make of it a novelty. As a field of study, memory has a label more than a content; that is, though the label is an attractive one, in itself memory does not offer any true additional explanatory power. Only when linked to historical questions and problems, via methods and theories, can memory be illuminating. (p. 1388)

Although investigation of regional history is not a primary goal of this study, it is important not to draw a clear line between memory and history of this place but focus on

the possibility of their interrelationship and the impact history has on memory and vice versa.

Between Memory and History

Individuals make sense of the past by referring to autobiographical memories as well as to secondhand pasts and institutionalized/official histories, which are intermingled in their narratives (Palmberger, 2016). “Unlike law and policy texts,” Borneman (1992) writes, “personal recollections rarely attempt to divide history into discrete categories of political and domestic life, into a set of objective circumstances and subjective responses” (p. 38). Therefore, on an individual level, history is hardly independent from autobiographical memory. Palmberger (2016) argues that the situation is different on the national level, where representations of the past are struggles over whose memories will be preserved and whose repressed and forgotten. Because different groups have different access to power, understanding of the past based on group belonging is unequal. Boreman (1992) claims that the state holds a privileged position in terms of historiography; the discourse of the current state is presented as knowledge (history) and that of its citizens is presented as opinion (memory). Nevertheless, this does not mean that official histories are not contested and even controversial. Historian Eric Foner quotes Carl Becker and writes that history is what the present chooses to remember about the past and what it chooses to forget too. In an interview with Chris Hedges (2017), in YouTube series *On Contact*, Foner talks about the nature of history:

Historians are not novelist. We do not invent facts; we do not invent dialogues from the past... But the thing about writing the history is that history is creation of historian. In other words, the narrative is a product of your imagination – how

you put the facts together, how you choose what is a fact. For almost any important subject in American history, or any history, there are many different interpretations out there, and there is nothing unusual about that. People have preconceptions; they have different ideas of what is important and they gear the history to their own interests and the interests of their own time that they're writing in. And as a result you come up with a lot of different histories, which is partly what makes it interesting to study. (Hedges, 2017)

Foner continues that in order for history to be diverse enough it must include the "whole history and not the history that those in power wants us to remember" (Hedges, 2017), official narratives and counter-narratives equally.

Halbwachs (1980) clearly separated collective memory and history, claiming that history is scientific and somehow objective and collective memory is not. He argued that there is only one official history, however many collective memories can exist simultaneously. Furthermore, Halbwachs saw history as universal, while collective memory is important only for a single community. Written history investigates group from the outside, while collective memory knows the group from within. Misztal (2003) argues that Halbwachs' understanding of memory "rests not on *learned* history but on *lived* history" (p. 101). While the collective memory is constructed in the present, history is separated from the present. History began where memory ended, Halbwachs (1980) argued, because memory is shaped by society and history is supposed to be immune to it. "The memory of a society extends as far as the memories of the groups composing it," he wrote (1980, p. 82). On the contrary, history covers more of the past than a community is capable to remember.

Although a majority of contemporary work done on relationship between memory and history is based on Halbwachs' investigation, almost all of it has challenged his views in different ways. Misztal (2003) writes: "Halbwachs' old fashion positivist concept of history is abandoned, with many critics rejecting his narrow definition of history as naïve" (p. 102). Distinctions that he made between the two are considered irrelevant, even problematic, as Frates (2002) would argue. However, this does not completely undermine the distinction between history and memory. Nora (1989) somewhat agrees that "Memory and history far from being synonymous, appear now to be in fundamental opposition" (p. 8). He writes that history as a discipline, although always founded on memory, had traditionally been built up in opposition to memory (Nora, 2011). Nora (1989) compares the nature of memory to the one of history: memory is life, and history is the reconstruction; memory is tied to eternal present, and history is representation of the past; memory is affective and magical, and history, intellectual and secular production, calls for analysis and criticism; memory is rooted in concrete spaces and objects, and history to temporal continuities; memory is only tied to the group that remembers, history belongs to everyone and no one. He further claims how the true mission of history has been to suppress and destroy the memory. As a consequence, history has entered a stage which he calls historiographical age or turning of history upon itself, "consummating its dissociation from memory – which in turn become a possible object of history" (Nora, 1989, p. 10). Nora further claims that memory attaches itself to sites, and history to events. He named those sites as *lieux de mémoire*, or sites (realms) of memory, which represent conscious attempts to preserve memories. Those sites, in shape of archives, monuments, commemorative ceremonies, etc. are necessary because "history

has conquered and eradicated memory,” and therefore, there are no *lieux de mémoire* or real environments of memory (Nora, 1989, p. 7). Nora (1989) writes:

One simple but decisive trait of *lieux de mémoire* sets them apart from every type of history to which we have become accustomed, ancient or modern. Every previous historical or scientific approach to memory, whether national or social, has concerned itself with *realia*, with things in themselves and their immediate reality. Contrary to historical objects, however, *lieux de mémoire* have no referent in reality; or, rather, they are their own referent; pure, exclusively self-referential signs... what makes *lieux de mémoire* is precisely that by which they escape from history. (p. 23-24)

Frates (2002) argues, based on Nora’s work, that as opposed to history that aims to destroy “the sacred past,” sites of memory help to build it. Although history and memory represent two distinct ways of constructing the past, Frates (2002) states, “not only do historians use the sites of memory, but also history began to be seen as a representation rather than an accurate reflection of the past, history engulfed memory” (p. 21). Nora (2011) writes that memory has taken on a meaning so broad and all-inclusive that it tends to be used as a substitute for history; the study of history is now at the service of memory (p. 439). He concludes: “History has become our replaceable imagination,” and, “Memory has now been promoted to the center of the history” (Nora, 1989, p. 24).

Nora, and generations of historians following, started investigation of “the way in which collective memory continued to provide the larger framework for the historical linking of the past and present” (Hutton, 1993, p. 20). Hutton (1993) observes that Nora’s work had profound impact on scholars, allowing them to see that collective memory is

lodged in more places that historians have previously imagined. He further argues that history cannot be seen as a process separated from memory, but rather official version of memory which enjoys the sanction of academic authority (Hutton, 1993). This scholarship is not only focused on distinction between memory and history, but on its complex relationship which is often complimentary, identical, oppositional, or antithetical (Zelizer, 1995). “The practice of historical reconstruction can in important ways receive a guiding impetus from, and can in turn give significant shape to, the memories of social groups,” Connerton argues (1989, p. 14). Memory and history depend on each other, or as Maier (1993) writes, “Memory motivates historical activity; historical research utilizes memory” (p. 143). Palmberger (2016) argues that memory and history are not synonymous either, but rather “memory is history located in relatively subjective space; history is memory located in relatively objectified space. History is memory inscribed, codified, authorized; memory is history embodied, imagined, enacted, enlivened” (p. 18). Despite differences between history and memory, their connection is reinforced by the fact that both are mnemonic processes (Burke, 1989) and they impact each other. “Rather than insisting on an opposition between memory and history,” Misztal (2003) argues, “any attempt at a general interpretation of the past has to accept the interrelations of history and memory and has to rely on both their methods of inquiry” (p. 107).

Thus, it is not useful to draw a strict line between memory and history when discussing narratives of the past. Rather, as Palmberger (2016) observes, question of interconnectedness should be explored within the specific ethnographic context. Birth (2006) argues:

To ethnographically explore the fluid, interdependent relation between history and memory discards an inflexible bifurcation of the past into ‘history’ and ‘memory.’

This dichotomy plays a role in both the purported objectivity of history and subjectivity of remembering. In this contrast, history becomes contextual, and ‘memory,’ whether it is collective or individual, becomes a dimension of intersubjective significance. (p. 177)

Because the state holds privileged position in terms of historiography, as mentioned, counter-versions of events may emerge at the same time as a dominant narrative is told or after years of silence. Palmberger (2016) argues that within an authoritarian state, counter-narratives are likely to remain in the private sphere or outside the state control. On territory of former Yugoslavia, she argues, the status of narratives of past is never fixed, “a counter-narrative can become dominant narrative manifested in historiography, and vice versa” (Palmberger, 2016, p. 20). In this context rather than asking about the truth of the official or counter-narrative, Palmberger (2016) implies to focus on relationship between the two in the present.

The Memory of Places

Assmann (2011) observes that the expression “the memory of places” conveys double meaning: people do remember places, but also places have power to retain memories. Although, she argues, places themselves have no innate faculty of memory, they are of prime importance for the construction of memory. This “ambiguous expression” suggests possibility that “places themselves may become the agents and bearers of memory, endowed with mnemonic power that far exceeds that of humans” (Assmann, 2011, p. 281). Not only do they stabilize and authenticate memory by giving it

a concrete setting, but also they embody continuity, because they often outlast the relatively short spans of individuals, eras, and even cultures and artifacts. Furthermore, Sturken (1997) notes, “Places of memory are not vessels of memory in which memory passively resides so much as objects through which memory are shared, produced, and given meaning” (p. 9). However, the subject of memory in place-based studies is treated completely different, often in opposing ways, comparing the subject of place in memory oriented scholarly fields.

Memory in Place-Based Studies: While the notion of place is one of the most addressed topics in memory studies, mainly thanks to extensive work of Halbwachs and Nora, notion of memory in place-based studies has merely been addressed. That slightly changed in the last decade due to impact of vast knowledge produced by memory oriented scholarly fields. Investigations conducted through place-based studies include, as a main subject of research, topics like meaning of place, spirit of place, sense of place, image of place, genius loci, image ability, legibility, visibility, place attachment, authenticity, third place, topophilia, insidedness, rootedness, community sentiment, etc. – all having similar but yet different meanings, depending on which field of study they are covering. “The academic literature on place and the related concept of place making is being discussed in different fields of human sciences,” Cross (2001) writes, “researches including geography, social anthropology, landscape architecture, architecture, environmental psychology, planning, and philosophy” (p. 2).

Sense or meaning of place, as memory, relates to intangible aspects of a place – feelings, perceptions, emotions – that are created as a product of people’s interaction with specific environments (Cresswell, 2014). Friedmann (2010) writes of place’s values and

meanings as “invisible and subjective” attributes that are known as place identity, attachment, sense of place, and so on (pp. 154–155). In *Genius Loci*, written before the place-based sciences have grown and expanded, Norberg-Schultz (1979) claimed that place is a qualitative, total phenomenon, which cannot be reduced to any of its properties without losing its concrete nature out of sight. He defined, for the first time, the spirit of the place as “genius loci,” genius being “guardian spirit” assigned to every independent living organism on its birth. Moreover, Norberg-Schultz (1979) wrote, “This spirit gives life to *people* and *places*, accompanies them from birth to death, and determines their character or essence. Even the gods have their genius, a fact which illustrates the fundamental nature of the concept” (p. 18). Norberg-Schultz’s “genius loci” or “guardian spirit of place” can be identified with Assmann’s idea of “the memory of places” – ability of people to remember inside spatial frameworks and ability of places to retain memories. Genius loci carries double meaning: it is conceived as a feature of the person and, equally, as a feature of the place.

Other humanities/social sciences defined mentioned place intangibles:
in anthropology,

“*Place attachment* is the symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to a particular space of piece of land that provides the basis for the individual’s and group’s understanding of and relation to the environment... Thus, place attachment is more than an emotional and cognitive experience, and includes cultural beliefs and practices that link people to place” (Low, 1992, p. 165);

in environmental psychology,

“*Sense of Place*: the particular experience of a person in a particular setting (feeling stimulated, excited, joyous, expansive, and so forth),” and,

“*Spirit of Place*: the combination of characteristics that gives some locations a special ‘feel’ or personality (such as a spirit of mystery or of identity with a person or group)” (Steel as cited in Cross, 2001);

in geography,

“*Topophilia* is the affective bond between people and place or setting... Such ties vary in intensity, subtlety, and mode of expression. Responses to the environment may be aesthetic, tactile, or emotional” (Tuan as cited in Cross, 2001);

in landscape architecture:

“A *sense of place* is something that we ourselves create in the course of time. It is the result of habit or custom... A sense of place is reinforced by what might be called a sense of recurring events” (Jackson, 1996, p. 151);

in sociology:

By *sense of place*, I mean people’s subjective perceptions of their environments and their more or less conscious feelings about those environments. Sense of place is inevitably dual in nature, involving both an interpretive perspective on the environment and an emotional reaction to the environment... Sense of place involves a personal orientation toward place, in which ones’ understanding of place and one’s feelings about place become fused in the context of environmental meaning. (Hummon as cited in Cross, 2001);

Memory could be defined and included in any of these definitions tied to place meaning, because memory is also subjective, invisible, intangible, immaterial, symbolic,

emotional, experiential, it is tied to people's feelings and perceptions, it is produced and shared by specific culture and society, it bonds people that belongs to the same groups and are located in same place, it is created in course of time, it is reinforced by a sense recurring events. However, all the authors purposively excluded the concept of memory from the content of definitions presented. Strict line has been drawn between place-based faculty and meaning of memories because memories cannot be quantified and measured, cannot be dissected and observed outside its original social and historical context.

According to contemporary scholars, the main problem in place-based sciences is exactly that: place is seen and recognized as free-floating phenomenon, completely detached from its social, cultural, and historical context, and often from its users as well. By trying to quantify and measure the connection developed between people and place, study results are often oversimplified and meanings developed are not accurately presented and explained. Pred (1983) states that in real life these occurrences do not evolve in a biographical vacuum but in relation to the time-space specific everyday practices. "The feelings, meanings, and memories are rooted in the interaction with and things at very precise local sites and times" (Pred, 1983, p. 59), and consequently, the way data about place meaning can be retrieved and later analyzed is through narration and the diverse literature of remembering. Therefore, not only the subject of human memory cannot be excluded from the study of environment, but the emphasis must be placed on the way research of memory in place-based studies is and should be conducted. Theory of place, developed as a part of urban theory studies, attempts to establish and explain the relationship between elements of a meaningful place. Relph (1976) was the first one to determine three aspects of every place: physical setting, activities, and meanings. Due to

lack of clarity how the system was constituted, Canter (1977), Punter (1991), and Montgomery (1998) continued to work on this idea, trying to bring more details into already established framework (for graphical progress of the concepts see Figure 3, 4, and 5).

Figure 3. Components of Place, Canter (1977)

Figure 4. Components of a Sense of Place, Punter (1991)

Figure 5. Components of Place, Montgomery (1998)

Only the most recent interpretation of this theory, Montgomery's (1998) model of place, included concept of memory as a part of place meaning – image of the place. He only briefly addresses the subject: "It is perfectly possible for a proportion of these wider cultural processes, values and identities to have emerged over time from associations of events and places. For example, "this is where Guy Fawkes was captured," "this pub is where Thomas Paine wrote *The Rights of Man*," "this is where I first met your mother, under the town clock" (Montgomery, 1998, p. 101). Montgomery (1998) argues that places come to represent memory, meaning, and association for individuals, groups, and societies. He further ties mnemonic function of the building to its symbolic value: "This explains the strong feeling which is often aroused when a public space is threatened with development, why civic spaces until recently were always considered an essential element in a city's identity, and why when asked to draw a mental map of their city, so many people start with a public square or garden" (Montgomery, 1998, p. 101).

In 1983, Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff published a theoretical definition of the new concept in place-based studies: place-identity. They described it as "a sub-structure of the self-identity of the person consisting of a broadly conceived cognition about the physical world in which an individual lives. These cognitions represent memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings... which relate to variety and complexity of physical settings that define day-to-day existence of every human being" (1983, p. 59). Proshansky et al. (1983) tried to expand on Norberg-Schultz's idea that "Human identity presupposes the identity of place" (Norberg-Schultz, 1979, p. 22). Place-identity represents dimensions of self that define personal identity in relation to the physical environment. Proshansky et al. claimed that "environmental past"

is in the center of environment-related cognitions, a past of the person consisting of places, spaces, and their properties which have served the satisfaction of a person's biological, social, and cultural needs. They, furthermore, argued that not only physical space but other people in that space are vital in shaping place-identity of a person. Interaction with other users is crucial for place-identity formation, all experiences shared through activities in common spaces. Proshansky et al. (1983) empathized that place-identity does not represent a coherent and integrated sub-structure of self-identity, but rather "a potpourri of memories, conceptions, interpretation, ideas, and related feelings about physical setting as well as type of setting" (p. 59).

In the last decade there have been multiple attempts, especially throughout the fields of urban studies (Crinson, 2005; Wang, 2016; Wang, Li, Liu, & Cai, 2016), to measure collective memory by using quantitative methodologies and procedures. "Urban memory," as a sub-type of collective memory, is defined as "collective memory shaped within a particular space and time; thus, it expresses relationships between the past and the present of a particular place" (Wang, 2016, p. 2). All the scholars mentioned agree that urban memory is a local phenomenon which takes root deeply in the local, therefore, it is essential for the empirical studies of place to be conducted in relation to city entities like streets, squares, and smaller urban spaces (Lewicka, 2008; Othman, Nishimura, & Kubota, 2013; Stangl, 2008). This also correlates to Palmberger's (2016) idea that memory – place connection should be explored in specific ethnographic context. However, based on everything said about the nature of memory, among other things that "memory is never totally conventionalized and standardized... Memories of people who have experienced a common event are never identical because in each of them a concrete

memory evokes different associations and feelings” (Misztal, 2003, p. 11), to attempt to measure and predict memory of the local using mathematical formulas (Wang, 2016) seems illogical and contradictory to all known memory knowledge.

Place in Memory Studies: In year 1987 Casey wrote, “For it is a fact that memory of place, of having been in a place, is one of the most conspicuously neglected areas of philosophical or psychological inquiries into remembering” (2000, p. 183). In years to come this has changed tremendously; a great deal of literature focusing on relationship between memory and place is now available throughout multiple scholarly fields.

Majority of research, impacted mostly by Nora’s work, engaged with specific “sites of memory,” like monuments, memorial sites, etc. or non-physical spaces like commemorative ceremonies. Thus, the usual target of research in collective memory are (monumental) places tied to national histories (Connerton, 1989; Conway, 1997; Liu & Hilton, 2005; Zerubavel, 2003) and world history (Liu et al., 2009). “Every day spaces,” spaces that we occupy, use, engage with on an everyday basis are also efficient aids for memory construction: landscapes, built environments, architectural spaces, etc. (Barton, 2001). While the recent literature has given extensive consideration to the relationship between monumental environments and collective memory, vernacular landscapes and places have been given limited attention (Stangl, 2008). Stangl (2008) writes: “The monumental sustains collective memory, linking the past, present and future. The vernacular provides spatial forms for the routines of everyday life” (p. 245). He argues that scholars fail to recognize that collective memory in the vernacular is critical when centered on the complex relation between space and lived experience. Only recent literature emphasizes the role of the everyday places – streets and squares – as milieus for

social action and as loci of “oppositional collective memory” (Stangl, 2008, p. 246). Without a doubt, the history of places is not independent of the history of higher-order entities, e.g., nations, states, or the world (Jackson & Penrose, 1993). However, places also can acquire other identities, different identities based on a variety social groups that occupy a specific space. Lewicka (2008) argues that places have their own unique identity independent of any single group of inhabitants and that place-identity and place-memory can be recognized as phenomena separated from national, ethnic, or any other identities and memories: “Different people, different ethnic or religious groups who live or lived in one place, all contribute to the place’s distinctiveness and continuity in time” (p. 213).

Hood and Erickson (2001) write, “The past haunts the built environment” (p. 185). Slyomovics (1998), while talking about of Palestinian memories of place in Israel, argues that “Place possess both history and narrative” (p. 202). Many would agree that collective memory is inextricable from place. Like memory, space and place are social constructs, and like memories, are tied to cultural meanings and social activities. Lippard (1998) writes that place represents union of space and culture. Memory and space are combined to create place, or in other words, space is a place of memory (Lippard, 1998). Place helps us to remember and people intentionally use place to remember. Although places are often recognized as a sort of memory archives, they are not inactive carriers of collective memory so much as dynamic means through which memories are constructed, created and transmitted to and among group members.

Most people remember within some sort of spatial framework. In *The Collective Memory*, Halbwachs (1980) argued that space is:

...like an immobile image of time... Thus, there is no collective memory that does not unfold in a spatial framework. Now, space is enduring reality: each of our impressions banishes the one that came before, nothing remains in our mind, and there would be no way of understanding the fact that we can retain the past, it we did not in effect preserve itself in the material surroundings. It is to space, to our space, that we must turn to our attention: the space we occupy, which we frequently cross, to which we always have access, and which in any case our imagination and our thought is able to reconstruct at every moment. It is there our thought must fix itself, in order for any given category of memories to reappear.

(p. 140)

He states that in order to remember something, feelings and reflections have to be resituated in a familiar place that is still in existence. For Halbwachs, the reconstruction process operating in memory is, in fact, an operation that “localizes” (Gensburger, 2016, p. 401). Spatial image, by the reason of its stability, provides us with an illusion of stability through time and aids us to retrieve the past in the present. When we reach that period when we are unable to represent places to ourselves and when spatial images are erased from our memory, Halbwachs (1980) argues, “we have arrived at the regions of our past inaccessible to memory” (p. 157). Therefore, for Halbwachs, it is not possible to remember outside some kind of spatial framework.

Susan Sontag writes in the introduction of Walter Benjamin’s *One Way Street*: “Reminiscences of self are reminiscences of place, and how he positions himself in it, navigates around it” (as cited in Benjamin, 1997, p. 10). Certain memories are attached to certain places, and other memories are attached themselves to other places. Casey (2000)

argues: “Places furnish convenient points of attachment for memories... also places provide situations in which remembered actions can deploy themselves” (p. 189). In other words, places are “congealed scenes” for remembered content and as such they serve to situate what we remember. Place helps us remember and we use place to remember. Casey (2000) claims that “memories are selective for places,” but also, “place is selective for memories” (p. 189). A given place will invite certain memories while discouraging others. People tend to identify certain places and use those to remember, therefore, places are not only viewed as archives of memory but as a point of reference (Frates, 2002, p. 36).

Places, like memories, are malleable. Geographers argue that, like memories, places are contested, fluid, and uncertain (Frates, 2002, p. 31). People and societies often transform physical environments to accommodate changes in their memories. Moreover, changes in place produce changes in memories (Hood & Erickson, 2001, p. 181). Said (2000) argues, “Geography is a socially constructed and maintained sense of place” (p. 180). The way in which places are manipulated tells us a great deal about specific society and related culture, different communities inside the culture, and its collective memory. Place, like memory, connects past and present and is constantly changing; it is interpreted differently by different groups. Halbwachs (1980) stated that most groups engrave their form in some way upon the land they occupy and they retrieve their collective remembrances from the same land, “There are as many ways of representing space as there are groups” (p. 156). Halbwachs further wrote:

We suggest that each individual memory represents a point of view on the collective memory. This point of view changes, depending on the place I occupy,

and the place I occupy changes depending on the relations I pursue with other milieus. Thus it is not surprising that not everyone makes the same use of a common tool. In trying to explain this diversity, however, we always return to a combination of influences that are, by nature, social. (as cited in Gensburger, 2016, p. 401)

This said, place is inevitably a product of social relations and dynamics of power, mostly political economy (Foucault, 1980; Lefebvre, 1992), where power forces “construct the rules which define the boundaries” of places (McDowell, 1999, p. 4). Space is the medium but also an outcome of social and political actions.

As discussed above, Nora (1989) notes that memory takes root in the concrete – in spaces, gestures, images, and objects. He argues that memory attaches itself to sites – sites of memory – which, among others, are grounded in real geographical sites that provide spatial locations where social meanings and social identities are “fabricated” (Frates, 2002). Nora (1989) observes that except for the “portable” sites of memory, there are “topographical” ones that “owns everything to the specificity of their location and to being rooted in the ground” (Nora, 1989, p. 22). Sites of memory are purposively constructed to preserve and convey specific types of collective memories. Assmann (2011) claims that the step from communicative generational memory to historical memory, or from real environments of memory to sites of memory, occurs “through changed societal contexts and broken cultural frames of meaning” (p. 323). Because memory has been eradicated and the bonds of identity are broken, sites of memory “have come into being in compensation, as sites devoted to embodying or incarnating memory and entirely reliant on the ‘specificity of the trace’ for which we feel superstitious

veneration” (Crinson, 2005, p. xiv). Nora (1989) observes that in modern era, real environments of memory are replaced with sites of memory, and *lieux de mémoire* represent “their own referent: pure, exclusively self-referential signs” (Nora, 1989, p. 23). While including books, archives, museums, commemorative events, sites of memories and also buildings, monuments, and public spaces. All of these objects exist for the same reason, to aide remembrance of specific events. Once we invest a monument with memory, we no longer need to remember ourselves.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

This study aimed to understand how, if at all, open public spaces and city squares that people occupy influence construction of their memories, and therefore, identities. Partisans' Square in Uzice, Serbia was purposively chosen for the case study due to its high spatial and aesthetic value, extreme functionality and high frequency of use, in addition to its controversial historical and ideological circumstances which has directed construction and usage of this space. Qualitative data were gathered from twenty citizens of Uzice; the transcripts of the qualitative interviews provide the basis for this inquiry and the narrative content analysis.

Method Selection Rationale

Epistemological Stance

This study adopts a social constructionist approach, where meanings are not discovered but constructed in interplay between subject and object. This relativist epistemological perspective is indispensable in research concerned with potentially contested interpretation of historical events, resembling those which happened throughout the territory of former Yugoslavia. Related to this approach, Guba and Lincoln (1994) state:

Realities are understood in form of multiple, intangible mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific in nature (although elements are often shared among many individuals and even across the cultures), and dependent for their form and content on the individual persons or groups holding the constructions. (pp. 110–111)

Produced and collected (verbal) constructs are not considered as absolute truths, rather they represent subjective confessions that are more or less informed and/or sophisticated and extremely prone to alterations. For Reissman (1993) narrative constructs represent a *metaphor* for telling about the lives, therefore, highly subjective matter. But, they capture the complexities of human thought and behavior allowing for individuals to be active interpreters of the world.

Crotty (1998) asserts that the object cannot be adequately described in isolation from the conscious being experiencing it, nor can any experience be adequately described in “isolation from its object” (p. 45). Bakhtin, while explaining theory of “dialogism” where the meanings and expressions are created only in interaction with another entity from our environment, asks:

If my ‘I’ is so ineluctably a product of particular values dominating my community at particular point in its history when I co-exist with it, the question must arise, where is there any space, and what would the time be like, in which I might define myself against an otherness that is other from that which has been ‘given’ to me? (as cited in Holquist, 2002, p. 38)

Our interpretations are not created in seclusion but against a backdrop of shared understanding, practices, language and so forth. We are born into a world of meanings, in which we naturally inherit a “system of significant symbols” (Crotty, 1998, p. 54) and we see the world through the lenses given to us by our social environment. The realities of world societies cannot be experienced outside its ideological and cultural frames.

Throughout this research local culture is treated as a central guide to human actions.

Therefore, it is recognized more as the source rather than the result of human thought and

behavior. Geertz (1977) states: “Thinking consist not of ‘happenings in the head’ but of a traffic in what have been called, by Mead and others, significant symbols... anything, in fact, that is disengaged from its mear actuality and used to impose meaning upon experience” (p. 45). Therefore, the accounts of memory produce the meaning through their usage and within social relationships.

Apart from allowing for individuals to be actively involved in interpretation of their environments, this epistemological approach recognizes the researcher as participant of the meaning-making process as well. For Guba and Lincoln (1994) state that multiple “knowledges” can coexist when equally competent interpreters disagree based on their social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender differences. They further state, “the investigator and the object of investigation are assumed to be interactively linked so that the findings are literary created as the investigation proceeds” (p. 111). Social constructionist approach adopts a language as a representational system which functions to create and maintain social realities through the process of social exchange and shared meanings. Language is the most important medium through which socially constructed reality and meanings of it can be explored (Smith, 2000). It converts people’s thoughts and feelings, all sensory experiences into a set of symbolic shared forms that can be accessed, analyzed and learned from.

The Qualitative Inquiry and the Interview Method

The qualitative inquiry movement is built on a profound concern with understanding what other human beings are doing or saying (Schwandt, 2000). It recognizes and acknowledges individual’s narrative as a detailed source of data from which theories may be constructed. Words and language are considered as useful tools to

distil the essences of people's experiences engage with other people, things, situations, and environments (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Miles and Huberman (1994) emphasize how the "richness and holism" (p. 10) of qualitative research, its potential for gathering data which reveal the complexity of a given context, provide greater meaning to a given phenomenon. The interview method enables one to collect unique descriptions of individual's lived experience and worldview through which social phenomena can be "described before theorized, understood before explained, and seen as concrete qualities before abstract quantities" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008, p. 12). This method was chosen for its ability to capture the complexities of human thinking, feeling, and being in a way that quantitative research cannot. In the last few decades' research trends in place based studies throughout different fields completely shifted from qualitative to quantitative due to a dominance of positivistic philosophies in environment and behavior research. The foundations of this study stem from lived experiences, from people's sensory experiences of the place. Therefore, interviews were chosen as the research method because they enable participants to reflect on real-world life.

In order to understand identity and self-construction looking through the lens of a particular place, firmly structured interviews were automatically dismissed as an interview instrument for this study. Participants were not to be firmly led through an interviewing process, but to be allowed to express themselves as freely as possible about their life in this place. It was not expected of them to talk about physical perception of the square only, or about the place quality that includes aesthetes and affection toward its architecture. Quite the reverse, evolvment and maturation of everyday life in this space was the center of the research method selection. It was necessary to adopt the least

threatening interview method, which would allow participants to feel safe and unrestricted through conversation about events that occurred in this space throughout their whole life span. In historically and politically contested areas, choosing the right approach to access personal memories is key to successful and, more important, ethical and moral research. Atkinson (1998) states: “As a way of meaning making, identifying life influences, and interpreting experience, there may be no better method than the subjective narrative of the life story to help the researcher understand a life from the insider’s point of view” (p. 13). Narrative interviews often provide information about participants that may not be available by using other qualitative research methods. Narrative language offers insight and access into concepts of self and identity and it is opening up “new ways of studying memory, language and thought, and socialization and culture” (Smith, 2000, p. 328).

Narrative as Methodology

Renowned humanist geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, pioneer in people-place relation studies, in his 1991 essay *Language and the Making of Place* advises the scientists from his own field, but also others, to take the language seriously when studying the place. “The visual alone,” the author states, “does not rise to the full potential of its power” (Tuan, 1991, p. 691). After success of the 1960s “perceptual” approach in human-cultural geography, he urges “that speech and the written word be considered integral to the construction of place, and therefore integral to... understanding of place” (Tuan, 1991, p. 694). While playing a critical role in understanding different phenomena throughout various scientific fields, language is seriously overlooked place-based studies. Language is the component that transforms nature into human place. The speech mediates between

environment and behavior, and therefore, it should be explored thoroughly in order to understand the role of place in everyday life. Inseparable nature of narration and spatial context was introduced by Russian literary scholar Bakhtin (1982) when he coined the expression “chronotope” to explain relationship between time, space and storytelling:

What is the significance of all these chronotopes? What is most obvious is their meaning for narrative. They are the organizing centers for the fundamental narrative events of the novel. The chronotope is the place where the knots of the narrative are tied and united. It can be said without qualification that to them belongs the meaning that shapes narrative... (chronotope) functioning as the primary means for materializing time and space, emerges as a center for concretizing representation, as a force giving body to the entire novel. (p. 250)

Construct of narratives is highly reliant on the idea of chronotope, because every story is told in dependence of time and space. Bakhtin (1982) suggests narrative interpretations of life experiences are perceived from unique historical positions in existence where place always has dominant role.

The scope of narrative research extended from the original literary context even more widely into scholarly work right across social and human sciences. Numerous studies now evolve around the idea that the self is constructed through narratives and stories that we tell about ourselves. Bruner (1987), social psychology’s most eloquent advocate for narrative mode, states how “a life as led is inseparable from the life told... not ‘how it was’ but how it is interpreted and reinterpreted, told and retold” (p. 31). Bruner suggests how we create the meanings are influenced by the culture and environment through storytelling. Construction and reconstruction of our everyday

experiences articulated through narration represent life-making process. Therefore, the best way to access the self is through an autobiography. Bruner (1990) states,

And I do not mean autobiography in the sense of “record” (for there is no such thing). I mean, simply, as account of what one thinks one did in what setting in what ways for what felt reasons... It does not matter whether the account conforms to what others might say... Our interest, rather, is only in what the person thought he did... (pp. 119–120)

Life narratives are significant because they are one way of defining the self.

While other research approaches applied to place studies may shed the light on particular features of the environment, narrative methodology provides full accessibility to the wholesome world of inner self and self-reflection in correlation to spatial context. In this study the narrative inquiry allows participants not only to detect and describe important events that happened to them in and around Partisans’ Square over the course of their lives, but to explain why and how those events matter to them. Manzo (2005) argues that we have to refocus our research onto a whole array of peoples’ feelings and emotions, instead of “exploring only positive human-environment relationships” (p. 67). Through verbalization of memory, this method encourages people to express diverse experiences, beliefs, goals, identities, while at the same time providing framework and context for their remembered lives. “Remembrances that become selves (through narration),” Neisser and Fivush (2008) states, “are pregnant with meanings: meanings are bound together by the emotional life of individuals interconnected with the lives of others” (p. 9). Rich data collected through narrative interviews provides a broad spectrum of information that otherwise would not be available and would stay hidden from our sight.

Narrative Use in Human Development Research: Application of narrative methodology is almost non-existent in place study fields, and therefore, it is hard to discuss and critique its role in place/space investigation. Consequently, to construct the method for this study I had to apply knowledge acquired from other narrative research arenas. I found that the McAdams work on Life Stories, from the field of cultural psychology, is the most logical choice based on the nature, structure, and extensive application of his work. McAdams (2001) defines people's identities as life-stories, since "people living in modern societies provide their lives with unity and purpose by constructing internalized and evolving narratives of the self" (p. 100). According to the author, identity itself takes the form of a story, "complete with the setting, scenes, character, plot, and theme" (McAdams, 2001, p. 101). This narrative format informed development of McAdams' Life Story interview protocol, utilized for the data collection process of this research. The life story interview recognizes the participants as creators of their lives and identities, asking them to reveal important and memorable moments through narration, with attention to high and low points, turning points, earliest memories, future visions, among others. McAdams' work is grounded in Erikson's research on human development, where narrated life stories are useful only when the potential storyteller has reached the stage of "emerging adulthood" (Bernstein, 2009, p. 30).

McAdams (1996) defines a life story as a "psychological construction", meaning that the story is jointly authored by the person and his or her defining culture(s) (p. 307). The researcher argues how narratives are understood differently in different kinds of environments, all based on varied cultural parameters. Therefore, life stories always reflect cultural values and norms, which obviously differs from one setting to another

(McAdams, 2001, p. 101). Bruner agrees (1990), saying how “the (narrative) Self can be seen as a product of situation in which it operates” (p. 109). Bruner (1990) states that knowing the history is as important as knowing the culture in order to understand and interpret narrative accounts. According to the author, construction of life stories came out of our capacity to “turn around on the past and alter the present in its light, or to alter the past in the light of the present” (Bruner, 1990, p. 109).

Within modernity different opportunities, but also constraints, are introduced to different social groups in terms of narration, including different class, gender, race groups, along with others. Life stories, therefore, echo group(s) attitudes in society and reflect “prevailing patterns of hegemony in economic, political, and cultural, context wherein human lives are embedded” (McAdams, 1996, p. 307). Thus, it must be recognized that life story construction will happen differently based on group belonging even if members share the same cultural and the same time/space context. Atkinson (2002) stresses the need to hear life stories of individuals from underrepresented groups to help establish balance in the literature, and therefore, to challenge and democratize the existing knowledge.

All features of McAdams life story model explained above are acknowledged and utilized throughout this research. Its nature is closely tied to research questions and the purpose of this study, and is why the McAdams life-story method was chosen for this study. Identity takes the form of a story that develops during whole life course; it is constructed under a specific set of cultural and historical circumstances; it differs based on developing life stages of individuals; and it differs based on belonging to different social groups. Relationships to places are a life-long phenomenon; they develop and

transform over time. Past experiences in places influence our current and future relationships to places. Although the interpretation of collected narratives about Partisans' Square is situated within cultural experiences at a particular moment in the life of research participants, it still provides insight into hidden life-long meanings of people-place relations that would be hard to discover by using other types of methodology.

Narrative Approach to a Place: While many beautiful stories have been written about places important to us, cities, streets, buildings, homes, in-depth analysis of narratives told about spatial contexts that we occupy has been often omitted in academe. Narrative methodology neither has been fully understood nor sufficiently valued in place-based studies. I find that strange considering that open public spaces, especially squares, are social constructs erected not only as a result of civic need, but also as a political statement and message of power. They represent an integral part of the broader social contexts that have been subject to many studies through numerous research fields. "Tales of the city thus are scarcely marginal," Finnegan (1998) states, "but likely to play a significant role in our experience and understanding" (p. 1). In one of only a few studies found about place narratives, named *Tales of the City*, the author urges one "not to look just to the obvious locus of intellectuals' accounts, but also to tales of specific cities and – a dimension too often overlooked by social theorists – to the narratives through which urban dwellers themselves formulate their experience" (Finnegan, 1998, p. 3). In Dormans' (2008) published dissertation titled *Narrating the City*, rooted in the work of Massey (2005), Sandercock (2003), and Healey (2002), the author claims how the city spaces could be understood as a collection of stories. "These so-called urban tales, author are continually told and retold by a wide variety of people, and as such they tell a

complex and dynamic story about the city” (Dormans, 2008, p. 6). The study focuses on the multifaceted plurality of coexisting stories that defines images and experiences of the urban life. Dormans (2008) adopts a so called a “polyvocal approach” to the city, trying to rethink the relationship between his own voice of researcher and citizen, and all other voices present throughout the research process.

Context represents an important aspect of storytelling and it is used in various ways to refer to external influences like the historical period, physical surrounding, culture (Gee, 1991), and the immediate social setting, that is, “to whom person is speaking and for what purpose” (Smith, 2000, p. 328). Self and purpose of self are constructed and reconstructed through narration “in the context of internal and external relations of time and place and power that are constantly in flux” (Somers, 1994, p. 621). The connections of narration and physical environments should be explored deeper, for various purposes. Patterson and Williams (2005) argue that recent critiques suggesting the lack of systematic progress of place-based research, are grounded in viewing place research as if it should constitute a single research tradition. The conceptual clarity of place research possibly cannot be achieved yet because of the state of place knowledge characterized by different epistemological foundations of place research traditions. Nonetheless, Patterson and Williams (2005) encourage research novelty and acceptance of diversity in scientific thought. Scholars are invited to adopt a “critical pluralist perspective” (Patterson & Williams, 2005, p. 377) and reflective dialogue in place research, which requires an attitude of openness to, and appreciation for, other paradigms. By introducing the new approach and the new way of conducting research by using

McAdams life story narrative model of identity, this study aims to offer yet another way of understanding the role of urban city environment in everyday life.

Political Purposes for Narrative Research: Bruner (1990) defines and explains dependence of cultural psychology on narration. But more important, the author clearly highlights the democratic aspect of narrative inquiry:

It concerns open-mindedness – whether in politics, science, literature, philosophy, or the arts. I take open-mindedness to be a willingness to construe knowledge and values from multiple perspectives without loss of commitment to one's own values. Open-mindedness is the keystone of what we call a democratic culture...I take the constructivism of cultural psychology to be a profound expression of democratic culture. (Bruner, 1990, p. 30)

This methodology provides equal opportunity for all parties involved to communicate about study matters: for participants to detect and describe life experiences about the living place, and to explore their feelings, emotions, and attitudes formed by participation in life events through narration; and for researchers to interpret and discuss the results in an honest and ethical way, by acknowledging and defining her or his active role throughout every stage of research. All viewpoints are equally important for the study, thus, must be recognized and documented in that manner. Moreover, Riessman (2007) stresses the importance of political and ethical uses of narrative inquiry for social change, proposing to be one of the many criteria of validity assessment. By quoting feminist scholar Patti Lather about empowering research designs, Riessman (2007) emphasizes that “the research process reorients, focuses, and energizes participants toward knowing

reality in order to transform it, a process Freire called conscientization (critical consciousness)” (p. 196).

Lack of empirical “bottom-up” research in the region of former Yugoslavia produced conditions of one-sided, incomplete, often deeply politically charged interpretations and descriptions of local histories, and therefore, of people’s everyday life throughout the international scholarly scene. This situation left actors of those events completely unrepresented, leaving outsiders to interpret and explain meanings of events which took place throughout this territory. Voices from the inside are overheard and often ignored. Atkinson (2002) states, “When we share our stories, others will get to know and understand us better, in ways that they hadn’t before” (p. 128). The right choice of methodological approach is essential for unbiased and impartial investigation throughout territories with contested historical circumstances. The life-story narrative method, by allowing for multiple truths to be recorded and interpreted, sheds a new light on the existing body of knowledge of place-based studies in the region. Stories that shape and contest social realities, both uphold and challenge the power (Finnegan, 1998).

Another aspect of research “democratization” lies in the lack of Serbian’s government’s interest to listen to the voices of its citizens, especially when deciding on planning strategies, and my attempt to bring attention to the subject matter. An extremely turbulent political situation and severe economic problems has allowed politicians to make and adopt policies based on individual interests, instead on needs and wellbeing of all its citizens. While The Netherlands, Sweden, Finland, and other countries with high human rights indices are trying to adopt a “storytelling” model as a part of their spatial planning practices (Bulkens, Minca, & Muzaini, 2015), this does not appear to be the

case study in Serbia. The local government is trying to shut down a handful of activists who still willingly fight for public gathering spaces to stay public. Sandercock (2003) argues that “Stories and storytelling can be powerful agents or aids in the service of change, as shapers of a new imagination of alternatives” (p. 18). Through collection and portrayal of stories of Partisans’ Square, this study offers citizens to openly and honestly express love, joy, belonging, pride, fear, rage, revolt connected to the square in hope that their stories will resonate with scholars and policy makers interested in this topic. Also, to discover that some other neighborhood or social movement in your country has won some similar battle can be inspiring and galvanizing.

Application of life story narrative method in this study has allowed for members of underrepresented groups voices to be heard as well. Freire states how obtaining power should not be achieved by taking it from those who have it today, but to reinvent it, “to create a different kind of power” (as cited in Christians, 2000, p. 148). Life-stories echo gender and class constructions in modern societies and reflect underlying patterns of hegemony in different cultural contexts where participants’ lives are embedded (McAdams, 1996, p. 307). The empowerment of women’s narrative is a major theme in many feminist social sciences writings, especially in cultures where women have been seriously deprived of the right to publicly speak and express themselves. Uzice is an ethnically, racially, and even religiously uniform city, more or less similar to the rest of the state. But, women have never been equally present in the public arena compared to men. Having been a communist country for 40 years, then living through the transitional political period of the 1990s, and entering “democracy” in 2000, narratives of political identification and belonging are extremely different, often confusing, from one individual

to another. The life-story methodology enables various social groups that differ based on gender, class, and political preference, to express their attitudes and opinions about shared cultural space.

While I have tried through this study to share my personal interpretations and understandings of participants' stories, it is important to remember that these narratives are co-constructed with multiple actors involved: interviewees themselves; myself as an investigator; and this place, its historical context and the impact it had on interviewees at a specific point in time. I asked participants on a few occasions to reevaluate and rethink their narrated texts, and I strived to include them in discussion around parts of the data analysis. I have aimed to build a relationship of honesty and trust, for participants to understand that their words and stories will not be mistreated, and worse, used for benefit other than of this research, place preservation and place improvement.

Interview Protocol and Materials

Research Instrument

The life story model of adult identity is one of a many new approaches in the social sciences and cultural psychology that emphasize narrative nature of human conduct. Atkinson (2002) defines it as:

The story a person chooses to tell about the life he or she has lived, told as completely and honestly as possible, what the person remembers of it and what he or she wants others to know of it, usually as a result of a guided interview by another. (p. 125)

To tell the story, even the story about your life, is the most natural way for humans to communicate. We do that every day by using different means, and we have done so from

the beginning of time. Narrative scholars agree that the vast majority of people really want to share their life stories, they just need someone to listen (Atkinson, 2002). On the other hand, the researcher, recognized as a collaborator in an open-ended process of the interview, is never really in control of the story told. The questions are shaped not to target specific information, but to allow participants to choose from the pool of experiences the most meaningful ones to tell based on the scope of the question. This type of interview allows for participants to find their own voice with the least amount of interruptions. Therefore, the process of the interview, as an act of “witnessing - really hearing, understanding, and accepting, without judgment” (Atkinson, 2002, p. 126), can be deeply transforming practice for the interviewee as well as interviewer.

Although the difference between a life-story and a life history is minimal, the difference between a life story and oral history as a method of research lies in the scope of a study. Oral history most often focus’ on “what someone remembers about a specific historical event, issue, time or place,” while the life-story investigates a person’s entire life (Atkinson, 2002, p. 125). This study examines the ways in which lives of Uzice’s citizens have been developed in relation to a particular public space throughout their whole life span, from its beginnings to the moment of the research interview. I found that McAdams Life story interview protocol is the most appropriate instrument that could be applied to this type of research. The interview questionnaire was an outcome of McAdams’ life story model of identity, where individuals living in modern societies begin to organize their lives in terms of evolving narratives of self in late adolescence and young adulthood. Additionally, the protocol is highly consistent with the theoretical framework, research questions, and purpose of this study. It is well suited for

interdisciplinary studies and it has multiple research functions. The interview protocol is highly applicable to different areas of study, and that is why this procedure is extensively tested and used in similar research in many different fields. The full questionnaire, together with a thick and detailed description of every interview phase, is uploaded on Foley Center for the Study of Lives and is available for everybody to use at no charge (see Appendix A).

The interview protocol for this study was redesigned to follow McAdams' life-story interview format closely with a few adaptations geared to support the aims of the study. The original document consists of eight different sections and altogether twenty-three questions, including "introduction" and "participants' reflections" sections representing the beginning and the end of the interview. In order to adopt the protocol for place-based research and to meet research goals of this study, detailed analysis of literature, consultation with peers, and unofficial discussions with acquaintances from Uzice, Serbia, who already fit into the participants' description were used. To gain IRB approval, the adopted and translated interview questionnaire had to be verified by a professional translator or scholar who is well versed in both Serbian and English languages, but also familiar with Serbian customs, traditions, and life styles. A new redesigned protocol was tested through discussion with friends, family members, and acquaintances over Skype. The purpose of these conversations was to discover: how well interviewees could understand translated questions and assigned explanations; how easy or difficult was it for them to recall specific memories about this place; and was there anything in the questionnaire that participants would not feel comfortable talking about. After five Skype interviews, all collected notes and comments were used to improve the

questionnaire for the specific target group of participants. At that point in time, I did not consider that personal relationships with participants could create an atmosphere of unconditional trust, which usually does not exist between interviewer and interviewee during the research process. After the second round of changes, I was advised by one of my peers to remove the whole E section - “Personal Ideology” - from the interview protocol concerned with religious/ethical, political/social values and change of these principles throughout life. Being a communist and socialist country for more than 40 years, where different political and religious opinions were censored and often sanctioned, it was assumed that some participants would find it hard to be honest about their political past. Those assumptions were correct and especially applicable for the oldest group of study participants who spent the largest portion of their lives under Tito’s regime. The reason I failed to notice this during the first round of questionnaire modifications was that all of the initial contacts were people close to me. They did not feel threatened to share political and religious views because they knew me well and they knew they could trust me. Consequently, I made the decision to exclude friends and family members from selection of potential study participants because having any kind of relationship with candidates could bring a strong source of data bias.

Interview Questions Alterations

All changes made in McAdams life story interview questionnaire aimed to refocus narration attention from participants’ “life story” to participants’ “life story in the open public space”. The interview protocol for this study begins with the sentence: “This is an interview about the story of your life connected with Partisans’ Square” (see Appendix B). Instead of talking about any life event that fit into the scope of the question,

participants were asked to limit responses to events related in one way or another to this place throughout their whole life span. This principle was applied to adjustments of all other parts of the interview. The first question, concerned with description of participants' "Life Story chapters," was revised to cover life chapters in relation to Partisans' Square. Next, the key scenes of the Life Story, that include high, low, and turning point, negative and positive childhood memory, vivid adult memory, and wisdom events were interpreted and narrated by participants inside the boundaries of proposed spatial context. The text of the last question of the second portion of the interview that covers religious, spiritual, or mystical experiences which happened in this place, was rewritten to focus more on spiritual and less on religious aspect of Partisans' Square (differences are presented in Appendix A). According to the last 2011 Census, somewhere between 5% and 6% of Serbian citizens in terms of religion declared as: atheists, agnostics, "unknown" or "undeclared." However, around half of the participants of this study denied belonging to any religious group. The extensive body of knowledge from the field of landscape architecture and humanist geography confirms that place "spirituality" is not related to religion or religious sites exclusively. My personal experiences and knowledge of this place direct me, as well, to make this decision. Consequently, this question was changed to allow participants to interpret the term "spirituality," as spirituality of events experienced on Partisans' Square or spirituality of the place itself, in a way most logical to them. All of the questions from the third part of the questionnaire that covers the future endeavors of research participants were adapted to include three aspects of the place: how participants see the future of the square, what would they like to happen with this place, and what would their role be in the future of

this place. Participants got an opportunity not only to reflect on the future of the square realistically, but to dream and hope for the best possible outcome of the local, urban life, and to imagine themselves as actors who actively participate in community growth and development based on their needs and life goals. The next section of the questionnaire covers challenges connected to the square, or in other words, challenges recognized and understood by participants at the time of the interview. This set of questions provided an opportunity for Uzice's citizens to critique all bad decisions ever made about this space and to evaluate good ones. Furthermore, they were asked to talk about the importance of the square's continuity in their lives, but also the life of the city. In addition, the question of "Life Loss" was adapted to address possible feelings of nostalgia or melancholy if participants decided to move from the city or to address any type of loss that she or he might feel in relation to the square. Instead of focusing on feelings and emotions connected to the loss of a person, which is part of the original McAdams' questionnaire, study participants were asked to look at possible loss of a place from various angles. Literature shows that narratives of place attachment, especially for residents that are forcefully removed from home or beloved place, can be an extremely powerful and important part of a person's memory and inner life. During NATO bombing in 1999 part of this square was destroyed to the ground, therefore, this question provides great opportunity to inspect the meaning of this act in citizen's lives. The next unit of interview questions, concerned with personal ideology, was excluded from the questionnaire for reasons previously explained. The last section of the interview is focused on "Life Theme" of Partisans' Square. Participants were asked to summarize all life experiences connected with this place into one word, set of words, or sentence and to explain the

reasons behind it. In addition, the last question asked participants to reflect on the process of the interview. This was the only part of the questionnaire that was preserved in original form, except for inevitable smaller alterations which occurred through translation. This question allowed participants to reflect on the process and was very useful to wrap up the interview.

Interview Procedures

Interview Settings

During the summer of 2014 for interview purposes I requested and was allowed to use one office in a local library situated on the square of interest which could meet all requirements of research collection process: privacy, silence, and safety. However, I offered additional options to all participants of the study to choose another comfortable place where lengthy interviews could be conducted without interruptions. Of the twenty participants, twelve of them decided to be interviewed at my home and seven decided to be interviewed in their homes. One participant, 74 years old at the time, asked for the interview to occur in a local senior gathering place where he liked to spend his evenings. He lived with his 95-year-old mother, and insisted on not interrupting my privacy by coming to my home for the interview. Before the interview took place, we got together once in the same location to have a chat and test the place for noise impact. The facility had a wide variety of gathering rooms, which allowed us to complete the interview in isolation and without interruptions. The atmosphere of the interviews conducted in my home was easy to control, with all electronic equipment and telephones turned off. Participants were aware that we were alone in the house and that I did not expect anybody to come in during the interview time. Although all participants who requested to

be interviewed at their own homes made appointments for a time of the day when facilities were unoccupied, the atmosphere of these interviews was harder to control. Occasional home phone ringing or “neighbor at the door” would interrupt the process, but usually all of them prepared their homes in advance for this process. Meetings with participants prior to research interviews, in order to get to know them and to ensure that they were the right choice for the study usually happened in local gathering places, cafes and restaurants, of their choice.

Participants

Subject Recruitment: Twenty adult participants, age 18 years or older, were interviewed in Uzice, Serbia in between July 1 and September 4, 2014. According to the literature review, the numerical target for the number of participants in a narrative study should be based on “data saturation,” or in other words, the data collection process should continue until enough data is collected to answer all research questions of a study. However, I followed Josselson and Lieblich’s (2002) advice provided for students and novice researchers and decided on the participant number before the data collection process began, with ideal range from five and not more than thirty participants (p. 267). Selective or theoretical sampling was employed – deliberate selection of participants to cover a good cross-section of people of different ages, gender, educational background, social class, and so on (Strauss, 1987). Participants were recruited by using snowball method through acquaintances, associates, and friends who are citizens of the Uzice, Serbia, and who are closely connected with the place of research. In order to address all research questions, to cover a variety of experiences, and to avoid potential biases, inclusion/exclusion criteria was created before the data collection process.

The life story narrative method looks to discover experiences throughout the whole life span, therefore, all twenty chosen candidates had to be residents of Uzice, Serbia, who decided to live in their hometown and were not absent from the city more than eight years due to educational purposes. Second, to detect the themes and differences in narratives between different age groups, equal age distribution of participants was essential. Participants ranged in age from 20 to 78 years, and the average age of the participant group was 45.75 years at the time of the interviews. Five participants were chosen as representatives for every age group: from 19 to 32 years old – generation four, 33 to 49 – generation three, 50 to 63 – generation two, and 64 and older – generation one. Age groups were formed based on life stages related to personality development and important historical events which happened in the area. This study aimed to hear opinions of women and men equally about the meaning of the place. Therefore, eleven women and nine men were chosen to participate in this study. In addition, to avoid possible data biases, relatives and family members of interviewees were automatically excluded from the list of possible participants, as were people that I personally know. In order to avoid dishonesty, I tried to select candidates who were willing to participate in this research and share their story about the square. All participants were Caucasian due to uniform racial distribution throughout all of Serbia. All of them were born in Serbia and had only Serbian nationality at the time of the interview.

Although all participants declared as believers, nine of them were Orthodox Christians. The rest of them stated that they “believe,” but denied belonging to any religious group, understanding Orthodox Christianity more as tradition that they lived by

then religion. Nine participants were married at the time; nine were never married; one participant was divorced and one was a widower. Nine participants had one or two children, and eleven of them did not have children at the time of the interview. All five members of the youngest age group of this study were not married and did not have any children in the time of the interviews. Twelve participants had college degrees and five had high school degrees. One interviewee had earned a doctoral degree and two had earned Master's degrees.

A short descriptive summary of participant narratives and a brief synopsis of their life trajectories are provided below to enhance the readability of this document.

Introductory Biographies: All the participants are presented here based on their age group, starting from the youngest group to oldest. The names of all participants have been changed to protect privacy.

- Generation Four: Ages 19 to 32 years old:

Milan: Milan grew up in Uzice and was currently living in Belgrade for education. He frequently visited the city because of his family, but also for job opportunities that he was offered. Because of his eloquence and debate capabilities, he was asked many times to be a presenter and announcer at numerous cultural manifestations that took place on the square. He was a member of many student groups which promoted themselves through this space.

Iskra: Iskra was a young, ambitious law student at the time of the interview, planning to continue her schooling after college completion. She never lived near the square, but she was a frequent visitor since her high school was located in city center. At the time of the interview, she was not certain she would come back to Uzice.

Mila: At the time of the study Mila was a business school student, situated in Belgrade. She was born in Uzice and she lived there until she left for college. During high school she volunteered and worked multiple jobs, which often put her in the city center.

Marko: Marko was a student of dramaturgy and dramatic writing in Belgrade, pursuing his Master's degree. Although young, he was already well known and established in his field. While growing up in Uzice, he spent many hours at the National Theatre building located on Partisans' Square. His attachment to this place was mainly established through different cultural activities.

Ivan: Ivan grew up in the apartment located in one of the buildings on the square. He spent every free minute of his life outside, playing with friends, listening to different musical performances, demonstrating, acting, doing activist work, all on the square. At the time of the interview he was finishing the law school in Belgrade, planning to open his own business in his hometown.

- Generation Three: Ages 33 to 49 years old:

Jovana: Jovana's parents house, the house she grew up in, was located far away from the square and the house that she lived in at the time of the interview was even more secluded. Nevertheless, through all four years of high school she was part of many community events that often took place on the square. She was absent from the city eight years due to college education, but she frequently visited. She got married, had a child, and she continued to use the square frequently as a source of entertainment.

Dunja: Dunja spent her childhood on the square with her family, in long evening walks and bicycle driving during the day. She spent her youth with her friends on the square, playing games, having ice-creams and watching the movies at the local cinema. She was

absent from the city for five years, due to educational purposes. She met her husband for the first time on the square.

Rista: Rista was born in Uzice and he spent all his life there. His parents' apartment was located in one of the buildings on the square, and he still lived there with his mother at the time of the interview. After high school graduation, he specialized in telecommunication, but he never managed to keep the job for the long time. He considered the square as his "home." He was occasionally absent from the city, usually two months per year, visiting his brother who lived abroad.

Marija: Marija was born in Uzice, and her house was located a two-minute walk from the square. She considered the square as "her second backyard." She was absent from the city in her twenties for five years for a college education. At the time of interview, she was teaching textile design in a local art high school. She lived with her parents, in the same house where she grew up, visiting the square on a daily basis.

Kaja: Kaja spent the first 20 years of her life in Uzice, after which she moved with her family to New Zealand. She came back alone after six years, opened her own business and created a new life for herself. Her photo albums are full of pictures she took with her friends on the square through different life periods. At the time of the interview, after many years spent in the city, she was thinking about going back to New Zealand again.

- Generation Two: Ages 50 to 63 years old:

Lena: At the time of this study, Lena worked as curator in a local museum and was actively involved in events concerned with square preservation. She was absent from the city for eight years, due to education and volunteering in Belgrade. Extremely aware of all controversies and problems that existed around protection of the square, she organized

many panels and public discussions in order to increase citizens' awareness about the ways public spaces can be defended.

Slavica: Slavica was born in the neighboring city of Pozega, and moved to Uzice when she was four years old. Her childhood and adolescence period was divided between these two cities. She was absent from Uzice for four years due to a college education. The square became important after she got married and had children. She never lived nearby this place, but visited frequently due to proximity of her work. She was a high school writing and literature teacher.

Lola: While growing up, Lola could see Tito's monument through her room window. Until she left Uzice in her twenties, she lived in an apartment on the square with her parents, who resided there until their death. She grew up to be a reputable endocrinologist. She was still the owner of the apartment, but she was not planning to move back from the house she built with her husband. At the time of the study, every Saturday morning Lola would meet her female colleagues from the hospital at a café located on the square.

Milica: Milica was born in Uzice and lived most of her life close to the city square. She was absent from the city only five years in her twenties due to college education. She graduated from law school, came back home, became a lawyer, entered into politics, and started working for the government. She did not get married and she did not have any children. In the time of interview, she had an office that overlooked Partisans' Square.

Dusan: Dusan was born in Uzice and had spent his whole life in the city. He witnessed the square erection, and was a part of all the changes that came after that. He moved from the city center after he got married. At the time of the interview, he walked every evening

from his home to the square and back, as a part of his daily exercise routine, accompanied by family members or friends.

- Generation One: Ages 64 years and older:

Bojan: Bojan was born in Uzice and spent his whole life in this city. After finishing high school, he started working in the local metal processing factory. He got married, made a house for his family a twenty-minute walk from the square, has two children, and opened his own private business where he worked until retirement. He never lived close to the Partisans' Square, although as many city kids, he grew up on the square. He claimed that he was not a frequent user of the square's amenities at the time of interview.

Olivera: Olivera was born in a small village near Uzice. She grew up between her home and a relatives' house in the city where she stayed during the school years. Olivera picked her ring and got engaged on the square. She married young, built a house on the outskirts of the city, and became a mother of two. She was never employed, spent her life taking care of children, husband, and her household. She was a passionate walker, visiting the city center at least once a day.

Zoran: Zoran moved to Uzice with his family when he was three years old. He was a competitive athlete until his late twenties when he became a physical education teacher at a local elementary school located close to the square. His job and interest in sports put him in the center of many sport manifestations that took place on or around the square: marathons, races, basketball tournaments, among others. At the time of the study, Marko's only activity connected with the square was to take his granddaughters there to play.

Milovan: Milovan was an architect who actively participated in the square construction. He was born in Uzice, spent his childhood and youth there, he completed architectural school in Belgrade after which he returned to the city. He did his internships on the Partisans' Square project, but he also continued to be actively engaged in square preservation and restoration. He married his ex-wife on the square and their children grew up in this place.

Igor: Igor was born in the house located on old Zitna Market, the same place Partisans' Square was erected after the war. During World War II, his family rented one room in the house to a local civil engineer who was part of 1941 resistance movement, who was later hanged by the Nazi soldiers on that same market. He grew up to be a historian, teaching in the local schools and publishing books and research about local history.

Data Collection Process and Procedures

Data collection process, which includes life story interviews, members' check, and archival research was performed during July and August of 2014, and June, July, and August of 2016. Except for using participants' life stories as the main source of data, I collected and recorded all events that took place in the market/square from the year 1941 to 2016 by looking through the archives of the local daily newspaper *Vesti*.

Life-Story Interviews: After getting IRB approval, nine possible candidates were contacted via email and Facebook. I introduce myself, briefly explained the purpose of my research and asked for an appointment. After arriving in Serbia, I met a total of thirty-four people before selection of the final twenty study participants. The decision was made, first and foremost, based on inclusion/exclusion criteria, but also on richness and variety of stories the possible candidates presented during the informal conversation.

Only one pre-selected male candidate declined to participate in the study, due to personal reasons. All other participants accepted to participate after learning more about the study. The other thirteen possible candidates were notified by phone or in person that their services would not be needed.

Younger participants felt more comfortable to be interviewed at my home, usually due to lack of privacy in their living quarters. Older participants preferred to be interviewed in their own home. Before every interview, I ensured that the candidates understood the voluntary nature of their participation and the possibility to leave and end the interview at any time. After signing the Informed Consent, interviewees were asked about their demographic information first: age, gender, level of education, occupation, marital status, ethnicity, religious status, and contact information for further contact.

Interviews were 65 to 170 minutes long, with the average being 103 minutes. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. In order to establish trust and a motivating atmosphere during interviews, I tried to be actively engaged in the process and to show encouragement and support for the interviewee. But at the same time, I was careful not to interrupt natural flow of the interview progression. I showed my interest by using short phrases, such as “yes,” “right,” “interesting,” or nodding. To clarify things, I would address the issue with the question, “What did you mean by...?” but only after the participant would completely finish answering the proposed question. Therefore, it was necessary to take some form of notes during an interview, as long as the activity did not interfere with the interviewee’s attention.

After every interview, I spent about one hour writing reflective notes on: general atmosphere of the interview, participants’ behaviors, but also my feelings and emotions

connected with the stories told. I was often familiar with events narrated during the interviews, and therefore, I had pre-formed opinions about some of them. Writing notes allowed me to distance myself from the stories told by reflecting on them, which was often hard, especially when interviewees were participants of the same age.

Members Check Process: Upon arrival in Serbia in June of 2016, I contacted all participants in order to provide them with paper copies of their interview transcripts. Four participants were not available to meet due to physical absence from the city and illness. I met all other sixteen participants, gave them some time to reflect on the interview texts, and I then held a second round of meetings. During the second round of meetings, I asked them to discuss the issues they found interesting and intriguing, or simply to tell me about any part of their stories that changed in two years. Additionally, I asked study participants to expand or explain issues that I found important for the data interpretation. Later, I presented them with the main themes found throughout their narratives and asked them to reflect on that. None of the research participants had any problems to address important issues, and the majority of them did not want to change their stories in any way. During this round of meetings, I usually took notes which were later combined with notes already provided by participants. This round of interviews took place in less official environments, usually in a quiet café garden of their choice.

Archival Research: A thorough examination of archives of the local weekly newspaper *Vesti* was conducted during the summer of 2016. A collection that includes 700-800 articles about Partisans' Square was assembled. The investigation covered all issues from February 1945 – issue number 27, to August 2016 – issue number 3495. This selection represents the richest source of factual data currently available about this place. After the

first round of analysis I realized that I knew a lot about some events presented by the participants, but not enough about others which carried equal importance throughout their lives. It is imperative to mention that this study is not focused on what actually happened in history of this place, but on how research participants recollect and interpret those events in the present. Moreover, that data collected are analyzed in that manner as well. However, archival research helped me establish a detailed timeline of important events that happened in the state and on the square, which further aided my data interpretation.

Rigor of Research Design and Implementation

After many decades of conducting different types of research by using qualitative methods, scholars still cannot agree on the issues of validity and reliability through various scholarly fields. Although criteria for assessment of *trustworthiness* in qualitative research can vary tremendously based on the research arena, some would argue that some form of widely recognized evaluative guidelines are necessary to gain recognition in academe. I recognize the process of research, first and foremost, as a manifestation of your inner self, of your personal interests and the need to express yourself through a specific set of formerly established rules by using your knowledge and your creativity. On the other hand, the work must be judged and verified before it is acknowledged for its quality, therefore, some standards are mandatory to achieve. Polkinghorne (2007) argues that validity is a function of “intersubjective judgments” and thus depends on a consensus within a community.” Although many approaches to validity and reliability assessment are often heavily criticized based on different epistemological and ontological attitudes, I have purposively decided for this study to address these issues through more conventional but also alternate ways by comparing one to another. Science is concerned

with rigor, and by definition, good rigorous research must be reliable and valid (Morse, 1999). By doing this, firstly, I learned about the validity evaluation trends throughout qualitative, but more important narrative research; I have demonstrated awareness and understanding in how these assessment techniques correlate to assigned research designs and design phases; and finally, gained confidence that allowed me to critically assess validity of my own work by moving back and forth between design and implementation “to ensure congruence among question formulation, literature, recruitment, data collection strategies, and analysis” (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2008, p. 17). The scope of this study spread throughout different research fields, therefore, validity assessment cannot be conventional and follow just one set of principles.

Verification of validity that relies on realist assumptions is considered largely irrelevant to narrative studies. “A personal narrative,” Riessman (1993) states, “is not meant to be read as an exact record of what happened... Our readings of data are themselves located in discourses... scientific, feminist, therapeutic...” (p. 64). Riessman (2007) states, “I approach this issue of trustworthiness from a particular position on narrative research, which emphasizes its fluid boundaries and origins, theoretical premises, epistemologies, uses, and limitations” (p. 185). Because of the absence of literature on validity in narrative research, the vague nature of it, and the difference in attitudes toward validity assessments, I determined that narrative inquiry should follow the trustworthiness criteria found in the broader qualitative field, in addition to their own. To establish rigor this way, firstly, I followed the work of Guba (1981) on trustworthiness of qualitative research. His work is often considered as obsolete in postmodern paradigms, but the framework that he proposed to increase validity of research can be

recognized, in one way or another, in every single good qualitative study. I acknowledge Guba's critique of his own theories, stating that trustworthiness criteria could be recognized as a "primitive" in postmodern research contexts and should be used more as a set of guidelines "rather than orthodoxy that must be followed" (Guba, 1981, p. 81). They are established to "guide the field activities and to impose checks to be certain that the proposed procedures are in fact being followed" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 330). By using a list of Guba's 1981 criteria for establishing validity of qualitative research applicable for this study I will present challenging, sometimes opposing opinions of other researchers' primarily from the narrative field of study. Furthermore, I will explain my own relationship to this body of knowledge and present how validity is addressed in this study. To do this, I will use the body of work from the narrative inquiry field: McAdams (1996; 2001), Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber (1998), Riessman (1993, 2007), and Finnegan's work on place narratives (1997, 1998). One must keep in mind that assessment of validity is always twofold: we are validating the story told by the participant – data validation, and the story told by the researcher – analysis validation. Due to the nature of the constructivist approach the narrative truths are always multiple, partial, and incomplete.

Guba (1981) proposes four criteria that should be considered by qualitative researchers in pursuit of the trustworthiness of a study: *credibility* - concerned with determining that the results of qualitative research are believable in real life; *transferability* - refers to the degree to which the findings and conclusions are applicable to other situations and populations; *dependability* - concerned with whether the obtained results would be the same if one could observe the same phenomenon twice; and

confirmability - refers to the degree to which the results could be confirmed. The conflict between some of Guba's validation standards and the nature of the narrative inquiry must be acknowledged at once, and furthermore, questioned in order to achieve study rigor.

Credibility: The question of credibility of qualitative research is based on the researcher's attitudes and understanding of different "truths" inside the framework constructed for a particular study. Riessman (2007) states that narratives are not factual reports of the events, but instead one articulation told from one point of view. They do not establish the real historical truths, but they construct life events while reflecting upon it. Finnegan (1997) provides significant explanation of narrative truths, saying that "The reality of the stories is thus seen to lie in the way they are told and experienced by the tellers, and not in their reflection of some external world or of meanings imposed from outside" (p. 94). Nevertheless, while narrative identity is work of our imagination, it should be accountable to the facts that it can be known or found out (McAdams, 1996). Polkinghorne (2007) discusses the work of Lieblich et al. (1998) on a "middle-course" in understanding storied texts, claiming how the narratives are responses to real life events:

We do not advocate total relativism that treats all narratives as texts of fiction. On the other hand, we do not take narratives at face value, as complete and accurate representations of reality. We believe that stories are usually constructed around a core of facts or life events, yet allow a wide periphery for freedom of individuality and creativity in selection, addition to, emphasis on, and interpretation of these "remembered facts" (p. 8).

Even the attitudes and approaches for credibility valuation are often dissimilar, I found that procedures introduced to increase study rigor proposed by Guba (1981) and

Riessman (1993, 2007) often overlap.

In this study, the issue of research credibility was addressed through: (1) the adoption of research methods well established in qualitative research, (2) familiarity with the culture/context of the research before first data collection, (3) triangulation through the use of diversity of informants, (4) tactics to help ensure honesty of informants during interviews, but also of the investigator, (5) the researcher's "reflective commentary," (6) member checks, and (7) a thick description of the phenomenon under scrutiny.

The narrative life-story interview method is well suited for interdisciplinary studies and has multiple research purposes. Different place study theories, especially in the humanist geography field, suggest that narration and oral histories could be one of few effective ways to investigate urban environments. "We necessarily express ourselves by means of words," Bergson (2001) suggests, "and we usually think in the terms of space" (p. xix). Connection between our memory, narration, and place is undeniable. The life-story interview protocol is highly consistent with theoretical framework, research aims and goals, and research questions of this study, as extensively described previously. As a novice researcher I found confidence for myself and for the inquiry process by using the method and investigation tool that has already been tested for similar purposes. Narrative life story protocol was welcomed by participants as well. Interviewees were positively surprised with the open-ended form of the questionnaire and they appreciated the autonomy provided by the interview protocol.

Being a citizen of Uzice, Serbia for nineteen years enabled my better understanding of the cultural, political, social, and historical context of the place and everyday life of the participants. It allowed me to handle the process of research design,

especially data collection, translation and interpretation with ease, spontaneity, and profound understanding of the activities involved. I created a deeper and more honest connection with potential participants of this study due to fact that we share the same language and customs. Recommended “prolonged engagement” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) between the participants and myself was achieved through frequent meetings before and often after the interview process. It must be recognized that this particular position of the investigator could be a powerful source of potential biases and could influence my professional judgments. I have defined and redefined my research positionality and relationship to participants, their stories, and different activities throughout the research in order not to jeopardize credibility of the research. By keeping meticulous diaries of the interview process, decisions and inferences made during the course of the research, I tried to foster reflexivity – “critical awareness about how the research was done and the impact of critical decisions made along the way” (Riessman, 2007, p. 191).

Triangulation of the data in this study involves the use of a wide range of informants. The analysis of this study is not only focused on themes, but differences in opinions and attitudes of participants about the place. In order to achieve full retrospective in the human psyche in connection to urban environment, diversity in age, gender, educational background, social, economic and political status was a requirement of the research design. By selecting eleven women and nine men as participants, I tried to provide an equal amount of space for both genders to reflect on everyday life on Partisans’ Square.

To avoid participants’ dishonesty, I selected candidates who were genuinely eager to take part in the study and were ready to share information freely. To ensure this I met

each potential candidate at least once (often two to three times) before the actual research interview. Henceforth, the interviewees had plenty of time to think about the participation process and implications of being in scholarly research. All the paperwork, like Informed Consent and IRB Approval, were provided to all of them before the beginning of the data collection process to help them understand research procedures, their rights throughout the process, and research expectations. As advised by peers, in order to avoid the risk of dishonesty during the data collection a set of questions about personal/political ideology were removed from the McAdams' protocol before interview processes started, assuming that these attitudes will be expressed through narratives anyway. Being a communist country for more than 40 years, where different political and religious opinions were censored and often sanctioned, it was assumed that some participants would find it hard to be honest about their political past. As hypothesized, participants self-initiated conversation about these topics without my interference. But the question stands, can we completely eliminate participants' dishonesty and is that even important in narrative inquiry? Atkinson (2002) believes that people cannot be and don't need to be under oath when telling their life stories. The general approach to the story and to the cultural construction of reality tends to draw broadly on a coherence theory of truth:

The view that the truth is ultimately what makes sense and is culturally accepted, rather than defined by its correspondence to, or reflection of, some objective "reality."(Finnegan, 1997, p. 94)

According to a majority of the scholars from the narrative inquiry field, story coherence is the most important criterion to validate your research. McAdams (1996) claims that coherence refers "to the extent to which a given story makes sense on its own terms" (p.

315), how the different parts of the interpretation create a complete and meaningful picture (Lieblich et al., 1998, p. 173). Riessman (1993) claims how the text-based coherence formed a central place in her early writing, but now she is uncertain about demonstrating trustworthiness this way. The work of Langer (1993) addresses incoherence in Holocaust survivors' testimonials, claiming that absence of coherence is often present in studies dealing with traumatized lives. Meaningful story connections can be easily disrupted with people who survived wars, natural disasters, physical attacks, but also attacks on victims' identities or moral beliefs. When working with those cases, Riessman (2007) states, "investigators forge link and make connections by situating the personal narratives in social and political contexts" (p. 190). Riessman (2007) claims how in the final analysis validity will rest on coherence of data interpretation "not unlike how readers evaluate work in the historical narrative tradition" (p. 190). Through analysis of collected data for this study that was found to be true. Lives of some participants were intertwined with public domain, mostly political events, in a way that it was impossible to separate one from the other. Therein lies the reason why after the first round of analysis it was necessary to reestablish a more structured historical timeline of events that happened in this place, but also in the country. The historical events that took place throughout the territory of former Yugoslavia from 1980s onward, could be recognized as traumatic in many ways and could be a potential source of collective and individual traumas especially for the younger members of society.

I sought to evaluate the project from inside as it developed. Credibility of the research was increased further by writing a "reflective commentary" that included my initial impressions on participants and data collection sessions; my personal reflections

about the events described through narratives; justifications for transcription and translation decisions; and the notes of emerging themes and issues during the data analysis process. These activities helped me to develop relationships with events presented through participants' narratives and to ensure personal distance from the participants and their stories that might be my stories too. Furthermore, research diaries helped me evoke specific memories about the data collection process that otherwise would have been forgotten and provided rationale for decision-making. "Leaving an audit trail as it is sometimes called" Riessman (2007) states, "straightens persuasiveness" (p. 192) of the research.

Member check, or correspondence as Riessman (2007) called it, is considered the most important method to strengthen a study's credibility (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). During the summer of 2016 a member check was done in three different ways: the investigator consulted the participants to read and comment on the interview transcripts in relation to the meanings they wanted to communicate, the interviewees were asked to discuss researcher's emerging theoretical issues and coding schemes, and archival research was done for purposes of establishing official historical truths and timeline of which events happened in the area over the last 70 years. I agree with the opinion that verifying, checking, even correcting the data in qualitative research by consulting participants can be misleading and often can endanger validity (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2008). Human stories are not static meanings of events, but change as consciousness changes. For the investigator who wants to be responsive to the particular concerns of the participants may be forced to restrain their results to a descriptive level in order to address their individual concerns. "In the final

analysis,” Riessman (1993) states, “the work is ours” (p. 67). Following McAdams (1996), Liablich et al. (1998), and Polkinghorne (2007), I adopted a “middle-course” understanding of the storied texts. Even life narratives are a product of our imagination, still, partially they must be tied to real life events. Doing archival research allowed me to re-learn about the local history, to establish personal relationships to familiar and unfamiliar events which happened in this place. Nevertheless, I did not interpret the data looking through the lens of historical truths, but personal realities of study participants.

Finally, a detailed and thorough report of the phenomenon under investigation could be one way to promote rigor of the study, because it helps to convey the actual situations that have been investigated and the contexts that surround them. Shenton (2004) argues, “Without this insight, it is difficult for the reader of the final account to determine the extent to which the overall findings ring true” (p. 69). I described in as much detail as possible the multiple contexts of this thesis, starting with my own understanding of knowledge and life. I positioned my research in a scholarly world by explaining all the problems this study addresses and providing a wide selection of theories upon which this study is built. I also touched upon practical issues of the architecture and urban city life of today. Moreover, in order to justify and provide better understanding of the research results, I delivered description of historical context of the region and short excerpts from local histories; I introduced the meaning of Yugoslavian architecture for nation construction and presented various interpretations of Partisans’ Square architecture. I also provided extensive reports on participants’ demographics, while attempting to acknowledge their own identities by providing short personal histories for each one of them.

Transferability: Generalizability or external validity refers to the degree to which the research results could be transferred and generalized to other contexts and settings (Guba, 1981). In the post-modern society narratives are always related with social discourses and power relations which are very changeable in its nature, dealing with cases of individuals and groups and not population-based samples. Narrative researchers focus attention on narrative detail, or “the little things” (Riessman, 2007, p. 194). Since it is completely unnecessary, but also impossible, in qualitative research to prove that the findings can be applied to the other situations, the best thing a researcher can do is to describe in detail research contexts and norms that were central to the research. To address this, I followed Riessman’s (2007) suggestions on a functional measure of validity - “research transparency” (p. 195). I have offered detailed accounts of all major methodological decisions that were made before, but also throughout the process of the research. In the analysis chapter, I described how interpretations were produced and reproduced, including new interpretations not considered in the beginning of the research. Finally, I will maintain collected data so that it will be available to other capable researchers which may wish to evaluate this work.

Dependability: Assessing dependability in narrative inquiry is unnecessary and off the point because life-story narratives cannot be reproduced with the same outcome. They are intimately tied with a specific time and space. The way in which narratives are constructed is based on current mood of the narrator and the listener, on other site-specific environmental impacts, and the broader cultural context. Through member’s check, all research participants were provided with opportunities to reevaluate their stories and address possible issues that exist. Some even acknowledged through the

interview process that the choice of events told is tied to their current self and probably would differ if I decided to conduct the investigation some other time. Stories of life change as we change. So ensuring the validity by repeating the same procedures in order to “check” the results is completely contradictory to the essence of storytelling.

Confirmability: Miles and Huberman (1994) state that a key criteria for *confirmability* is the extent to which the researcher defines and explains her/his positionality and admits the biases that occurred during the research process. Guba (1981) claims, *confirmability* reflects the researcher’s concern about objectivity of the report. In this study, I took all precautions to ensure that the findings are the results of the experiences and ideas of the informants, rather than preferences of my own. I have described rationale for my decisions, strengths and weaknesses of the techniques employed through the research through daily logs and research reports. During the interview process and later through the process of data analysis, I tried to understand my personal relationship to this place, its history, and to different events presented through participants’ stories. I have openly explained in detail my personal dilemmas and the impact that this research had on me for being an insider and an outsider at the same time.

Limitations and Delimitations

Methodology for this study was designed to focus on a specific group of people in a specific region. The scope of the research was limited to experiences of Uzice’s citizens not absent from the city for more than seven years. The study was organized to answer the research questions in relation to a specific case study – Partisans’ Square in Uzice, Serbia. The city population of around 80,000 citizens can be considered as a limitation as well. Except for these major research shortcomings, other possible limitations might

include:

Limitations: The number of participants. However, narrative types of research are not useful for investigation of large numbers of “faceless subjects” (Riessman, 1993, p. 70). Cases could be drawn from a small, unrepresentative pool. The participants of research were purposive chosen, therefore, generalization of the results is almost impossible to achieve in this type of research. To reach “theoretical level of abstraction” multiple case studies must be compared and analyzed. Sampling was restricted to adults, 18 years and older, so the findings may not be applicable to children and youth.

Unequal distribution of people of different gender per age group illustrates another limitation of the study. Age groups from 33 to 49 and 50 to 63 include a majority of female participants, and age group of 64 and older has a majority of male participants. However, none of the four groups is without both genders represented.

Third, it must be recognized that different phases of research analysis carry distinctive limitations connected with the subjective nature of the study. As already mentioned, both transcription and translation are always limitations because there is no one specific way of doing these procedures. The reduction of the data happened through both processes and can be done in multiple ways, all depending on the nature and purpose of the study.

The researcher’s unique positionality, here being both an insider and outsider of the study, can be recognized as limitation as well. The process of distancing oneself from the data through the analysis procedure could be challenging and often obstructive for researchers in this situation. The “closeness” of the investigator and participants or study context can decrease his/her ability to interpret the findings. If the researcher is not

responsive, open and reflective throughout the analysis procedure, position of the insider/outsider can endanger the truth value of the research.

Members' check is a mandatory procedure to secure validity and increase rigor of the research. However, if the participants become too involved in the process of interpretation; responsive researchers may be forced to restrain the results to address their individual concerns. Therefore, during the process of analysis increased involvement of participants can seriously limit the study.

This study is grounded in self-reported data, primarily the statements and stories of the participants. Another method of data collection was not utilized through this study to secure triangulation of previously collected narratives, which could be recognized as a study limitation. Archival research was not done for the purpose of triangulation and data were not analyzed looking through the lens of historical truths. In narrative inquiry historical truths are not as important as the story told (Bruner, 1990). In addition to this, the willingness of the participants to share their stories authentically, truthfully, and in sufficient detail can be considered a limitation as well.

The rapport established between the researcher and the participants can also be recognized as a limitation. It is only natural to develop a more spontaneous relationship and thusly the interview atmosphere with some participants compared to others. Because narrated experiences were often shared between interviewees of my age group and myself, I tried to control the interview atmosphere and to reflect later on the process.

Delimitations: The research was restricted to the selection criteria identified in the "Participants" inclusion/exclusion section. The reasons for this delimitation were threefold: (1) purpose of this study, which focuses on whole life experiences of the

participants (2) to target answers that must correspond with four research questions of the study, and (3) to eliminate possible biases.

Data Preparation and Analysis

In this study the process of data transcription and translation are considered to be the first step in the data analysis procedures. Process of a “double translation” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008, p. 178), which includes both procedures of transcription and translation, allowed the researcher to gain deeper understanding of the collected data and created some new ideas about the analysis process. As stated, narrative research recognizes the researcher as a participant in the meaning-making process. When the researcher is transcriber and translator at the same time, creation of a deeper connection with the data is inevitable. Additionally, a “double translation” has an important “objectifying role,” as it helped the researcher to distance personally from the participants of the study and also to reflect on the process of data collection (Bourdieu, 2000). In order to increase rigor of the study, both processes of transcription and translation will be addressed before process of analysis is described.

Transcription

While the quality of interview as a research method is often discussed, the quality of transcription and translation is rarely addressed in the qualitative research literature. Kowal and O’Connell (2013) state how the choice of transcription methods must be appropriate for the specific purposes of the given research project. Because of the subjective nature of this procedure, transcription is selective and it “entails the inevitable risk of systematic bias of one kind or another” (Kowal & O’Connell, 2013, p. 66). Therefore, it must be recognized that the process of transcription is always one of the

limitations of every qualitative study. Kvale and Brinkmann (2008) argue that how “a transcript is a translation from narrative mode – oral discourse – into another narrative mode – written discourse” (p. 178). Riessman (1993) states that the process of transcription is “absolutely essential” to narrative analysis and should be done in a few phases (p. 56). However, only “rough transcription” in Serbian language was done in this study: the first draft of the entire interview texts included all words and other striking features of the conversation in the paper (e.g., laughing, crying, very long pauses). Examination and reduction of transcribed data was extensively done during the translation process from Serbian to English. Written notes and memos were taken during the transcription procedure, describing voice level, laugh, sounds, and all other non-verbal expressions. Furthermore, all technical problems that reoccurred connected with hearing/understanding participants were also documented as notes throughout transcript of written files. For example, the expressions of *irony* were hard to transcribe. During the interviews, the participants were often involved in this kind of language. Irony represents a huge part of Serbian humor and conversation in general. Therefore, the role of the researcher in this phase of research was crucial, first, to understand what irony is during the interview and to recognize the irony in the written texts in order to translate them accurately into English. The changes and reductions of the texts were done later, during the process of translation. The researcher was aware that conversion of meaning, structure and amount of texts during the translation process could be extensive, therefore all 20 interviews were transcribed verbatim first. This way, trustworthiness and integrity of the transcribed texts was increased and it provided a rich foundation for the next analysis step – translation.

Translation

Translation implies the transfer of meaning from one language into another. Esposito (2001) argues that translation of data collection tools and participants' voices is "one of the biggest challenges faced by cross-cultural researchers" (p. 573). In this study, translation occurred in three different phases: research design phase, data collection phase, and data analysis phases. In order to address methodological gaps in cross-cultural qualitative research, Squires (2009) created a list of criteria to help researchers to evaluate the process of data translation with emphasis on trustworthiness in qualitative research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). She determined three different approaches to translation in cross-language qualitative research: (1) linguistic equivalence, which focuses on translating each word of the text as the individual unit of meaning; (2) conceptual equivalence, which focuses on similarities of concepts or ideas articulated through the narration; and (3) dynamic equivalence, "where the focus is on the target text sounding natural to target language users" (Piazzoli, 2015, p. 82). Squires (2009) argues that "conceptual equivalence" is the most adequate method for translation in cross-language qualitative research. Moreover, she emphasizes the difference in translation compatibility between different types of qualitative research: "while case study and narrative inquiry research are well-matched with cross-language research, phenomenological studies do not lend themselves to translating" (Squires, 2009, p. 279). Furthermore, the author emphasizes the significance of revealing translator's role in the research process and acknowledging "translator's credentials" (Piazzoli, 2015, p. 83). Sutrisno, Nguyen, and Tangen (2014) add few more additions to Squires' evaluative criteria list: (1) in cross-language qualitative research positionality of the researcher in the

translation process should always be explained, and (2) it is extremely important to explicitly acknowledge unavoidable limitations that are always involved in translation procedures.

In this study, the first translation procedure, interview protocol translation, was done in the research design phase. The interview instrument, McAdams life-story interview protocol originally in English (see Appendix B), was translated into Serbian (see Appendix C) after initial revision and adjustment of the interview questions. In order to get IRB approval, translation of the interview protocol has to be verified by a native Serbian speaker working for WVU. The research tool and other documents were translated by the primary researcher and confirmed by the native Serbian speaker who holds a Ph.D. in English Literature and has lived in the US for twelve years. This was a necessary step because of ethical issues: The Serbian native had to confirm that the questions were not offensive in any way to the citizens of this region. The other documents that were translated and officially verified included: consent form, interview cover letter, IRB approval letter, counseling services referral list, and a letter of approval from the local library that all interviews could be conducted in that institution. Documents were translated in both directions: from English to Serbian and from Serbian to English. After a few small corrections, documents were ready for data collection. In this phase there were two approaches to translation, linguistic equivalence and conceptual equivalence, were used by the researcher/translator (Piazzoli, 2015). For almost all documents translating general meaning was more important than translating words as a carrier of meaning. However, translation of the interview protocol was done as precise as possible, to follow the original English version of the text.

In the second phase – data collection– notes were taken during, but more often after the interview. As mentioned above, the researcher tried to stay focused and engaged with participants at all times during the interviews. The notes were taken in Serbian, using the interviewee’s original words, and later translated as precise as possible to English. The notes created after the interviews were written in English immediately. The reason for this was twofold: I wanted to save time spent on the data collection process, and in order to decrease bias I tried to distance myself from the participants by writing the notes in English. The process of translation from one language to another provided necessary time immediately after interviews to reflect on previous activities in a meaningful way.

The greatest amount of translation work occurred during the third phase of translation: translation of transcribed data. During this process, two modes of translation were used: dynamic and conceptual equivalence (Piazzoli, 2015). Although it was crucial to convert the original meanings of the data from one language to another, it was mandatory for the target texts to sound as natural as possible in English. During this translation phase, one more person was involved in the data triangulation. This person is a Serbian native with twenty years of life in each country, with excellent knowledge of both languages. More important, he is completely familiar with the cultural research context of the study. Understanding the historical context of this place and its citizens was a required feature of anyone involved in the translating process, because translation procedures directly correlate with every other part of the research: epistemology, theoretical framework, method, analysis, and results of this research. “The translation of a translation,” the method often utilized in cross-cultural research, was not applied here

(Piazzoli, 2015, p. 90). A professional translator was not hired due to the low research budget. The translation collaborator would read translated texts, marked critical points, and then the corrections were made based on mutual negotiation. The researcher kept track of the re-translation changes through the translation logs. There are no rules that explain the right way to display your collected data and to prepare them for the analysis (Riessman, 2007). Therefore, during the process of translation, transcribed texts were cleaned up to some degree which included: all speech disfluencies, break-offs, interview utterances were deleted and the researcher's presence in the conversation was reduced to a minimum. That way, the written representation of the data became more accessible, easier to understand for outsiders, and more appropriate for further analysis.

Analysis

In this study I analyzed collected data by using “content analysis,” as defined by Lieblich et al. (1998). Moreover, I applied “a categorical” approach where the original story is dissected, and “sections are collected from the entire or from several texts belonging to a number of orators” (Lieblich et al., 1998, p. 12). Based on my research objectives, I decided to address only the question of “what” happened, without paying too much attention on the form of the narratives, the structure of the plot, the sequencing of events, etc. However, the nature of the language utilized by study participants was often considered as a main determinant of how specific categories would be grouped and later coded. Throughout the analysis I focused on the frequency and repetition of events mentioned, inside one narrative but also across the entire study group. However, I especially paid attention to the unique stories, the ones that differed and opposed the mainstream views of the group tied to a specific historic period in this space.

According to McAdams (2012) the researcher explores a particular phenomenon in detail in order to develop new ways of describing and understanding the phenomenon. This process is “largely inductive” and begins with observation of the phenomenon itself. McAdams (2012) writes,

As the reader moves through the text, he or she repeatedly notes significant excerpts, keeps a running tally of tentative inferences, and gradually develops a set of integrative themes that appear to capture something interesting or important about the texts... at the same time, researchers typically hold some theoretical predilections that implicitly, if not explicitly, help to guide the search for themes.
(p. 18)

McAdams (2012) argues that during the process of life-story narrative content analysis, researchers “do not start as blank slates” (p. 19), but they rather precede from the hunches about the arising issues. During my research process, the ideas were developed over the course of the project, from data collection to data interpretation phase. The important aim of this study is to achieve new understandings about the phenomenon being explored.

I started to classify collected data into categories during the process of translation. In this phase, I assessed collected texts in a deep and conscious manner. To begin the analysis and categorize the most obvious themes I used NVivo software. Some of the initial nodes developed were: *place function* which included events of culture, events of politics, events of leisure, children’s games, gathering /meeting space, etc.; *place appearance* which included description of the square architecture, its elements, the surrounding buildings, greenery, etc., *place destruction*, *place safety*, and many others.

When I finished this round, I continued to read every category separately. My original plan was to break every new category into subcategories, for example, events of politics into political rallies, promotions, monument removal, bombing, etc. However, I realized these events were described in a very different manner based on the historical period they were connected to. Also, participants of different age portrayed them in different ways. So, I decided to code the new-formed categories based on the period that the event of interest took place in and the tellers' age. After this phase, I got a much clearer picture which showed differences between participants' narratives tied to three political periods of the state. I also found that specific age groups provided similar narratives when compared to the other generations. At this point, I further separated selected events into new subcategories of public and private, public being collective events organized by different power entities on the square and private being collective events marked as a participants' intimate life in this place. I started by coding every new narrative excerpt by using In Vivo Coding. In this type of coding every code "refers to a word or a short phrase from the actual language found in the qualitative data record, the terms used by participants themselves" (Saldana, 2012, p. 91). Saldana (2012) argues how this type of coding is specifically appropriate for the beginners in qualitative research and qualitative "studies to prioritize and honor the participants voice" (p. 91). For every category of events, I developed a set of codes that I further compared across different cases to register similarities and differences between them and make new discoveries. Through this process I often utilized analytic notes that I had already made throughout the process of data collection.

CHAPTER IV

Case Study

Historical Context of the Region

More than two decades have passed since the dissolution of Yugoslavia, a country involved in almost every major political event which happened in Europe in the last century. This area was a battlefield for many ideologies, on top of its extremely complicated history, cultural, ethnical, and religious diversity. The monarchy was founded in 1918 as the first attempt to create the South Slavic union in the region. The federal republic of Yugoslavia was forged in 1943 during the anti-fascist liberation movement. Founding the new nation that combined groups of different nationalities (Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Bosnians), with varying desires within the new country was bound to create a basis for the future conflicts. This dilemma of unification arose almost immediately after WWII and remained an issue until its demise in 1991 (Babic, 2013).

The political system that was established after the war and lasted for 45 years - state socialism - gradually changed its nature after expulsion of the country from the Cominform in 1948. This act completely altered the course of the country's history, allowing for the concept of self-managing socialism based on a return to an original reading of Marx and reliance on economic and political cooperativism to thrive (Kulic & Mrduljas, 2012). The Western economic model of free market combined with the Soviet system of a planned economy strengthened the position of the nation globally, but also allowed higher ethnic autonomy among the six federal republics in 1960s. However, a predominately agrarian land before the war, Yugoslavia's existence was continuously

suspended between a modern civilization and an undeveloped past. Berman (1988) named the process “modernism of underdevelopment,” claiming that it only pointed towards the desired image of progress, rather than being the result of actual development. Spasic (2012) agrees, saying how this tremendous Yugoslavian progress was more “ideological projection” and less a reality rooted in real facts. However, she emphasizes that for the ordinary citizen of the state, this invented reality was the only available reality, oriented toward a bright and positive future where everything is possible and achievable. The process of robust nation reconstruction during communist/socialist era ended with the collapse of Yugoslavia in 1990s, which forced (or allowed) all different ethnic groups to question their national identities again, to rewrite and revise their histories: “The post-Yugoslav nation-building processes demanded a new interpretation of history; a whole nationalist ideological project was under way” (Kirn, 2012, p. 251). New myths were invented and “transferred from the ancient context” in order to completely erase 45 years of history. While Yugoslav socialist principles built themselves on strong memories linked to the Liberation movement and revolutionary politics connected with the WWII, post-Yugoslav memory politics are closely associated with the rehabilitation of fascism and the legitimization of ethnic cleansing (Kirn, 2012). “From the beginning of nineties in the twentieth century,” Manojlovic - Pintar (2010) states, “all symbols of state socialism have been removed slowly, but continuously, from all public spaces, and therefore, all antifascist symbols disappeared as well” (p. 90). Material cultural heritage, the part situated in open public spaces, was marginalized and often destroyed in spontaneous or organized rallies (Radovic, 2011). Revision of former historical representations was done through denial of all Yugoslav values.

Historian Dubravka Stojanovic (2010) claims that newer Serbian history occurred with two big revisions. Firstly, before the civil war in 1991 and after Slobodan Milosevic came to power, all communist values had to be replaced with Serbian nationalist ideas. The myth of 'brotherhood and unity' was substituted with another destructive myth of "eternal historical conflict between all South Slavic tribes" (Stojanovic, 2010, p. 14). This was an extremely important war propaganda tool: to psychologically prepare all citizens for forthcoming conflict. Jovanovic (2014) argues how the concept of a "usable past," usually recognized by authoritarian regimes in the process of transition, "describing the search for historical experiences that may be twisted to legitimize and stabilize the new regime" (p. 97). During this period, mythological phrases and stories describing the Serbs as "the oldest nation" (Serbian: Srbi - narod najstariji) spread as rapidly as a wild fire. Moreover, the Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC) remained deeply involved with reinvention of the new national identity (Bieber, 2005). After the breakup of Yugoslavia, SOC became an instrument for national unity as a spiritual support of Milosevic's state building (Jovanovic, 2014). The second revision of newer Serbian history happened in the year 2000, after the fall of Milosevic's regime. The ultimate goal of the new democratic government was to present themselves as the final "liberators from the communist past" (Stojanovic, 2010, p. 17) and the last ultimate communist – Slobodan Milosevic. Therefore, the greatest revisions were connected to the WWII history, the war that represents the mythical birth of communist government. The new president, as Milosevic before him, was equally concerned about the symbols of national and state identity. State law, government holidays, school textbooks, name of the streets and squares were changed or erased, and the rest of the monuments were removed. After

Milosevic's government was overthrown in October of 2000, over 800 street names were renamed (Jovanovic, 2014). The state worked diligently on national memory reconstruction. Nevertheless, the new government continued to openly collaborate with remnants of the defeated nationalist elite (Jovanovic, 2014; Stojanovic, 2010).

New Balkan nation-states again returned to the old path of non-recognition and invisibility, especially according to Western perception of the Balkans. Kiossev (2005) argues that Balkan nations have “for decades, if not centuries, attempted to escape the image of the dark Balkans” (p. 180). However, those attempts usually failed, allowing foreign interpreters to erase every sign of mutual differences of the region. Kiossev (2005) states:

They (South European nations) tried to compensate for their geo-political and geo-cultural irrelevance with certain ideological self-representations. [...] Thus, for the national ideologies of the Balkan countries, different as they were, the Balkans also had a hidden, dark, mythological aura. [It] signifies the melting and disappearance of the national subjectivity before the gaze of the ‘Significant Other.’ [...] Being a traumatic mirror-discourse, the ‘native’ Balkanism seems to share the same stigmatizing series of predicates as the Western one but associates them with different emotional nuances: at times, anger and aggression against the Significant Other; at times, with failure and shame, even self-disgust. (pp. 180–182)

Complex circumstances allowed for Yugoslav socialist identity to be easily rejected and erased, but not forgotten. It comes back sporadically and less frequently in a shape of “Yugonostalgia” or “Titoism” (Cukovic, 2015; Mijic, 2011; Spasic, 2012; Volcic, 2011).

One can argue that those memories officially belong to an unwanted past, however many people still see that period as the most serene and prosperous period of their lives. One of only few “bottom-up” empirical studies done in Serbia that covered the theme of use and misuse of historical knowledge and nation construction, published in the book *News From the Past* (Dimitrijevic, 2010), in Serbian *Novosti iz proslosti*, states how 81-82% of the citizens still believe that they had more comfortable and more fulfilled lives during the period of socialist Yugoslavia (Spasic, 2012; Mihailovic, 2010; Manojlovic - Pintar, 2010) and 70 % of them feel regret because of its dissolution (Manojlovic - Pintar, 2010). Although the author claims how the highest positive ratings in the survey were marked by generations of “state builders,” participants who were not even born during Tito’s Yugoslavia period expressed grief because of the state ending. They recognized Yugoslavia to be politically acknowledged, stable, an influential state where the citizens had better and led easier lives, and were in peace with each other and the world. Detailed interpretations of these results were not offered in the study. Manojlovic - Pintar (2010) suggests that the answer might be connected to the current state of everyday life in Serbia, filled with extreme concernment and anxiety of survival in a harsh economic environment, where recollection of the former lives is exclusively positive and often over romanticized. “The population is tired of two decades of crisis and has almost given up on waiting for palpable improvements,” Cvetičanin, Spasic, & Gavrilovic (2014) claim, “disappointment, apathy, and cynicism are the prevailing moods” (p. 218). Spasic (2012) argues how official democracy, introduced into politics and social life after the year 2000, has not succeeded to deliver what it promised. It failed to secure and protect human dignity, which were its crucial goals and purpose. She claims that the role of these

“idealized” Yugoslav narratives is to emotionally protect citizens in the present from all hardships and catastrophes that they have lived through during the last 30 years. Spasic (2012) states, “Tito’s era in Serbia is still the only model of normal life available to big majority its citizens” (p. 592).

The Role of Yugoslavian Architecture in Nation Building

Almost all public buildings, especially public sites, are strong testimonials of authority and are designed with specific “intention of performing repositories of public memories of political actions and assertions” (Benton, 1999, p. 199). Additionally, form itself, sometimes more than inscriptions and iconography, serve as a symbol of the system that continues to exist even as the regime ceases to survive, simply because of the buildings’ material value and its practical nature. Although some buildings can gracefully shift their uses and meanings through different historical periods without obvious fracture (Benton, 1999), those architectural spaces often become memorials for the fallen regimes (Arthurs, 2010). Kulic (2009) argues how socialist Yugoslavia is an excellent case study for exploring political meanings assigned to architecture because “East and West met in political, cultural, and geographical terms” (p. 2). His dissertation *Land of In-Between* investigates how particular political and social environments in Yugoslavia from 1945-65 rested on Communist ideology, Western aesthetic, and technological influences produced uniquely hybrid architectural culture. Moreover, use of the term “in-between” is very appropriate to explain the vague position of architecture of this period with no coherent, very often opposed, political and ideological messages, and at the same time, can symbolize Yugoslavian “hybrid” nationhood and its fragmented identity of state population. Thaler, Mrduljas, & Kulic (2012) argued how “quest for Yugoslav identity

made an imprint on architecture,” and added that influence went in both direction, “but without ever reaching a clear conclusion” (p. 25).

Interpretation of twentieth-century modernism in architecture differs significantly, all depending on character of the country, political system or ideology appropriated the style for its own purposes and agendas. “Other modernisms”, as Kulic (2009) named it, “explore architecture as a part of broader modernization projects outside of the Western World” (p. 17) connected with socialist regimes of the era. Tied with the process of economic globalization, fast development of the free market capitalism and corporate architecture in US during and after WWII, modernism in architecture could also be recognized as the basis for establishing state power-centers in many non-capitalist countries from that period, such as the federal capital Brasilia (plan developed in 1956), Chandigarh (plan never fully finish after starting out in 1956), or New Belgrade in Yugoslavia.

Nevertheless, it is an undeniable truth that architecture played a crucial background part in establishing the new public life in the new Yugoslav nation. It had a very important role in the everyday lives of the citizens, and moreover, it made “a significant contribution to the representation of the country to foreign allies and adversaries” (Suvakovic, 2003, p. 10). The architecture and politics of Socialist Yugoslavia formed an understated but fruitful relationship, making Yugoslavian architecture a significant cultural force and an effective way of representation in the international political scene. In the first three years after WWII, Yugoslavian loyalty to the Soviet Union shaped the state politics and economy greatly, but it also had an enormous impact on art and architecture as well. Socialist Realism and the “Stalinist

way” of constructing urban environments conveyed the image of communist grandiosity, and moreover, was to some extent copied by Yugoslavian architects (Babić, 2013). The complex idea of New Belgrade as the new political center of the whole state arose during this period. The new city was designed to be constructed on an empty marshland site outside the existing city fabric, with the purpose to show the power of the state and to represent the unification of the country and its founding republics. Yugoslavia was a country of different nations, and the New Belgrade was the new capital to represent that unity: entity created from nothing, for all members equally. After Tito’s refusal to make Yugoslavia subordinate to the Soviet Union in 1948, good relations with Eastern Block ended bringing the state to the brink of a severe political and economic crisis. It is needless to say that the plan to create New Belgrade, and all other grand architectural projects, had to be put on hold. Although priorities changed and Socialist Realism as a dominate architectural style was deserted in the name of International Style, its stylistic features still can be recognized throughout many architectural projects. The shift in aesthetic expression confirmed the change of state political attitudes as well: through acceptance of the modernist movement Yugoslavia found new ways to separate itself from the Eastern Block, and at the same time, it rejected all its histories in the name of state unification. This occurred due to “ascendancy of post-revolutionary bureaucracy... with [a] modicum of social liberalization and overtures to the West” (Babić, 2013, p. 76).

Because of political and economic adjustments in the state, significant changes happened in the field of architecture where “important building operations were used to legitimize the social order” (Kulic & Mrduljas, 2012, p. 35). Although architects continued to work in a socialist framework which “defined its prevalent typologies,

patterns of financing, [and] professional organization” (Kulić, 2009, p. 196), architecture in Yugoslavia officially reoriented toward the West. The process of decentralization of the state started through a system of self-management. The architectural profession, as well as state politics, was restructured from a previously centralized system to a more liberal one with more freedom to self-organize (Thaler, Mrduljas, and Kulic, 2012). Rebuilding the state and fixing the damages caused by the war was imperative of the new socialist government. Almost all infrastructure, schools, hospitals, and institutes were destroyed, so the “liberation” of architecture that happened after Tito-Stalin split provided tremendous opportunity for the state to get a completely new appearance and physical representation. By the end of the 1950s “simple white volumes and glass boxes of the International style, became the style of choice for the buildings of state administration and institutions” (Thaler et al., 2012, p. 37). In other words, by demonstrating obvious acceptance of western aesthetic trends architecture truly represented the nature of political reality of the period. “Sleek lines, ribbon windows, residential building inspired by Le Corbusier’s work, and glass office buildings” (Babic, 2013, p. 81), strongly positioned Yugoslavia in the architectural arena of postwar Europe. The government aimed to preset its politics through architecture as “a humane decentralized socialism” (Kulic & Mrduljas, 2012, p. 163). New public buildings embodied “Yugoslavia’s new and reformed version of socialism” through acceptance of high modernism (Kulic & Mrduljas, 2012, p. 163).

During and after the 1990s, architectural practices in Serbia, as many other industries, experienced complete collapse, and furthermore, ideological detachment with current political tendencies. Global economic crisis and local turbulent socio-economic

circumstances radically reshaped development of the field. Severe transition conditions, still visible in every aspect of life, led the profession and construction industry into a downfall. A multi-party democratic system introduced after dissolution of Yugoslavia and all new governments that the system produced, completely changed attitudes toward the role of architectural representations in state politics. Architect Vladimir Mitrovic (2008) argues how Serbian professionals lost their freedom and independence hold during the era of socialism, and became completely invisible even inside the arena of their own expertise. Decline of professional creative views and expressions today is influenced by exhaustion and disappearance of creative ideas, but most often by unreasonable and irrational requirements made by private investors. The role of architecture changed from master to servant, ruled only by the profit. Moreover, principal historical architectural sites and buildings were systematically destroyed, aside from bombarding, also by local politicians' lack of knowledge, understanding, and wisdom. There was a new kind of historical denial, now developed and influenced by ideologies of capitalism.

Architecture of Partisan's Square in Uzice

The motive that prevailed through the whole history of socialist Yugoslavia was the process of political distancing (Ciganovic, 2013), which caused absence of historical continuity and lead to the construction of a fragile and non-coherent national identity. Political tendencies of the country were very unstable and constantly shifting, from an attempt of complete elimination of memory of the monarchy and ethnical dissimilarities ("togetherness through differences"), to the rejection of Stalin's imperialist tendencies, departure from the Western allies and the Cold War, and finally denial of everything that

happened after WWII by creating a new war and a new history. Partisans' Square in Uzice, Serbia is an excellent example of how vague political messages expressed through the design of open public space could lead to its complete obscurity and to professional anonymity, against its high spatial value. A clash of different international, national, and rural-provincial influences caused the square to become the anti-symbol of all ideas that lead to its erection in the first place. Political biases, which existed for a lengthy period of time among professionals, did not allow objective interpretation of this place that many have recognized as an architectural masterpiece.

The name of the square was one of the strongest signs of political tendencies and instability of the country from 1941-1961. It was changed three times during those years, with all of the names having highly symbolic meaning. Before the war, the main purpose of the space was for the trade and exchange of goods, making its name, Zitna Market highly suitable (Markovic, 2008). The events that occurred during 1941 changed this space forever, both physically and symbolically. This was the location in which demonstrations were held against signing the Tripartite Pact, where partisans were hung and their bodies were exposed during the Fascist occupation, where the last meeting of the former government of Yugoslav kingdom happened, and was a center of the Communist Party for two months during the period of The Republic of Uzice (Glisic, 1986). This was a ticket for the city to get a "new face" as a reward for its support and bravery during the war. During Tito's second visit to the city on July 7, 1946, in celebration of the national holiday, The Day of Uprising against fascism, the National Liberation War Soldiers' Association made decisions to rename the city into Tito's Uzice (Serbian: Titovo Uzice), to change the name of the square to *The Liberation Square*

(Serbian: Trg Slobode), and to celebrate heroism of the locals by erecting a monument dedicated to the marshal (Rackovic, 1946). During those days, the city became like one of the Soviet republics, at least by its appearance: walls and store windows were displays of Soviet propaganda, Lenin and Stalin images could be seen everywhere, the Soviet flag was hung side-by-side with Yugoslav flags. As a local journalist and writer Ljubomir Simovic stated “the city square became the Red Square” (Markovic, 2008, p. 50). This time was about celebrating “the liberators,” and the new name was dedicated not only to the allies, but to Soviet allies.

After the expulsion of Yugoslavia from Cominform in 1948, the name of the place changed again to *Memorial Square* (Serbian: Spomen Trg), signifying victory of all against the Fascism. In 1961, when the final piece of the new, completely redesigned space was completed, the city government renamed the place again to Partisans’ Square. The name was adopted as a symbol of the nation and the sacrifice of only Yugoslavian soldiers that died in war. The idea came from a sense of urgency in unifying ethnically separated identities and establishing a stronger national identity. It also served in distancing from the WWII allies as a clear indication of Non-Alignment politics (Kadijevic, 2009). However, the city completely detached itself from commemoration of local victims by not recognizing their sacrifice publicly in this place (Ciganovic, 2013). The last name alteration happened in 1991, although never officially accepted and used, the new square name – *The Youth Square* (Serbian: Trg Mladosti) – was highly appropriate because of its neutrality in times of civil war (Gojgic, 1996).

Political distancing can be recognized in deviation of function and in form from the original architectural plan made for the city center core. The project idea, created

initially as a symbol of Yugoslavian revolutionary past, was nearly forgotten, and messages of modernism, western liberalism, historicism, and pre-war traditionalism seized a dominant role. As such, its duality or heterogeneity in meaning could never represent just one ideology, or send just one message (Ciganovic, 2013). After the war, Titovo Uzice was one among just a few cities, even before New Belgrade, that had established a committee for adaption of the first urban plan for the city. Due to the economic crisis caused by expulsion of Yugoslavia from Cominform, all architectural projects were paused. However, in 1952 an architectural competition for the reconstruction of city center took place, from which drawings were adopted and construction started in 1958. The entire construction of the square along with more than ten surrounding buildings lasted for three years and had to be finished prior to national celebration of The Day of Uprising against fascism, which occurred on July 7, 1941. The grand festivity and commencement of the square occurred on July 3, 1961, when Tito's memorial was officially open by the current minister of the interior Aleksandar Rankovic. The destinies of the buildings located on the square are especially important to investigate because many of the functional alterations during the construction process. Memorial House (Serbian: Spomen Kuca), which was and still is the most prominent building on the square, was never fully completed. The main purpose of this project was to gather active community groups, part of the Liberation Movement such as war veterans, youth communist groups, and Yugoslavian socialist workers' movement in one place. Throughout the construction, government turned away from its original idea and developed new programs more orientated toward modern cultural trends with almost bourgeois symbolism (Ciganovic, 2013). The main building became the National

Theatre, which included cafes and small stores as a part of design, and the right wing was turned into the City Library. The most important feature and exciting achievement, according to architect Stanko Mandic, was the façade designed as a back wall, a spatial background context for Tito's statue (Raskovic & Djuric, 1961). Nevertheless, the building front was not conceptually associated with Second World War in any way, but it was made to celebrate the whole Serbian history. The second building of interest is Command of Uzice's Army Corps, expected to be located across the park from the theatre. This building was planned to be a military center for the whole region, however that idea was abandoned and the post office was erected instead. Unfortunately, this magnificent piece of architecture was the only building in the area completely destroyed in the NATO bombing of 1999. The tallest residential building in the city, The Tower (Serbian: Kula), was not in the original conceptual plans for the square. But, being a member of the New Belgrade design team, main architect Stanko Mandic persuaded the city government officials of its necessity for the city center. The tendency of connecting small rural towns with the capitol, and furthermore with western city centers, were a part of the architect's personal vision of how new Yugoslavian towns were supposed to look, separating the city even more from its revolutionary history and anti-fascist struggle. City Gallery planned to exhibit artifacts and commemorate the victims and survivors of the war, but also to celebrate the image of the state leader which was given over to the national furniture manufacturer Novi Dom even before the Partisans' Square opening. A capitalist corporate model, previously implemented into design of Central Committee buildings in Belgrade where all ideological meanings were stripped and uniformity was achieved through the form, materials, and message, which could easily be recognized in

Uzice's city center designs as well.

In the years after the square's opening no one, including both citizens and tourists, could consider the square as the anti-fascist monument. Moreover, citizens struggled connecting it with WWII in any fashion. All the material symbols were removed during the construction phase, and really never continued to exist at all. With the exception of the name, only two spatial elements remained as evidence of the revolutionary past which included Tito's monument and the mosaic of the Partisan Memorial Medal positioned on the facade of one of the residential buildings facing the square. The idea of the new city square as a symbol of separation from traditionalism, rural conservatism and history before the socialist Yugoslavia, was only partially achieved. The architect's romantic tendencies opposed the main principles of modernism, the architectural style of which he was the pioneer. Mihajlo Mitrovic, one of the Serbian's most notable contemporary architects, stated how for author architect Slavko Mandic "modernism represented abused fetishism... and that modernism is everything that opposed traditionalism" (Kuzovic, 2014, para. 6). Mandic's work was framed in modernism and international architectural tendencies of that time, but details integrated in the design referenced important local and national historical events. It could be said that he had respect for the meaning of place: for the people, for the events, even for the physical setting that he tried to preserve by "saving the view" (Raskovic & Djuric, 1961, p. 5) toward the river Djetinja. Façade decorations of the Memorial House are not fueled by modernism, on the contrary: they have references to all important historical battles that ever happened in the region, such as the Kosovo Battle, Battle on Kolubara during the WWI, Battle on Kadinjaca in 1941, to name a few (Marković, 2008). The same kind of surface treatment could be found in

the edges of the square and some other buildings. Additionally, the old water fountain erected in Zitna Market in 1896 was preserved in its original shape and brought back to Partisan Square in 1961. However, one of the most original ideas of history implementation was the manner in which the urban plan of the old city's central core (1945-1958), with all houses "sacrificed" in order for the new square to be erected, was engraved into the square floor. By looking at the whole image of the place, the least attention was given to the commemoration of the liberation war, although many would argue that Partisan Square is often considered as a pedestal for Tito's monument, the biggest pedestal that any statue can get. Moreover, the square served as the government's ritual space, an area where state celebrations and commemorations were organized throughout the year. The leading architect Slavko Mandic allowed for the whole history to be condensed in this space under the umbrella of architectural modernism, without any modernist tendencies for "breaking up with the past" or communist tendencies of a "new start." Most importantly, the effect of monumentalism was achieved, without endangering the eternal idea of democracy and equality for all (Raskovic & Djuric, 1961).

Except for the reconstruction of inherited material legacy, like Zitna Market was, another important social process which happened at the same time: the reconstruction of the life frameworks in this place (Milivojevic, 2014). The region of west Serbia, as the rest of Yugoslavia after the war, had passive and highly underdeveloped industry and economy. A majority of the counties throughout the region were agrarian and extremely poor, with the situation slightly changed in the beginning of 1950s (Savic, 2016). The reasons for reconstruction did not come out of economic and political shifts only. The

tendency of connecting small rural towns with the western centers did not only happen at the level of physical appearance, but also spatial functionality. Dozens of one-story houses, one or two cafes and a few specialized shops were replaced with the national theatre, library, movie theatre, post-office, department store, a few restaurants and café-gardens, a few shops, one tourist agency, hundreds of residential units, two parks and one newly developed public area. Citizens of Uzice, in a really short period of time, became the citizens of the world. The amenities available in Vienna or London city centers were available in this place as well. The nature of everyday life changed tremendously, allowing residents to engage in new activities available and to occupy this space in a completely different way. Soon it became a favorite gathering place in the city because of its spatial and material characteristics and physical openness. Repeatedly, residents have chosen this place as their “thirdspace” (Crawford, 2008) or the “third place” (Oldenburg, 1999), a preferred open area in the city to spend free time enjoying its amenities. In the study done on place attachment and local identities tied to four mid-size Serbian cities, including the city of Uzice, participants recognized Partisans’ Square as the main symbol, “embodiment of modern urban life” in the city (Backovic & Spasic, 2014).

Removal of Tito’s Monument: The question that many asked after the removal of Tito’s monument from Partisans’ Square into the back courtyard of Uzice’s National Museum was “Are we finally handing Tito over to the history, or to the oblivion” (Turudic, 1991, p. 3)? The pressure and the threats coming from the nationalist groups after the beginning of the civil war were, as local government officials stated, the main reason why it was necessary to relocate the statue (Gojgic, 1996). Tito was the one who united all into the federation and kept the federation together. When the country was gone a reminder of an

undesirable past became unwanted as well, as Kirn (2012) stated “cleansing regime tried to eradicate the foreign element” (p. 255). Although monument removal is nothing new in the countries where sudden and abrupt fall of a regime occurs, the situation here was slightly different. In the case of Uzice, reconstruction of the whole city space was done with the monument as a reference point. Architecture and geometry evolved around the perfect position for “the marshal,” and it could be said that the statue produced the square, literally and symbolically. The monument, 4.8 meters high, weighing two tons and designed by prominent Yugoslavian sculptor Frano Krsinic, was one of only two versions of Tito’s sculptures completed during his life. Moreover, while the first version of the sculpture was originally displayed in front of Tito’s house of birth in Kumrovec; many replicas were exhibited all over the former state. Krsinic’s version of the monument was an original and it was specially designed to integrate and shape spatial features of the area. Ciganovic (2013) stated that “by removing only monument of Tito in Serbia positioned in open public space, the emptiness left behind became a symbol of these transitional times and inability of whole country to find its new identity and to root itself again” (p. 495). After the displacement on August 28, 1991, the president of Uzice’s municipality stated how a “new monument, dedicated to the war 1912-1918, is going to be erected in the same place very soon” (Turudic, 1991, p. 3), but it never was. Tito’s absence from the square symbolizes his presence at the same time, because the pedestal – the whole square – is still there. Serbian architect Mihailo Mitrovic stated that burning and destroying monuments is the highest act of barbarism, and he quoted Polish poet and aphorist Jerzy Lec: “When smashing monuments, save the pedestals - they always come in handy” (Kuzovic, 2014, para. 12). The fact that the place was still without the new

monument gave hope to a few. In the 1996, 2013, and 2016, and probably on many other undocumented occasions, The Association of Veterans of the Peoples' Liberation War collected nearly four thousand signatures from the locals, in order to bring Tito back to the square. All three times, as in 1991, local government officials decided that the act of returning the statue to the square would not be the right thing to do. Although a majority of the citizens think that the monument should not have been removed in the first place, people cannot see the purpose of bringing it back either. The only group that still pursues the idea are the members of the resistance movement, WWII heroes, war survivors and their families who have lived to witness the fall of the country and destruction of its nationhood. In a letter written for the local newspapers two days after the monument was removed, members of The Association of Veterans of the People's Liberation War stated:

We are not less of a heroes or Serbs, or less of a patriot because we were part of this war and not some other war (WWII). Our society decided to be the part of democratic world, and that democracy should be applied in this case as well. The government should not be prejudiced toward the history of any kind. All people, all soldiers who liberated the country, any country, should be treated as equal, should be celebrated, no matter which history they belong to. (Turudic, 1991, p.

3)

Findings

If we overly simplify the definition of collective identity, and therefore, of collective memory and say that both concepts are tied, first and foremost, to group belonging, the first question that could be asked is how particular groups express themselves through public space throughout specific timeframes? Furthermore, how do group members memorize and recollect collective events once experienced in public space together, and what are the differences and similarities in understanding a specific part of the past in the present? Finally, how do different societies, nations, political systems, and ideologies construct, organize, and utilize social groups in public space to impact memory and identity (re)construction?

The idea that we, every single individual, have all the power to control what is remembered and how it is remembered is comfortably true and decisively false. The similarities and differences between narratives of people who experienced the same historical events confirm this. While the strict line cannot be drawn between individual and collective memory, it is well accepted today throughout all memory disciplines that memorialization is happening inside given social frameworks and given mnemonic systems, with language being one of them. Individuals remember, but they remember together (Halbwachs, 1980). Group membership provides the materials for memory and pushes individuals into recalling some events and forgetting others.

To begin the findings section, I first examined different types of social groups that expressed themselves through the public space of Partisans' Square based on narratives collected in Serbia for this study. In other words, I determined which groups did

participants in this study recognized and declared themselves to be a part of, what is the relationship between different groups (*us* vs. *them*) that acted in the same space, and how their presence and relations changed as political, cultural, economic, and social factors changed in the state. This case study was purposively selected because of physical visibility and opportunity of groups to openly act in this space, voluntarily or not. The presence, actions, and relationships between social groups in Partisans' Square have transformed critically through the last 70 years, and memories tied to them have also been changed. Collective memories formed through actions of politically organized groups are usually as fragile as mentioned political systems and ideologies themselves. They became obsolete with the demise of the regime. However, while they last, their impact on identity construction of society members is usually dominating over all other aspects of life. *Public collective memories* (Olick, 1999), organized from *above* or from *below*, may strongly mark the lives of one generation, yet be completely forgotten by the next one. The way that those memories manifest themselves in present is highly dependent on the cultural context. On the other hand, occurrence of memories shaped by everyday practices of groups that are families or friends, *personal collective memories* (Olick, 1999), is stable and it manifests itself the same or similar way through different times, different generations, and different spaces. In his research on connection between memory and place, Lynch (1976) argues that our strongest and deepest emotions that accompany everyday life are tied to our own life and those of our family and friends, people that we know personally.

In this study, memories of events that took place on Partisans' Square are explored through three distinct chronological categories - before, during, and after 1990s

or the period of state socialism, political transition, and liberal democracy/free market economies. Throughout studies of ex-Yugoslavia, scholars usually do not separate period of “transition” and “democracy” of post-Yugoslav territory because process transition never ended and democracy actually never came to be. Both stages are categorized as one period of “post-communist” and/or “post-socialist” regime, or just “unfinished transition” that started in 1989 and actually never ended (Buden, 2015; Horvat & Stiks, 2015). I found that the nature of events experienced in this space through group belonging differ, not only between the socialist and post-socialist period, but between the decade of the 1990s and the period from year 2000 onward. Except for different group membership, the way stories are conveyed in terms of language (positive/negative) and the size of narrative space that was given to describe events of each historical period directed me to further organize findings in this manner. A strong presence of both public and personal collective memories through all three periods and its interconnectedness guided the chosen layout of findings. Generational differences were addressed when present. All members of the youngest generation were born in or after year 1990, so naturally, their narratives address differently (if at all) events that happened before them.

Analysis of group members’ experiences in this space led, further, to better understanding of the relationship between political, cultural, economic, and social factors that have operated in this space. Furthermore, the way that these basic constituents of society are connected and related to each other in three different political periods can help explain the different nature of public life that has evolved on and around Partisans’ Square.

Finally, I will address relation and directionality between place design and behaviors in this space through time: how behaviors have aided design and how design has aided behaviors in this space. I will lay out here a variety of behaviors shaped by design of this *socialist* city center, and furthermore, discuss what kind of behaviors the same architectural space has produced today, in an era of *post-socialism*. Furthermore, I will describe how mentioned behavioral changes in space further altered existing space design and transformed it into a new version of the same space. Currently in Serbia, the state monopoly over urban development has been eliminated, a majority of urban land and means of production are in private hands, and markets more than government planning determine land use. This change has inevitably impacted how people act in public space, experience the space, and finally, remember the space.

Era of State Socialism 1945-1990

The theme of group membership, or how participants identify themselves in this space as group members, was selected to open the findings section for multiple reasons. Except for the evident ties between memory – identity – group belonging, quantity, diverse nature, and relationship between all defined *us* and *them* groups throughout participant narratives was strikingly different in three named political periods. Socialism, as an economic, political, and cultural system, advocates that the community as a whole should be owner of means of production, but also of land including open public spaces. Socialism is deeply rooted in collectivity and collective engagement in all layers of society. Therefore, it came as no surprise that the greatest number of defined groups, especially public ones, was found in narratives of this period.

All defined groups that operated in this space throughout all three historical periods are classified into categories: *public-organized from above*, *public-organized from below*, and *personal groups*. It is important to notice that group membership significantly changed with the change of state politics and economy. How people acted and organized themselves in this space, how they experienced the space, and how they remembered the space transformed with the change of socio-political conditions. All three categories mentioned are established through the process of public gathering in this public space: involuntary or voluntary and formal or non-formal gathering. A combination of these gathering types varies based on the event category, but also the historical period when the event happened. Based on the participants' narratives only, it was often very hard to determine whether participation in a public event was voluntary or not in its nature.

Public groups organized from above are the ones where the state government, local government, or the political party (communist) tied to governing bodies were directly involved in its constitution, public presence, and action. In this study, the groups mentioned which fit into this category are: Tito's pioneers, Uzice's Youth Organization, Athletic Youth Club, varieties of youth sport clubs, communist youth, youth volunteer brigades, traditional folk assemblies, choirs, WWII soldiers' groups, different groups of politicians, people in power, people who organized, people who participated in public commemorations, etc. *Public groups organized from below* represent groups of people who organized themselves and were active in this space, but their constitution is not tied to any governmental institution. This category includes: citizens of Uzice, citizens of state, visitors of the square, different generations, children from the square, city kids, first

graders, schoolchildren, community of teachers, workers' guilds – unions, city elite and well to do people, the square residents, etc. Relationship, and moreover, distinction between groups organized from above and from below was hard to determine in narratives of events in the socialist period of the state. This closely correlates with participants understanding of what voluntary participation in public events represents for them at the time of the interview. The group categorized as *personal collective* includes: family (different variations of it: parents, children, love couple, wife's or husband's family, etc.) and friends (different variations of it: school friends, neighbor friends, student friends, friends from another city, etc.).

Through the period from 1945 to 1990, relationships between categories defined *us* and *them* is fluid. In other words, the same groups, part of both collective public and collective personal, are found in both categories. The general rule of separation between *who we are* and *who they are* did not exist. The relationship categories and its individual exceptions are presented below.

Additionally, the nature of language engaged in description of both *us* and *them* categories is uniform. Participants' stories of collective engagement on the square in this period were generally described as positive, or at best, neutral. While the interview instrument was purposively chosen for this reason, to provide interviewees the opportunity to freely select what and how they wanted to talk about this place, participants generally did not engage in negative language when talking about the square in this period. Again, rare exceptions and different versions of events will be presented below. As with the group membership, the nature of language used to describe categories

us and *them* noticeably changed when participants recalled the events which happened after 1990-1991.

Collective Public Memories of Place – Organized from Above

To explore memories constructed from above through collective engagement in public events that took place on the square, I selected narrative accounts of activities that are most frequently described by study participants and at the greatest length to present. A list of those events includes: The Partisans' Square Opening event in 1961, The Rally of Youth and Youth Day, Tito's Pioneers initiation and other Pioneers' activities, and The Fires of Uzice's Republic. Except for The Rally of Youth (celebration of president Tito's birthday) all three other ceremonies are tied to important dates from the partisans' revolutionary struggle in WWII, which turned into public national holidays after the war. While the square opening was a one-time event (periodical ritual), the other three were commemorative ceremonies repeated every year until the end of the 1980s (cyclical rituals). Additionally, the square opening ceremony and the Fires of Uzice's Republic obviously were local in character, and the other two ceremonies were happening simultaneously throughout the whole state.

The Partisans' Square Opening: The square opening was a three-day ceremony, which happened from July 4 to July 7, 1961. It represented the twenty-year anniversary celebration of the decision made by the communist party on July 4, 1941 in Belgrade to organize an armed uprising against foreign forces that occupied the state. After the war, in 1956 to be precise, this day started to be celebrated as a national holiday; The Day of the Soldier/Fighter (Serbian: Dan Boca).

The clearest and most detailed accounts of the event from the square opening were provided by the generation which personally participated in it, generation one. While partially recalled by some members of generation two; usually as “memories of memories,” it can be considered that the strongest recollection of events is present when a participant is directly involved in group activity in the place. Furthermore, the narratives of this event were not found in life stories told by participants from groups three and four.

The oldest study participant, Igor, described this event from the position of his own experience, but also knowledge obtained later through his profession – historian. While it is not clear from the narrative whether he personally attended the ceremony, he begins his story with the personal statement: “So, that time, let me see, I was 22, 23 years old when the square was built, and opened. Naturally, I was a proud citizen of Uzice because of that.” He moved his narration into, what he considers, more “interesting” part of the story than his personal experience of this event:

Although, this is interesting... When the square was officially opening, first, on July 4 Aleksandar Rankovic officially opened the monument. And on July 7 Tito was here. He did not give a speech on the square, but in Krcagovo. He spoke there. And so many famous people came, painters, musicians, writers, and top political establishment of Yugoslavia. People still did not move into the apartments on the square; they were furnished with furniture from Novi Dom. All apartments. For example, archbishop Makarios III slept there during opening ceremony, and famous waiter Ustasa Jankovic was his servant. He was preparing drinks for archbishop, teas and coffees. The food was prepared in Gradska Kafana. Those apartments on the square were so full of foreign diplomats,

ambassadors; our politicians did not have a place to sleep there. The camp was erected in Bela Zemlja for... I will lie to you now, for around 15000 people. They slept under tents, the kitchen was organized there; everything was in perfect order. Koco Popovic, the minister of foreign affairs, was among those “campers.” That only means that Uzice was fully occupied. Now, where Tito slept, that I do not know.

Through his narrative Igor, in an almost comical way, explains the size, importance, and grandiosity of this event: how well it was organized, how it was honored by all important personnel of the state and further, including President Tito. Witnesses of the square opening were: important political figures of the state and out of the state; prominent Yugoslavian artists; high Orthodox Church personnel, who generally were not visible in public spheres during the era of communist rule; and citizens of the state. Igor provides us with information of how the event happened and how it was organized, with less focus on his personal experience of it.

This motif of inclusion and equality of all layers of society through participation in a public event is prevailing in narratives of this period. There were no *us* and *them*; we were all on the same side and part of the same thing. During the opening ceremony, foreign ambassadors and diplomats were sleeping in apartments where the regular citizenry will move in later. “Our politicians,” even the minister of foreign affairs, are equalized with the regular Yugoslavian citizen by participation in the act of “camping” on the outskirts of the city in order to participate in the ceremony.

Through this narrative Igor tries to communicate the idea that the new erected space, that he “was proud of” as a citizen of Uzice, is actually equipped with all

functional spatial elements to support this type of event. The space could accommodate a large number of people, there were apartments available for overnight stays, the living quarters were equipped with the furniture from the store Novi Dom located on the square, and food and drink were available, again, in the restaurant Gradska Kafana located on the square. The square design, its appearance, functionality, and architecture, took on the important role in event ritualization, and moreover, it directed how the event will be remembered.

Igor's story about the square opening introduces to the listener the nature of events that would happen on the square later through time, especially in the period of socialist Yugoslavia. The ceremony of the square opening was grandiose and as well organized as any other public event that will follow. Furthermore, it was a symbolic representation of how the government of that time functioned - "in perfect order."

This event, and further, the memory of it is collective, is created through collective and organized endeavor. However, all stories told about the square opening also provide an original, personal stance. Olivera, as a housewife, experienced the new square for the first time on the day of the square opening. She states:

I was 13 years old when I experienced... I came here with my sister and father.

That was the first experience of this place that got stuck in my memory. When we came, in 1961, we were crossing the square and father told us how all that was built last year. He was coming there when it was a market; the green market was there. And then we... I mean, I can say, I put on really nice clothes. And, I remember, I am coming to this place. And that was an amazing experience. The main street was full of people. And how would I put this, all people dressed really

nice. Children had pioneer scarves and caps on. And we were walking, up Dovarje hill. I did not know of Dovarje until then, and why Tito came there first. He visited Uzice, and Kadinjaca after, I think. We were there, and we were waiting for him to come. And that was exciting, waiting him to come. And then, he passed in convertible car with Jovanka. We were waving at him; we had flowers in our hands. I brought flowers to toss at them. That was, you know, an exciting experience. I mean, connected to the square. So, that was the first experience. And then we... Well, we took a picture. I am still showing that picture around, you know. That was an event connected to the square.

Her experience of the space, and this whole event, is narrated by looking through the eyes of 13 years old child who experiences something for the first time. Olivera is a member of a wider audience, citizens of the state who came to participate in this event. But, first and foremost, she is a member of her own group – her family. During the period of state socialism/communism, government utilized public events like this one were used as communication channels through which the wider audience would be introduced to the ideological community (Miloradovic, 2007). Moreover, the idea was to integrate all aspect of the life, including family life, under one ideology which would represent the substitute for all other forbidden contents (David, 2009). When one looks at memories of these types of events, public and personal is impossible to separate. A family is a part of the broader collective, which serves the broader collective in public space. Furthermore, to fit into the group, her family and herself followed the unwritten rules of the group, like carrying the flowers to toss at the president and his wife, or wearing “nice clothes” when in public.

This memory of dressing “nicely” when on the square, and of taking pictures in this space, are two of the most consistent themes through all twenty interviews, no matter to which generation participants belonged. Moreover, few study participants provided me with their images, from different stages of life, to demonstrate the activity. This endeavor started with the square opening, and it continued to be practiced until today. Being dressed properly, wearing clean and suitable clothes meant to be a proper member of (socialist) society. This process of creation of a completely “new man” or “new people” to which all modern “political religions” were leaning (Miloradovic, 2007), here it is recognized through the process of a change of clothes. During the WWII change of clothes, putting the uniform on “meant taking on a new identity” (Miloradovic, 2007, p. 87). Here this act obtained a new meaning: transformation of rural citizen occupying a previously rural space (Zitna Market) into new, reinvented urban resident of the new modern space.

Olivera mentions visibility of pioneers in this space, although she does not consider herself as a part of that group. I found that strange, because all school children of her age, without exception, were introduced in this group at the age of seven. However, the fact that she completed only four years of elementary school after the war and that she was not currently enrolled in any school explains why she was not an active pioneer. During this political period, group indoctrination was happening through various state institutions including the all state schools. However, not being a member of the pioneers group did not exclude Olivera from the process. Being part of the collective through organized group activities in this space happened on multiple levels and through membership in social collectives.

The narrative of square opening as told by Milovan shows how this public event is further extended into personal, private space – home. Again, like with Olivera, Milovan's family unit represents a group through which an individual can participate in organized public activity. Milovan states:

I was in the city when the square was officially open. I think that the main gathering did not occur on the square. It happened in Krcagovo, I think where Gradina is. Yes, there exactly. You would expect for ceremony to happen... And people came from all around the country, those interested in the event, and those who participated in the war: freedom fighters, ex-soldiers, political officials and so on. I remember, my brother, a really romantic guy but short-term romantic. He brought... He met one of those really old guys who fought in the war and who came in Uzice from the middle of nowhere. He met the guy on the street and he invited him to spend the rest of the day in our house. Just to get some rest. That day was extremely hot, during that ceremony. And then, soon after my brother brought him in the house, he went out again. Then, the rest of the family sat there with him the whole day... My brother is a romantic type, but only a short-term romantic.

Here, the organized public event in public space directly shaped family activities in the home environment. It is not clear whether Milovan was directly involved in the event on the square as a witness, but his brother was and he brought the event into their home.

Although the act recollected was self-initiated, from below, this personal memory of it is actually tied to the broader public collective memory of the square opening. Not only direct participation in a public event can impact memory construction. This public event

was extended into private space through personal activity, and that is how it was remembered. Lola talks about one of Tito's visits to the city in a similar way:

Wow, when Tito visited the city... That was something. Once, when Tito came, I could not enter my own apartment, my own home, no way...Or, if you were already inside, curtains had to be on the windows, locked doors, there was no way getting out. You can burn to death inside. No way out, you are there and you must stay there. Then, he addressed the audience. That was a really good life.

Although the event described is not directly connected with the ceremony of the square opening, it is a good illustration how the ceremony performed in this public space was extended outside of its edges and how it impacted and directed private life in areas that were supposed to be private. In this moment, Lola's family already moved into one of the new apartments on the square. To organize the event, government performed the right to enter and invade private living quarters of citizens and to set the rules of behaviors while an event was in process. However, for Lola the act in question is nothing else but a symbol of a "really good life."

As seen with stories presented, participants developed micro narratives, tied to their private lives and their personal agency, which are integrated into macro narratives of the event in question. Few other participants, members of generational group two, also touched upon this event briefly. Small children at the time, they expressed admiration of its grandiosity, by "huge crowd" and stories told in later years. Their narratives are different versions, colored by personal emotions and attitudes, of the same event. Milica learned of the event only from stories of others, explaining how images of the square opening "did not remain in my head," because she was too small to actively participate.

She was seven years old when the square opened. Zoran states how even two years after the event, people still talked about the event, “That gossiping about the square opening, it lasted for a long time.” Although, he personally characterizes the event as “interesting” and “impressive,” Zoran acknowledges that retelling of the story became absurd at one point in time. He states that even “State media were broadcasting what Tito said when he was here. Who was there, who was in the first row, who did not manage to get in the first row, and so on.” As mentioned before, the outreach of this type of public events did not happen except only through direct physical presence, but also through verbal and visual means of communication in years to come. Zoran states:

People still talked about the square opening, the images were everywhere: when Tito came, where he entered the city, how he was moving through the city. People who were there were still talking about that, what Tito said on the square. That was... The images were shown. I think that I remember that some of those images were in still in store windows: Tito is speaking, people are standing around, flags everywhere...

Except for the direct impact that participation in this public event had, there is the secondary, delayed round of effects that influence memory construction. It is manifested through the conversations, storytelling, even gossip, but also through visual means, like images in the shop windows, that are available for all to consume. Thus, by looking through this lens, the opportunity is given during this study for participants to relive those events again through storytelling and can be recognized as a tool for memory reconstruction in the present.

When asked about a positive childhood experience from this place, Dusan explained:

And there is one other positive event... I cannot remember clearly right now, there were so many of those. A positive one was opening of the square, huge crowd of people. You know, Tito came to the city, there were a lot of security all around, and who else... I was a little boy then; I cannot remember clearly which political delegations came. But, that was magnificent; you couldn't go through the crowd. We were kids and we were passing through. You know... And that is the story.

Again, as with two other members of generation two, memories of the events are vague and cannot be "remembered clearly." Dusan even states that there is a chance of switching the memories tied to some other public event that happened in this place with memories of this one, because there were so many of them. Being experienced in early childhood, at age of eight, Dusan recollects the event almost as one moving image: huge crowd, security around, political delegations, and he and his friends moving through the crowd. While there is a lack of narrative detail, and obviously personal attachment, Dusan chooses this event to represent his positive childhood experience.

The theme that unifies all presented narratives is a positive attitude toward the square opening event. This trend will be visible through analysis of other narratives of public organized events in this place. Although, some study participants chose not to employ specific language and terms like "positive, magnificent, grand, nice, amazing, exciting, or proud of" in their narratives, they still marked this event as important by its mention and narrative detail. What is absent from stories presented is a critical approach

toward this event, and other events that came later, at the time of the interview.

Uniformity of narrative accounts, in which the language used is neutral at best, demonstrates how hard it is to detach from the specific pre-constructed perception developed through participation in this space.

Although I took on this research to explore different experiences of specific events that took place on Partisans' Square, I also found it very hard to detach myself from pre-existing macro narratives, opinions, and attitudes about the events experienced. Every time when I would have to look at and talk about these events objectively and critically I would feel like betraying all that I am. Understanding and verbalizing my past in a different way, therefore, constructing and reconstructing my new self through the research process was probably the biggest difficulty to overcome.

The other theme that unifies all narratives about the square opening, but also narratives of all other public events organized from above in this space, is the presence of Tito. Socialist Yugoslavia built itself upon five important concepts: cult of President Josip Broz Tito image/personality, People's Liberation Struggle in WWII, idea of brotherhood and unity, workers' self-management, and membership in non-aligned movement (Duda, 2015). Josip Broz Tito was very successful in maintaining his public image. He was not only a war and national hero, prime minister, marshal, and president for life, but an unifying entity of all Yugoslav nations (Pavasović Trost, 2014). Bogdanovic (2011) argues that communication between *the sender of the message* (state and local government) – *the receiver of the message* (participants) in the process of nation construction, that operated here through the collective ritual of the square opening, happened through two categories: celebration of Tito in this space and the celebration of

brotherhood and unity in this space. Moreover, the narratives of these types of events are often developed around the image, movement, and activity of Tito in this space. The cult of personality actualized itself through two ideological symbols in the space during this event: Tito's monument (see Figure 6) and Tito's image on the north facade of the square (see Figure 7). By utilizing these elements two important, although opposing messages were conveyed. First one is related to physical accentuation of Tito in this space, which led to separation of his image from all the others: he is the leader, the soldier, the great chief of the military, he is a worker and intellectual; he is just different from all others. He was *the other*. Local media (daily newspapers Vesti) tremendously aided this process

Figure 6. The Square opening ceremony, Tito's monument on the left

Figure 7. The Square opening ceremony, Tito's image on the tallest building on the Square, Tito is walking below

Figure 8. First page of newspapers Vesti, July 3, 1961, published one day before the square opening

(see Figure 8). However, the second message conveyed is equalizing in nature: by creating the bronze monument of Tito in a military coat, but omitting the military insignia

on it, the President of the Federal Peoples' Republic of Yugoslavia was leveled with the regular partisan soldier. He was part of *us* – the people.

This was a double narrative of Tito's image and personality, Tito as a common man, a friend, one of us, but also "Tito as God," as one of the youngest study participants put it, is very visible through various narratives of public events which happened in this space. This warm familiarity, but also mystery and alienation constructed around his image is still very alive today. In this study, firstly, his presence and his visits to the city are mentioned significantly more than the act of bombing and destruction of this place. Furthermore, he was often mentioned on multiple occasions through one life-story narrative, utilized differently to demonstrate different arguments. Familiarity toward Tito was expressed through acts of using his name in the same way through all stories: participants never called him any other way but Tito; not president, not ex-president, nor did they use his full name. He was just Tito, as a friend, comrade, or a family member. Moreover, by "denying" him the title that he held, absolute life-time ruler of their state, participants elevated him to an almost mythical level, where his position and his role included much more than being just the president. Igor observes how and where prominent guests were sleeping during the square opening event, but he finishes with the sentence: "Now, where Tito slept, that I do not know." The act of "waiting for him to come" to give the speech, the uncertainty of the event, elevated mystery and excitement for Olivera. Perpetuate gossip and stories told after the event about Tito's movements on that day, further maintained and reinforced secrecy around Tito's image. Furthermore, Igor, Milovan, and Olivera, emphasized how, because of "reasons unknown," he did not give a speech on the square but at the other place in the city before he visited the square.

The power of the double narrative constructed around Tito's image in the past was developed mainly to maintain the cult of his personality, which still impacts how the citizens see him in the present. The concept of *Titonostalgia*, together with *Yugonostalgia*, is a real phenomenon that is explored by many scholars. The director of The Museum of Yugoslav History, in an interview for Deutsche Welle, stated how Tito managed to be "Glorified in life, revered in death" (Slavkovic, 2010). The perception of Tito's image and his role in other public events that took place on Partisans' Square will be addressed further throughout the manuscript, based on the content of participants' narratives.

The Rally of Youth and Youth Day: This was a symbolic rally race held every year in former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from 1945 until 1988. The rally batons were given to Josip Broz Tito on his birthday, May 25 or Youth Day. The batons were used to convey birthday wishes for long life and good health to Tito from all the youth of the state. The race began in Tito's birth town Kumrovec (Croatia) and went through all major towns and cities of the country and ended in Belgrade (capital of Serbia) at the Stadium of Yugoslav National Army (JNA). The race lasted approximately one month and ended up with a rally of the pioneers (children from seven to fifteen years), youth and members of all ranks of the army and navy. The public was daily informed, through radio and television, on the movement of the relays and the celebration organized in its honor. Relay of Youth continued its existence until after Tito's death; in 1988 it was handed to the president of the Alliance of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia (SSOJ) in front of Tito's portrait. In 1989 SSOJ abolished this manifestation. Different names of the same event,

Tito's Rally (1945-1957), Youth Day (1957-1980), And After Tito -Tito (1980-1988), portray the various nature of the nations' construction throughout Yugoslavia.

I will open discussion about this event with the richest narrative accounts provided among all study participants. The event of Youth Day is equally represented in stories of generation one, two, and three. However, the most detailed narratives were provided by the generational group three, to which I belong as well, because this group was exposed to these repetitive and frequent ceremonies from their earliest childhood.

Jovana was a passive participant of The Rally of Youth on the square; she was brought by a family member to watch the ceremony. She selects a memory of this event to answer the interview question of a positive experience in her childhood:

A positive event from childhood would be The Rally of Youth. I was with my grandma at her friend Anica's place, on the square. What fascinated and amazed me back then was how many people actually showed up, and how well organized the whole event was. It was great that... What got me most excited... I remember later I used to draw this event in school. There were various dances performed by different Traditional Folk Assemblies, dances from every region of the country. I was especially thrilled with the Montenegro's dance, the one where they climb on each other's shoulders until they make a pyramid human tower. I was always fascinated by this, how this spirit of brotherhood and unity was preserved by different organizations and how the organizers went into great lengths to maintain this spirit. I mean, I personally don't remember Tito or his death but this spirit of brotherhood and unity was unbelievable. Now, when I think about it, that has always fascinated me. You know, you come to this rally; this torch would travel

from one town to another, from region to region, until finally, on May 25 it reaches its destination. And everyone would gather outside and wait for it as if it was, I don't know, Tito's urn perhaps. Everyone was fascinated by this event and everyone was getting ready for it. Children in schools, workers in factories, I mean everyone was looking forward to it. The square would be completely packed, smell of linden trees in the air, somehow, from a perspective of a child, everything was perfect on that day. And I remember it was the good students... They would be the ones who got to carry the baton. You could not wait to be the one to carry the baton. I really couldn't wait to get that chance but it would usually be the president of the youth and then the best Tito's pioneer. You know all of this sounds very silly now, but back then it was very important. It was very important for me, to be there and to be seen on that day. And then you would run home to watch *slet* (choreographed exhibition of dance performances tied to celebrations) performances on Peoples' Liberation Army stadium. It was amazing how well we were coordinated and synchronized during these celebrations, it reminds me of the opening of the Olympic games in China. We were totally acting like one, people who did all those motions together as one, turning left or right, nodding our heads and raising our arms.

As with the narratives told about the event of the square opening, there are same/similar dominating themes throughout stories of The Rally of Youth. Again, the strong message that prevails of how actually this “brotherhood and unity,” or absence of otherness, was constructed through these ceremonies. Jovana considers herself, and her family, as a part of the “people who showed up” and contributed to the success of the event. Furthermore,

“everyone was fascinated and was waiting” for this event to happen, “children in schools, workers in factories.” Through this event in the public space, all differences between groups were neutralized. Moreover, the great success of the event was established through participation of every member of the state throughout the territory of the whole state. That was the main goal of this celebration: orchestration of symbolic unity of citizens throughout whole of Yugoslavian territory through different types of participation in this one-month long event. Jovana even considers herself as a part of the youth that participated in the final ceremony in the capital city, though she was not physically involved in it. What surprises her is “how well we were coordinated and synchronized,” how “we were totally acting like one” although she watched the final, big event on television. Therefore, *we* who participated in the event in one space were actually part of *them* who performed in all other spaces. As Jovana states, all citizens of the state acted like one, they were one. This leveling between all members of the society, and all groups in one society, was happening here through different repetitive rituals in public space(s). This ritual had a role to erase all existing differences between the nation’s members, and further, homogenize unity constructed after the war (Giesen, 1998). Furthermore, those rituals contributed to the attempt of the state to create a socialist classless society.

Jovana shortly addresses the attitude toward this event in the present. While participation in this ritual and the narrative of it was recognized as “silly” at the time of the interview, Jovana emphasizes how important it was, even for a small child, to be there and to be part of the group in this space. For her, this act of public collectivism still carries real value in the shaping of positive memories. Jovana understands that many can

recognize this story as irrelevant, especially after observation of all other events that took place in this space in years to come. Although she almost proudly and at length describes the event, by using the word “silly” to describe public recognition and celebration of this event she relativizes her feelings toward it and toward memory tied to it. Historical revisionism that is currently happening throughout the (neo)liberal part of Europe tries, by using the term “totalitarianism,” to equalize communism and fascism, and moreover, partisans with fascists (Kirn, 2017). The liberal doctrine is trying to negate historical engagement of partisans in the Peoples’ Liberation Struggle, and therefore celebration of it, through elimination of the fact that partisan movement arose only as a resistance to fascist terror (Kirn, 2017). Therefore, these current political trends, easily distributed through different means of communication and media, robbed people of the pleasure to revoke those “positive memories” by creating feelings of shame and embarrassment tied to it. The stigma tied to the memory and recollection of the socialist childhoods is addressed on multiple occasions (Adamovic, 2015). Pogacar (2015) asks, “Is it possible, at all, to embrace one’s life when the historical context of one’s childhood (and one’s state) is ideologically and politically discredited” (p. 159)? While this motif occurs through the narratives of this study, especially members of generation three, all the knowledge and experience did not erase or mark this event as unimportant in the present. If, as stated, memory is not about the past but how the past is understood and described in the present, it can be concluded that events that happened during the socialist era of the state are still recognized as dominating memories. The lack of other positive memories constructed in this space contributed for these memories to stay remembered in this manner – as positive (Spasic, 2012).

What is absent from Jovana's narrative is a full critical overview of this event. The objective stance is denied to a listener, as "everything was perfect on that day." Moreover, as an interviewer I only received this idealized image of the public event, verbalized emotion tied to an experienced event looking through the lens of the present. The best question to ask here would be: in what kind of lives participants (and citizens) live if we all decide to portray the socialist past in this specific way? Although she mentions and acknowledges at one point that the event, including these acts of "brotherhood and unity," were organized and "the organizers went into great lengths to maintain this spirit," she does not characterize it in any different way except "fascinating." She even expresses the confusion and disbelief, in the beginning of the narrative, because of the number of people that would show up every time when something similar was happening on the square. Another participant, Lola, addresses the event of Youth Day in a similar manner:

Something interesting was always happening on the square. Big slet performances, I mentioned you earlier. Well, that was remarkable. Slet, that was... May 25, Youth Parade celebration, you had to be there. Whole city was outside. We, kids, did not have a clue what was happening and why, but we knew that it was important. Big celebration, lots of people and you did not have to go to school... Well, it was like that...

As with other participants, by looking at this narrative it cannot be easily determined was participation in the event voluntary or not. From the language used, it can be said that citizens were thrilled and excited to be a part of this event. Lola recognizes how "you had to be there," that the whole city would be outside on that day including children, that

schools were closed, and as did Jovana, Lola states that it was very important to be there and to be seen in that space on that day. Lola labels the event as “remarkable” and “interesting.” Zoran continues his story, talking from the perspective of the newly hired schoolteacher:

There were many wonderful events on the square. Different manifestations. Well, later when I started to work in school, we would take school kids to welcome the baton on the square. And many other events, different events. And political ones, too. They would pick us up, and we would take kids to the square. We made it to look massive, to look impressive. Everybody would wait to hear for some politician. *You had to*. And the other thing, you do not have to teach classes, kids did not have school. They were happy to go there. What else to do.

This short narrative excerpt represents the moment in the life-story where Zoran, for the first time, delivered a different outlook on the public organized events in this place during the era of Socialist Yugoslavia. Moreover, this was the only narrative among all 20 life-stories where someone offered more than one, usually idealized, version of these types of events. While study participants had an option not to talk about those collective events and few of them used those rights, no one provided me with an alternate narrative. Here, Zoran describes openly, though cautiously and through laughter, of the mandatory participation nature of organized events on the square. His role as a member of society changed from being part of the socialist youth who carried the baton during the “wonderful” ceremony on Youth Day, to being a schoolteacher who later “had to” take schoolchildren to the same ceremony, and as others, wait to “hear some politician.” Zoran separates “wonderful events” of before and “many other events... and political ones,”

although he talks about the same ritual that was performed from year to year in the same political system. He understands and acknowledges that people were mostly forced, “picked up,” to participate to make the event “look massive, to look impressive.” The last sentence of this narrative only confirms that to be present in this space during this day was the only offered alternative for a working citizen or a schoolchild from the city. Thus, for the first time, and the only time, throughout the narratives in this study that the organized events like the Youth Day was recognized as a political event, and not cultural and/or sport event.

A good illustration of this phenomenon, how politics worked through the culture and sport, is illustrated through Igor’s narrative about public events, including The Rally of Youth event. He states:

If I get this right, I would say that the square, during the period of Socialist Yugoslavia, had a completely different role compared to its role today. That was the place for different kinds of manifestations, manifestations of culture. I mentioned before, there were Fires of Uzice’s Republic, then, we were welcoming batons for The Rally of Youth, people run marathons. Everything ended on the square. And then, they would further continue from there... There were concerts of great assemblies, famous performers.

While the state politics used all means available, the military, the education system, the media, etc., in the process of nation identity construction, in open public spaces the most visible methods applied were engagement in events of culture and sport. When study participants recollect the events of this character, they usually choose to describe them as a “manifestation(s) of culture.” While participation of “great assemblies, folk assemblies,

famous performers, artists, musicians” and other members of the cultural establishment were crucial for all performances in public spaces, they never performed outside the political framework usually tied to the state’s revolutionary past. During the period of Socialist Yugoslavia public events could not be organized in this space, or in any other public space, without government approval or interference. In other words, throughout participants’ narratives it was impossible to locate *public events organized from below* tied to this historical period of the state.

It is also important to notice how strict separation of people being cultured/educated/civilized back then and being of completely opposite behavior in the present is often tied to practices of good/bad behaviors in this space during public ceremonies, including the Youth Day. Lola states:

You didn’t see people behave badly in public. Or maybe people were generally kinder and nicer back then, so you didn’t notice bad ones in the crowd. I really do not know what could be the reason. But really... For example, *slet* performances, all those beautiful days around the Youth Day, you can’t imagine how many kids participated in celebrations. And today – chaos! Children drink alcohol and then use bottles to hit a singer in the head. That is horrible. So public events, that was a positive thing from my childhood.

This narrative provides us not only with firsthand experiences of behavioral rules that were established in the public space, but also with the insight into the crucial change that happened between two political systems in the state: demolition of cultural and social standards which led to destruction of moral and ethical norms. For a majority of the participants, this abrupt and highly visible change from fully controlled and predictable

behaviors during the era of Socialist Yugoslavia into vandalism and crime in this space after 1990 was one of the first signs of inner and deeper changes of society itself. Spasic (2012) claims that this sudden fall was not only political and social in nature, but first and foremost, cultural and moral. Therefore, that “normality” of behaviors during socialist times, here in public space, became “a proper ethical form” (Spasic, 2012, p. 582) of the present.

Construction of the “new man” after the war did not include only wearing proper clothes, as mentioned before, but also display of proper behaviors when in public space. All mentioned rituals, among other things, were used to educate participants what behaviors were desired in the new establish society and what were not. And this public space was the perfect arena for that: highly visible with the central position in the city, it allowed for the greatest number of citizens to learn and implement the new moral and cultural values of the new society. Thus, it was far from surprising that the first deviations of behaviors were also initially noticed on the square or other public areas. Lola tries to understand the reason how and why this tremendous change happened. While the memory of proper behaviors in this space during the Youth Day represents the positive recollection from her childhood, she utilizes this narrative to further stress how new behaviors developed in public space today are inappropriate.

Through this critique, both the positive and negative parts of it, Lola focuses on a specific age group – the youth in this space. As mentioned before, different social groups were utilized differently in space activities, starting with the family unit up to specially organized groups like Tito’s Pioneers and different types of Youth Organizations. Mentioned organizations represented substructures within the League of Communist

Youth of Yugoslavia, with the main purpose to introduce, organize, and direct youth into specific behaviors and actions from the age of seven. Lola here empathizes how comparing to behaviors before, where a great number of kids participated in the Youth Day event and all managed to behave properly, youth today are not able to follow the same/similar rules. While she does not make direct connection between organized grouping of Yugoslavian youth and specific desired behaviors in public space during socialist era, the connection between the two is undeniable.

Sports, as culture, had a crucial role in state ceremonies especially in times of The Rally of Youth. Moreover, sport youth organizations and sports club members (again those groups were state organized and controlled) were main constituents of these ceremonies. Here, Zoran provides personal impressions of carrying the baton during one of the Youth Day events in the city:

We were welcoming and sending off the baton from the square. Those were interesting events. I was an athlete, a runner, and the president of Uzice's Youth Organization, my friend and also athlete, told me: "You are going to bring the baton into Uzice!" So, I... We were standing on Zlatibor Road, and every single one of us would carry the baton one part of the route. And when I took over the baton, you know, you feel very special. You know, important. You are part of the important thing. You carry the baton, together with wishes for the good health of Tito and everybody else. So, I was carrying the baton and I thought that I am going to carry it to the square... But down there, close to the public garage, somebody else took it over. I think it was a girl, I gave the baton to a girl. I was jealous because I had to hand it over. I wanted to carry the baton to the square!

The members of city youth were purposively chosen, they had the greatest honor to carry Tito's baton to the square. They carried it to the square. And we went to the square to watch all of that. Those were the experiences! Those were beautiful... And then, the cars would follow, festive atmosphere, celebration. Convertible cars, people on motorcycles, pioneers, everything organized. Pioneers with caps and scarves, with little flags, waiving you know. After we would send off the baton from the square, not only that day but the next fifteen days would be fulfilled with wonderful feeling. You were part of something that was amazing and important for the whole youth.

Narratives of "honor" constructed around participation in the Rally of Youth ceremony was again one of the many ways to organize, direct, and control behaviors of the youth in the public space. Being an active member of youth organizations would drastically increase your chance to actively participate in the ceremony, especially if you were good in sports, know how to sing, act, play a musical instrument. Both, pioneers and youth organizations, strongly encouraged excellence and rewarded their members for it by choosing them to personally contribute to the event. As Jovana stated above, only the good students would be allowed to carry the baton, and that would usually be "the president of the youth" and "the best Tito's pioneer." Therefore, to participate in the event, except for possessing a specific talent and/or being a good student, it was mandatory to be an active member of some subgroup of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia.

The other theme that can be discussed here is the importance of being seen, recognized, noticed in this space, especially during public ceremonies organized from

above. Moreover, this theme is very accurate today as well. In the present, however, it carries completely different meaning for the user of the square compared to the era of state socialism. While I already addressed the significance of physical and behavioral transformation of the new socialist man/woman in public, visibility of an individual as a part of the group and a group as a part of the whole carried special meaning for the citizens. Jovana states how it was very important, even for a child, to be there and to be seen in there. Although proud carrier of the baton for some part of the race, Zoran wanted to carry it right onto the square himself. He even admits that he was jealous of the other local participants of the rally who took it over and brought it into the square. The act would carry greater significance for him if it was performed on the square. This motif of necessity to perform in this public space, as a part of organized events or simple small, everyday performances on the square, all participants of the study addressed it at one point or another during the interviews. From the participation in organized rituals in this place to the creation of the citizens' own personal everyday rituals in this space, the theme of Partisans' Square as a "life theater" is surely tied to the square's architecture. The process of construction of the "new man" encouraged participation in public performances; it created the atmosphere where being part of the public show was not only a privilege but a necessity. This space was an important public arena from the beginning of the war, however, the square was purposively (re)designed to produce activities, to organize activities, to control activities, to provoke activities, and therefore to dictate and generate life in a specific way. Although, the ways in which all of this was done tremendously changed through time, this personal and group visibility that the architecture of the square encouraged shaped the life of its citizens through decades.

Zoran claims that, at least for him, this whole Rally of Youth event and participation in it would fulfill the next 15 days with a “wonderful feeling.” By being part of this performance, in one way or the other, you would become “part of something that was amazing and important for the whole youth.”

Evident close bonds between the image of Tito and Yugoslav youth, which was remarkably displayed through the Rally of Youth ceremony, will be discussed in the next part of the manuscript together with the role of Tito’s image in Pioneers initiation day. In Uzice, all ceremonies of this type took place on Partisans’ Square until the end of the 1980s, when they were forbidden. Even after Tito’s death the rituals continued to occur, often with stronger dedication, force, and zeal than before. Tito actually died during the Rally of Youth one-month ceremony in 1980. That was the moment when the name of this public holiday changed to include Tito’s name again: After Tito – Tito.

Tito’s Pioneers Initiation and Other Pioneers’ Activities: The Ritual of Pioneers initiation represented the start of the “ideological and political socialization” of a citizen, the ritual of social maturing (Duda, 2015). To be introduced into the group, to become a pioneer, had symbolic meaning of becoming a Yugoslav citizen. Every year on November 29, the biggest public holiday in Yugoslavia later named The Day of the Republic, a ceremony would take place in public spaces throughout the whole state. Only the members of generation group three provided detailed accounts of it, although recollections of this event were also found among members of generations one and two. Generation of “the last Pioneers” (Popovic, 2016) or “the last Yugoslavs” (Palmberger, 2016) represent generational group three in this study: a generation who was exposed to the shortest but strongest ideological influences in their early age, deeply marked by the

dissolution of Yugoslavia in their formative years, a generation who started their adult and professional life in the period of transition and severe economic conditions within newly founded ex-Yugoslav states (Popovic, 2016).

Marija recalls the story of Pioneers initiation multiple times during the interview. Narratives about this event from the same generational group, when mentioned, represent almost a duplicate of Marija's story. When asked about the most positive life experience in this place, she answers:

When I talk about elementary school, my first memory and the thing that I recall first about the square is my 1st grade. Tito's monument was still there. Well, that was Pioneers' Day, the day we became Tito's Pioneers, on November 29. And you know, those are really nice memories. First graders from all schools, for me it happened on 1982... Yes, November 29, 1982. All first graders on that day were becoming pioneers and that ceremony was happening on the square, you know blue hats, scarves, schools' flags, and the oath. That was a really nice ceremony, you know. I remember, there was someone in front of us, up in front of us, and we were repeating the words of the pioneers' oath after him/her. The oath, even today everybody knows at least the first five sentences of it. And of course, after that, we would get pioneers' blue hats and red scarves. And I know, as well, that 90% of people still have these in their houses. And of course, there is always a photo of that event somewhere. And that was... whole our class, with the teacher, we all had hats and scarves, and of course there was someone with the flag and of course, all of this was happening in front of Tito's monument. And that was something, that... That is maybe the first event that you remember, first important

event that you remember and it is connected with the school and the people that you went to school with. I mean, connected with those friends. And after that, other events happened... But that was the one, one positive event that I remember connected with the square.

In multiple occasions through the narrative excerpt, Marija explains that this ceremony is the first one remembered from this place, first “important” event that happened on the square. She firmly categorizes the event as positive. Similar to other studies, the generation of last pioneers marked this event as the “most solemn event” (Popovic, 2016, p. 45) in their Yugoslav childhoods. Through the description of the ceremony specifics, she stresses how the event had an important role in childhood, not only hers, but of other members of the generation as well. Marija provides details of the event, from the description of the space with Tito’s monument and school flags in place, to details of students’ clothing with “blue hats, red scarves” (see Figure 9). Moreover, possession of the ritual paraphernalia today, an inevitable photo of the event, represents the testimonial of how significant the event was. She further mentions other important elements of the ceremony, the act of repeating “the oath.” Again, Marija stresses how she, and probably all participants that experienced the ceremony, still remember the few sentences of the oath.

What differentiates Marija’s narrative from all other narratives about this event is that she ties pioneers’ ceremony to the exact date and the name of the holiday that was actually celebrated on that day. As mentioned before, participants usually classified those types of ceremonies as “events of culture,” without real acknowledgement that all of them were, in one way or the other, national holidays established after the WWII and

were tied to Yugoslavian revolutionary past. Although, as all other participants, Marija does not mark the ritual as political directly, she does mention that the ritual was part of 29 November ceremonies. In few other places during her interview, when other events of this type were mentioned, she was proud to recall the dates and historical references of it. Knowing our “history,” even the unwanted one, was an important part of Marija’s identity. When I asked her why this event carries importance for her she replies:

Well I do not know, maybe because it’s part of our history, part of... That was good part of our lives. Good period. Between our early childhood and beginning of real school duties. And also, this was the first bigger celebration ceremony that took place on the square. Huge numbers of people were there to watch, to enjoy, to take pictures, to make videos. Parents, grandmothers, grandfathers, and others. This is the first event that is connected with the square. We participated in those kinds of events even earlier, during our pre-k school. But we were so young back then, I cannot recall them clearly. Maybe through stories, you know. But this, this is the memory that we remember clearly. Because we were old enough to remember. I am sure that for every man/woman who experienced this ceremony, this event represents a really important one, the one that stands out from all other events which happened there.

One of the few “political demands” (Popovic, 2016, p. 45) formulated by generation of last pioneers is the resistance toward erasure of their Yugoslav identity. Here Marija, as others from this generation, claims her own history (or historical memory), the right to remember life as it was in a particular historical period, under specific political rule, and that is something that cannot be erased. She strongly supports this attitude through her

interview, where on multiple occasions she repeats how important is to know about your own past. Marija addressed this specifically through the story of Tito's monument removal, where she openly condemned this attempt of historical revisionism.

Marija describes and categorizes this event as "good part of our lives." While this statement can be interpreted together with next two sentences of her narrative, as good part naturally being the childhood period, this sentence carries double meaning. For Marija, good life belongs to the socialist past and to history that is almost forgotten. Everything that came after she recognizes as disappointment. She further utilizes the narrative of this event on Partisans' Square to explain the difference between life before and life today, to clarify how shared collective activities in this space constituted what was a "good part of our lives:"

You know what, I know that those events were very important. And during that period when, that... During those times when we organized celebrations and ceremonies that way, it wasn't really important what we celebrated, whether the occasion was positive or negative. People were oriented toward teamwork, team spirit. And that activity created a sense of belonging, community, and partnership. We cannot see that today. Today it's only about individualism and running around, and competition. But not healthy competition, not healthy rivalry. It is only about who is going to be the best.

Through participation in this ceremony, Marija shared her experience with, first and foremost, her school friends, her class, and schoolteachers. However, she mentions other groups on the square that she was part of: her family, "parents, grandmothers, grandfathers," but also all Uzice's citizens. The sense of community and belonging of

individual, family, and all citizenry was built through participation ceremonies in this space. While the present only offers “individualism” and “competitiveness,” performed in the past becomes a symbol of the desired and preferred way of life. This substitute of one way of life with a completely opposite one is expressed through the feeling of personal loss. On multiple occasions through the interview Marija openly communicated how this short-lived period of collectivity and comradeship, which was performed throughout the square, represents the only normality that Uzice’s citizens had. However, to open the discussion she uses the past tense, “I know that those events *were* very important,” and in this way, she clearly rationalizes that significance of those events is lost today.

What also caught my attention in Marija’s story is the use of Tito’s monument as a powerful spatial, but also time reference. In the beginning of her narrative, she emphasizes that during her Pioneers’ initiation in 1982 “Tito’s monument was still there.” She clearly separates time before and after: good life is tied to a period before Tito’s monument removal and bad life is tied to a period after Tito’s removal. This is not the only illustration where participants used spatial position of the monument on the square to differentiate between two different periods in their lives. Dunja, also a member of the generation group three, started her narrative with a similar statement:

So childhood, a fantastic period. Post-Tito time, the monument was still on the square. Like reminder of our golden era. My cousin and I, our parents; the main thing of all our walks was to cross over the square, no matter if you go from or toward your home.

Dunja purposively mentions the “golden era” of the state – time when Tito was still alive. While the decade of the 1980s was actually post-Tito time, people still lived under the

influence of Tito's image with the monument as the reminder. Not Tito's death, but removal of his monument from this space represents the symbol – a temporal marker – of tremendous social change that came abruptly.

Marija also recognizes Tito's monument as a spatial unifier by stating, "all of this was happening in front of Tito's monument" (see Figure 9). Moreover, this element

Figure 9. Photo of Marija's class after Pioneers initiation ceremony, 1982

was the point on the square around which the event was organized – it was the center of the ritual. While the president was already dead for two years when Marija's Pioneers initiation happened, he was still very much alive in the eyes of the children who were on the square that day. A good example of this is that Marija never mentions the president's death through her narrative. Tito still had an almost "holly" outreach over the participants of this event through the existence of the monument in this space. Rista explains:

My first memories from the square are tied to Tito's monument that was still there, in the upper part of the square. When we were out to play, he was just

standing there. Like, he was guarding the square. And the city carried his name. So, his bronze monument that was standing there, this strong image of it is still vivid in my memory.

For Uzice's citizens Tito's physical death did not represent the death of his life work and purpose. During the 1980s, as seen here, the government continued to employ his image and the culture built around Tito's personality as an attempt to preserve the idea of "brotherhood and unity" that was under the statewide collapse. As long as the monument existed on the square it served as a purpose to unite his army of pioneers.

The other organized event told by participants that involved activities of Pioneers is local in its nature and it is specifically tied to Partisans' Squares' architecture, more so the existence of the monument in the square. On every May 4 for exactly eight years after Tito's death, members of the Pioneers Movement of all ages would be taken from school to "honorably guard and protect" Tito's monument during that one day (see Figure 10). When asked about a positive event from her childhood, Kaja told her story:

I do not know... I will tell you the first thing that crossed my mind. Today, I do not have any emotions about that event. But it is the first thing that comes to my mind. When we were kids, we were Tito's pioneers. There was a monument in there, and on the day of his birth, every hour, two pioneers would come and stand there for the next hour. I do not know if you remember that phase, but two pioneers with red scarfs and blue hat, in blue skirt and white shirt, red tee shirt, with blue hat, would stand next to Tito. Maybe it was 15 minutes, we replaced each other there every 15 minutes. Something like that. That was, I do not know now, May 4 or May 25. I do not know. I was connected to him and I think it was

after his death. I was... When he died, I was in first grade and that was horrible for all of us. I remember, when they picked me to stand there, I was so proud. I think that was the most beautiful 15 minutes on the square for me. I mean, funny, but that was the first thing that came to my mind. But that is the first thing... I do not know how would I describe that to you. I mean, we are that generation of Tito's pioneers... I cried a lot when Tito died. For me that was like wow... I clearly recall that feeling, how proud I was. You had to stand straight, to have that special posture. One pioneer on one side, one on the other side... That was like wow for me. I did this only once, but that happened for the next five, six, or seven years, whole period of my elementary school. Throughout that whole period, you know, when Tito was still favored. Today, that event is irrelevant for me.

Kaja starts the narrative, but also finishes it, with the note how she does not feel any emotions toward this event at the time of the interview. However, she chooses this specific event as the most memorable and the most significant in her childhood. Often ambiguous nature of her narration, usage of terms like "I do not know now," "maybe," "something like that" often, illustrates Kaja's attempt to express the indifference toward the event in question. However, she also uses words like "wow" to display the extreme feeling of satisfaction, sensation, and sadness tied to this act. For Kaja, being part of this event was "the most beautiful fifteen minutes" that she spent on the square as a child and she can clearly recall the feeling of "being proud" to participate in it. This act of "honorably guarding the president" (Ivanovic, 1987) is an extremely powerful example of how children's emotions of loss (Tito's death) were utilized and manipulated through

1980, May 5

1981, May 8

1982, May 7

1984, May 11

1986, May 9

1987, May 8

1988, May 8

Figure 10. Pioneers as Tito's honorable guard/protectors, through years 1980-1988, images published by local newspapers *Vesti*

ritual in the space. Kaja finds it “funny” that this particular event was recalled first. However, it is evident why and how participation in this event could stimulate great emotional response of a child – participant in the present, without them even being aware of it.

Kaja uses the word “funny” and Jovana “silly” (very similar meaning in Serbian: *smesno* and *blesavo*) to illustrate the same thing: confusion because a particular event was recollected as a positive one at the time of the interview. Both of them are using similar language of humor to express underlying feelings of shame: having positive feelings toward events of the past that are condemned and denounced in the present. Humor and sarcasm has often been utilized in Serbian tradition and culture during desperate times, including the current period, to lift up desperate souls (Sombatpoonsiri & Rubinstein, 2015). Here, as also seen on multiple other occasions, the language of humor is used to reconnect this identity split between positive personal memory of the childhood/youth in socialism and current public interpretation and representation of it globally. Hofman (2015) claims and asks: “We are infantilized. Socialism is infantilized. How we should remember our own childhoods” (p. 175)? They (we) may as well make fun of it.

Using the specific language of humor and sarcasm to describe the past in socialist Yugoslavia will be addressed further in the manuscript tied to other organized public events that happened annually on Partisans’ Square.

The Fires of Uzice’s Republic: The Republic of Uzice was a short-lived liberated Yugoslav territory and the first liberated territory in WWII Europe, with its center in the city of Uzice. Organized as a military mini state, established by the Partisan resistance

movement, it existed from September 24 to November 29, 1941, all together 67 days.

Until the middle of the 1990s, every September 24 was celebrated as The Day of the City

- commemoration of the day when Uzice was liberated from Fascists for the first time.

The name of this local holiday was The Fires of Uzice's Republic and its celebration was exclusively tied to this space.

Although this event by its content, appearance, organization, and purpose was similar to all other organized events in this space during the era of socialism, participants of the study often mentioned it with great enthusiasm because of its local character. As many times before, when asked about a positive childhood event participant Lena actually recalls this celebration as significant:

I remember how on every September 24 the big celebration, people probably mentioned this to you a lot... Big celebration, yes, Fires of Uzice's Republic.

Everybody was very familiar with the order of performances: first, boring speech, then reciting same old war poems, playing some music, after that little bit of traditional dances, then some gymnasts would perform, ballet dancers... As I recall correctly, a few times there were some soldiers performing with ballerinas. That, let me tell you, was a weird combination... I was, I think, maybe 12-13 years old when my cousin performed, she is a great singer, she prepared a solo act for this ceremony. She was wearing crazy red dress. So her brother and I, we were really young, he was actually younger than me. We fought our way to the front row... The whole city was there, so many people outside. My aunt was there and some other members of my family. So we fought our way to the front row, and we waved and waved, but she couldn't wave back because she was singing. It was

probably our imagination, but we were sure that she sent us a secret signal. I assume that we thought that we were really important that day. We were telling everybody: our sister is singing today on the square. That was really nice, somehow. We were sure that she sent us a signal, but later on she said to us: Don't be stupid, I looked at the audience only. Even today we are almost certain that she waved at us, I mean, we were bragging around how she waved at us during her performance. All in all, we were really happy.

Lena uses humor to describe predictability, maybe even banality of the event(s) caused by repetition and resemblance of its content. In the first part of her narrative excerpt, she relativizes the meaning of separate performances by listing them in exact order and by using the specific language "first, boring speech... reciting same old war poems... than playing some music," etc. By equalizing this event with all others on the square, Lena renounces its importance and significance. Nevertheless, as majority of the participants, she picks this story to tell.

It is obvious that frequent repetition of different ceremonies in this space contributed for the events to be memorized by Lena and by others. Moreover, she remembers details of it very well. The reason this particular holiday celebration for Lena stands out from all other celebrations is personal involvement in it. As stated before, memories of events organized by the state are always more vivid and expressed with more emotion when engaged personally. Lena even recalls the exact song that her sister performed, the name of it, and what it was about. When I asked why this event carries importance for her, she responds:

Because... my sister was the most important person there. She sang beautifully for sure. I even remember the song. She sang the song "Stop Neretva, stop flowing." That is a traditional song written by, hmm, I think Bosnian Serbs. The text itself is connected with events from WWII. About a battle on the river Neretva. That is a well-known song: "Water, that runs through the hills, please stop flowing, I want to cross over..." and there is a second part of how soldiers are crossing the river, the partisans are crossing the river. We were very pleased on that day, with this song and with our sister singing this song.

The obligatory nature of engagement of personal/private groups (like families) in public events worked as an excellent instrument for (re)construction or "redirection" (David, 2009, p. 151) of memories, in this case, what will exactly be remembered and how it will be remembered. This total and absolute engagement of all levels of society through repetition in same/similar rituals tied to WWII revolutionary struggles obviously pushed all other types of life narratives into the periphery of collective memory. Although Lena, in a way, talks about an important event from the life of her family and their personal success, all details from her narrative, from red dress to the song and place, are orchestrated by the state powers that articulated itself through this ceremony on Partisans' Square.

Marija, a member of generational group three, picked the Pioneers' Initiation ceremony as the most positive event from her whole life, and the celebration of the Fires of Uzice's Republic as the most positive event from her childhood. She also mentions these events multiple times through her interview. As demonstrated, the age and stage in personal life (formative years) plays an important role in the process of collective

remembering or remembering as a part of collective. While all five participants from this generational group selected public events organized by the government in this space as positive or positive from childhood, that was not the case with members of other generational groups. Moreover, by looking at the nature of presented narratives, the language used, frequency of repetition, similarities but also differences can be recognized between the members of the same generation. While Lena tries to use humor to express positive experiences of the event, Marija uses the same positive experience of the past to reflect on present and the future in this place. For Lena, narrated memories are just a recollection of the past. For Marija both narrated events, the Pioneers Initiation and the Fires of Uzice's Republic, are relevant in the present and are utilized to construct both the present and the future. After long a description of the event, Marija states:

That was one big and beautiful ceremony, celebration of the Day of the City, and all of us knew... Just to be completely honest with you. There is not this kind of celebrations nowadays like it was in that moment, during that period. You know, everybody got together and everybody worked together in order to have some kind of a product, a celebration. Now, everything is separated, divided, segmented. Teamwork doesn't exist anymore. You know, all of us to get together, to include actors who work in theatre, and all pre-K school, all elementary and middle schools, all high schools together and create some kind of show. Definitely, this will not happen in near future. But, that I remember. I remember those 24 September celebrations with lots of people there on the square.

Switching between "opposing discourses" (Palmberger, 2016, p. 166), positive always being narratives of the socialist past in this place and negative being the narratives of the

present, are detected as not only tied to collective events organized from above but also to collective personal events that happened in this place. As with Marija's story, positive attitudes toward collectiveness, togetherness, and teamwork in this space prevail as the dominating theme through the three oldest generations. This life style, described as a "normal life" (Serbian: *normalan život*), is found as preferred and desired in present. Moreover, the ability of society to organize itself in this manner is highly admired looking from the position of "now" when everything is "separated, divided, segmented" and when "teamwork doesn't exist anymore." Therefore, all four mentioned events organized from above on Partisans' Square represent very visible symbols of collective capabilities and achievements of the whole society during the era of socialism, something that society today cannot manage to accomplish. Through her narrative, Marija tries to explain how the loss of motivation to organize and participate in any kind of public event today is the sign of disorderly conditions in which society and the state is currently. According to her, all attempts to continue this tradition on the local level today, usually in the shape of celebration of local achievements, inevitably leads to failure. This theme will be further discussed throughout analysis of similar events in two other mentioned historical periods.

Collective Personal Memories of Place

In this study, collective personal memories are defined as memories constructed thorough voluntary and non-formal everyday practices on Partisans' Square of groups that are family, friends, and acquaintances. During the socialist period of the state, as shown, collective personal memories of participants are often fused with collective public memories due to excessive government interference in public life of the citizens.

However, participants often decided to portray private and intimate life stories that were collectively experienced in this space. General representation of those events as positive can be tied to understanding of life in socialist Yugoslavia as a good one (Spasic, 2012). Overall feelings of safety, social security, economic well-being, higher moral and cultural values influenced the need for stories about the life on the square to be understood and described in this manner. Furthermore, this aspect of life was found satisfactory, with slight variations, throughout narratives of all three historical periods of the state. In other words, participants generally expressed emotions of pleasure and joy when talking about personal collective activities experienced in this place. The deviations from this standard, which is usually tied to change of life circumstances, will be addressed further.

Based on the nature of collected data, the collective personal memories 1945-1990 are roughly categorized into memories of childhood on the square, memories of high school/college period on the square, and memories grown up period and parent community culture on the square. Additionally, a powerful phenomenon, named *the circle of life in the square*, arose from categorization and presentation of memories this way: participants who built their memories through activities in this space as children, further constructed new memories together with children and grandchildren of their own in the same space. Ivan, one of the youngest study participants, mentions how “it is pretty cool” to sit and have coffee with friends in the same place where his late grandfather had coffee with his friends.

The most detailed narratives from this period of childhood were provided by participants who, at the time, lived near the square. Therefore, the amount of time spent in this space tied to proximity to the square plays a crucial role in memory construction.

In other words, participants who recognized the square as their “backyard” and who were actively engaged in different activities on an everyday basis have formed different relationships to this place compared to participants who as children visited the space occasionally. Narratives of interviewees who were brought sporadically to the square by their parents or grandparents naturally lack in richness and detail. However, those stories are equally important because they offer a different assessment and outlook on this space.

Children’s movements are usually observed and limited, and therefore, it is expected that children who lived close to the square were allowed to spend more leisure time there. In narratives about this place tied to activities during high school and college periods, differences were not found between people who lived near the square and in some other location in the city. The square represented then, as today, the central gathering place of the citizens of this age. The same trend was detected among narratives of the life period marked by parenthood and family formation. Being centrally positioned, the square had naturally become the main meeting place for the new parents and favorite route for ritual evening walks of citizens of that age no matter how close to the square they resided.

Patterns of private/personal collective behaviors on the square have not changed significantly from the square erection until today. Citizens still actively engage this space on an everyday basis as they did before. Shift of political/economical systems in the 1990s moderately transformed the space appearance, which somewhat impacted change of behaviors in space. While people today still prefer to spend free time here, at the time of the interviews, study participants often chose to critique extreme commercialization of it. Emotions of satisfaction, fulfillment, and happiness tied to quality of time spent on the

square shifted through time. Therefore, narratives about this space can be utilized to detect, discover, and understand underlying reasons for change of the attitudes toward quality of time spent on the square, and furthermore, change of the attitudes toward life in the city and the state.

The oldest generation of this study, generation one, belonged to the group Palmberger (2016) defined as First Yugoslavs: the generation that was born before/during WWII and its members were adolescences or young adults when Tito's Yugoslavia was established. The biggest part of their lives occurred during this 45-year period of the state. They lived through, and therefore, provided narratives of childhood, youth, and family formation/parenthood in this place during socialist period of the state 1945-1990. The same variety in memory display was not detected throughout narratives of age group two and three, or the Last Yugoslavs (Palmberger, 2016). For them disruptions of the 1990s happened much earlier in life. The members of generation four of this study, or generation of Post-Yugoslavs (Palmberger, 2016), did not provide any narratives tied to this period for the reason of being born on or after the year 1990.

Memories of Childhood on the Square: Childhood in this place, while the place was the market, was not portrayed as appealing or interesting for the oldest generation of study participants. This was a place for trade, during and after the war, and a place for occasional political public gatherings. Not being the location for any type of leisure, naturally it did not attract children of any age. Private/personal memories of spontaneous encounters are closely intertwined with memories randomly organized public, often political events. Dusan describes this place by providing a detailed narrative of its appearance before the reconstruction:

I vaguely remember how that space used to look like before the square was built. There was a market there and a cobble road. And there were no stands like in the regular market. All sorts of local goods were sold there, like cheese, milk, cream, and such. Wooden dishes and other utensils could be purchased there. Down below the square, there was a green market. That remains in my memory... There were small shops there, craft stores, and I don't know. All that was there, within this small, undeveloped trade town, which brought in people from the entire county. Over there on the other side of the square, west side, there was the old movie theatre, I remember that very well. On the northeast corner there was Kongo tavern where people used to stop by. The main street was Marshal Tito's street; I lived in building number 107. Across the street there was the bookstore and the pharmacy, in the same place as it is today.

As Dusan describes, this was just a regular, small, rural town market where people got together for the purposes of trade, with no other reason to stop by. He does not provide,

Figure 11. Image on the left, Zitna Market in the 1903, on the right Partisans' Square, published together in Vesti, February 12, 1999

as a majority of the other interviewees, any memories of personal encounter with this place, which confirms that he did not spend any time there. However, this narrative is important in understanding what kind of a change, in appearance but also in functionality and use, the reconstruction of the square brought to everyday life of Uzice's citizens (see Figure 11). The other participant, Milovan, briefly describes personal experience tied to the old market:

Back then this space was a market, Zitna Market. It had its purpose and function, but was not a place especially attractive for the younger population. Not for my generation, for my friends and me. On the left side of this space, people were selling milk and milk products, meat products and so on. And I guess, the right side was for grains and other similar products. This place was not attractive to us at all. And even when we had to go over to the market, we would choose another route in order to avoid the place. You know, by pharmacy Jovanovic and up the street, instead of crossing the square diagonally. Why, I do not know. It lacked positive energy.

Although the square was erected mostly to demonstrate the state power, as a tool of the government to organize and construct specific behaviors, one of the biggest achievements established through its reconstruction was that it provided a new area for people, and especially for children, to socialize, gather, meet, and play. While the space continued to be the place for trade, in addition, it became a place of culture and education – the real urban center of the small developing city. It can be recognized how well composed the architecture, which includes multiple typologies in space, can fundamentally transform the quality of life. The small rural zone, in one year, was reshaped into a flashy urban

center. Furthermore, with increased frequency of everyday activities in this space, the nature of memories constructed tied to it also profoundly changed.

What was often mentioned throughout participants' narratives of Zitna Market is a cultural phenomenon of the main street or *korzo*. The main street that was passing, and still does today, below the market had a dominant role in people's social lives. This was the space where citizens would gather in the evenings, usually between 7pm and 10pm, to talk and enjoy each other's company while walking up and down the street. This trend to gather in open public areas has always been an important part of people's identity throughout the Balkan region. After the square erection in 1961, a majority of these collective activities were moved to the square or into the new facilities around the square, like local café Gradska Kafana. However, this daily ritual still represents an important part of everyday routine of the locals. Here, Milovan describes the activity tied to both the market and the main street that he experienced as a child:

Positive event from that period? Well, I do not know, I mean... There was a really small office there in Zitna Market, on the left side of the market. There was one small room there, probably shop or store before, but in that moment it was a broadcast station. So from there, different kinds of music were aired through the sound system installed all over the place. That is a positive thing, positive thing that I remember. We were listening to the music, and also broadcasts of sport events. We did not have radio devices in our homes back then. So we were listening to live broadcasts usually when a really important soccer game was played. We would go out on the street and stand below tin speakers that were oriented in two opposite directions. And so on... There were a few of those along

the main street, along the *korzo*. We were listening to live broadcasts, and I remember that feeling... Very often they would play some music and it would be popular music, we loved those entertaining rhythms. The city was very poor back then. Sometimes when we would find ourselves outside in really cold weather. We would stand close and around those speakers. And when we would hear the music, those rhythms over the speakers, you know, you would feel those vibrations and it would momentarily become much warmer. The music kept us warm, and that is all.

This narrative represents not only a positive childhood experience, but only positive memories of this space before its reconstruction. It provides a good outlook on social condition of the state and its citizens, severely impoverished during WWII. As many times before, poverty and poor living circumstances encouraged people to get together. Furthermore, Milovan's narrative illustrates how communal life in this space was happening before the square reconstruction. The simple act of listening to the music or sports broadcast over the speakers in a public space possessed great power to gather; it provided citizens with feelings of happiness and satisfaction through the collective act during the times of hardship and struggle. Communal places, and moreover shared activities in it, are often those to which memories are attached. The way people move and act in space and how often they engage with that space influence memory but also identity construction. This particular memory is a good example: although the market was not particularly attractive and it generally "lacked positive energy," frequent engagement in positive acts in this space contributed for this specific event to be recalled in the present.

Participants' narratives of childhood in this space drastically changed after the square erection. The emotions expressed through these stories are probably the strongest ones told. From unattractive and uninviting space, the square became the focus of social life of the city including the life of local children. Jovana argues, "I think that a majority of children born in Uzice make their first steps there on the square. I really think that." Children were not only engaged with this space through government organized ceremonies, as described previously, but also through inevitability of everyday life that somehow required this space to be visited daily. From the early age city parents would take their children to the square as a part of their everyday rituals. Slavica shares her experience of this space as a mother:

Back then the square was, the square was a fashion runway for us, young mothers, children, strollers... That is really interesting. We would take the kids outside; it was fun to place your tiny offspring in a stroller, and to drive him/her around the square. You would meet moms similar to yourself, you would stop, chat for a while. That was a really pleasant activity to do. You would exchange information, honest, and less honest ones; lots of intriguing things happened in there.

Children, together with their parents, through acts described would become part of the broader city public. It is evident that belonging to a group, to declare yourself as a part of a particular group in this space, was crucial for identity construction of Uzice's citizens. This process of a becoming a member of the local community through activities in this space was not only organized from above through state ceremonies and performances. This ritual was also organized from below through participation in everyday self-

constructed activities on the square. From an early age the process of socialization would occur, first and foremost, through family visits to this place. While memory, according to Sturken (1997), “indicate collective desires, needs, and self-definitions” (p. 2); memory recalled also illustrates existing social unwritten norms and rules of behaviors that were often strictly followed in a given space. These spontaneous acts that families engaged in voluntarily were, at the same time, limiting and directing in nature. However, participants portrayed them exclusively as positive; they willingly and enthusiastically participated in them. Lena talks about the square visits from the perspective of the child:

My first chapter, early childhood, the square represented one extremely exotic place for me. I was the youngest kid in my family. Older kids were always nicely dressed, in Navy suit, taken to the square for photo shooting with mother and father. I was the youngest child, born soon after we started house reconstruction, and I was always very disappointed because I did not have any images, pictures from the square. They took me to the square when we had to go to post office, just to the city, and everybody knew: if you wanted to go through the center of the city, you had to dress your child properly. And that is one of my memories: we are going to the city, we are going to pass over the square, everybody is going to see you there, you cannot go there dressed in rags. I remember that we were dressed really nice back then, you know, when they were taking us to the center. We were crossing the square usually when we visited someone who lived in the center of the city. But I was never taken there to play, as all other kids did, kids that lived around the square. I was always so happy – I am going to the square –

because that was a part of the city called *varoš* or other people called in *caršija*, the city center.

The square, being the city center with main city institutions located around it, was not visited only for personal pleasure in times of leisure, but also for the purposes of doing the daily chores. Lena explains how, as a youngest child in the family, was not brought to the square to play as other kids from the city, and therefore, she does not possess any memories of this place constructed through childhood play. However, she learned early that the square carries special importance in the lives of the city. The square was marked as an “exotic” place and visiting it made Lena happy for reasons not clarified in this narrative excerpt. Therefore, positive memories of this place were not only constructed through direct physical participation, but also through verbal communication of experiences of other members of community, here family members.

Other participants often remembered those random acts of square visits with their parents usually for the purposes of “buying school supplies” in stores located around the square. However, some narratives further demonstrate that life on the square included acts of independent visits performed by the children of an early age. The process of maturity and growing up, encouraged by family members, manifested itself on the square through the process of autonomous shopping activity and other “grown up” activities. Milica recalls a memory from her childhood:

And by the way, my first independent shopping activity happened on the square; in these new shops around the square. And that was, not shopping for school supplies, but when my parents would send me in grocery shopping. To buy bread, you would go to the store Robna Kuca Progres. I mean, that was the closest store.

That was a special honor, you know, to go to buy bread with that grocery bag made from net. Grocery net bag, and they would give you some money, and usually we would buy some candy. I remember, back then you could buy candies from those glass jars, they would measure how much you want. And then you would choose bonbons that you want to buy: 50 grams of this type, 100 grams of that type. I mean, who did not like those candies? So, my first independent shopping activity happened on the square.

Lena shares a similar story:

Later, when I started my school, it was my ultimate goal to be sent by my parents into the center of the city to do something, buy some groceries, just to wonder around a little. That was always fun: full of people, happy, colorful. That was during my early childhood.

This act of “independent shopping” carries special significance for Milica. Firstly, this memory portrayed her pride in doing mature activity for the first time. It represents a significant cornerstone in her life, time when she initially experienced her autonomy. Furthermore, this space was safe enough for a small child to freely conduct this type of activity. None of the participants, including Milica and Lena, expressed feelings of fear or anxiety of being alone in this space. For Katarina the act of shopping was significant as well, but for different reasons. She liked “colorful” atmosphere of the square, “happy” crowd, positive energy that evolved around the square. The grocery shopping was an excuse for Katarina “to wonder” around this place, to enjoy and share this positive feeling with other visitors of the square.

Architecture and architectural elements of the new reconstructed space enabled the youngest members of society to act, and further, to remember experienced events in a

particular way. It is not only that presented memories are tied to the square per se, but are also attached to the specific buildings on the square. For Milica that building was Robna Kuca Progres, structured as a modern mall today, smaller in size, where varieties of shops could be found – from bakery to jewelry store. Ossman (1994) states “...the way in which one moves about determines one’s experience of the city and one’s identity” (p. 38). Milica’s narrative is an excellent example of occurrence that is common throughout participants’ stories: how personal memories about this space are anchored to particular spatial elements around which the activity is evolving. Not only Tito’s monument, but also a bakery or grocery store, bench, water fountain, specific tree on the square turned out to be a significant spatial element for memory to be rooted. When a significant amount of time is spent in a particular space, memories will inevitably attach themselves to the specific spatial elements. This way of remembering, where memories are tied to the specific objects of this space, will be particularly noticeable during the period of youth when the absolute freedom of movement to act in and around the square was dominant.

Except for interacting with this space through family activities, children were also encouraged to play and spend leisure time with friends in it. Milica explains: “The square was the only ambient where, where you have enough space for fifty kids to play all at once.” Based on stories provided, the square was a perfect place for children’s interaction: the square was observed throughout the day and night by the guard, it was an incident-free space during this state period, it was safe, big, open, empty, highly visible with limited car traffic, and other kids from the city often gathered there as well. After the square reconstruction children not only gained freedom to be active in this space, but the size of the space enabled a large group of children to engage in different activities at the

same time. When asked about the life chapters in this space, Lola divided her life story narrative into “life on the square” and “life after the square,” where the first chapter of her life represents the childhood and youth in this place. She explains: “And not only because I grew up there, it was the center of the world.” Milica is using similar language to describe the same occurrence: “When I enrolled into school, I lived two streets above the square. Naturally I “gravitated” toward this space. We spent most of our time playing on the square.” A big part of their identity, who they are today, is tied to the process of growing up in this place. Lola describes the meaning that this place carries for her:

The story about the square, is... is a special one. That is the story of growing up. Maybe you wouldn't find this particularly interesting, because it is more about my personal life. But, the story about the square is the story about my childhood; it's just like that. Every part of my childhood in this place was full of amazing events. When we were kids playing games outside. When we were older, falling in love there, playing guitars, listening to Rock & Roll.

And when asked how she would describe this place in one word, she said:

Well, that would be some kind of community, like togetherness. Belonging to a group. That could certainly be – people from the square. I can feel that even more today. Belonging to one group. That belonging provided you with a sense of security, it was channeled through a particular behavior, you know. And the square is the reason why we developed that sense of belonging that exists between us. It simply shaped us... And, that represented one totality (wholeness, completeness).

Lola grew up on the square and for her this place represents a personal backyard, safe zone to spend her free time in play and adventure. Together with other neighborhood children of the same/similar age, she formed this community which provided her with a feeling of security and protection. While Lola argues that the story about the square is the story about her personal life, she almost exclusively defines herself in this space through group membership. She continues:

I am telling you, we were running all over the place, between buildings, through basements, rooftops. Now, there is no way that I would go in there. But then, we were going in through the buildings' basements, then through tunnels below the square, and finally we were getting out on the completely opposite side of the square. Well, we were so carefree and everything was much more relaxed. Very good life, good memories. It is all about the square. Beautiful memories, so many wonderful events. We were more connected back then, we hung out a lot, everything (people) were more sociable then. And you know what else, we played a lot together outside. That does not exist anymore. Well ok, that is our sacrifice to the progress. Today all kids are playing alone in their rooms, with their computers.

Lola constructs a narrative from the point of the present: she addresses the arising issues of public life by comparing it to the past, a specific part of the past that she considers as normalcy. This one, as many other narrative excerpts, confirms that past is first and foremost about the present condition of the narrator and society that he/she lives in. Lola argues that playing together outside on the square created a better connection between the youngest members of society, which further led to memories tied to this period to be

revoked as the good ones. Togetherness and collectivity in this space that existed during the era of state socialism, were, as many times before, marked as “good life, good memories.” As stated, this good communal life was not only demonstrated through public state organized events, but also through group, everyday life activities. A collective spirit was built and cherished by everyday engagement of all different layers of society in this space.

Study participants often mentioned the theme of equality through collectivity, togetherness, and group belonging as a vital part of life in this place. The square was always open for all, no matter what social status or class children belonged to. Lola talks about that experience through the story of her generation:

We were so connected back then, we hung out a lot. We did everything together.

We were very humble back then. We were all the same. And well, almost the same generation, one year older or younger. We were always together and we kept it that way. Lots of children grew up together there, went to elementary and high school together.

While the state utilized its powers to create and represent Yugoslavian society as a classless society, this equalization of its members was happening at all levels, including spontaneous everyday childhood activities. This motive of inclusion and acceptance of all in this space actually represented the wider social trend of that time, but also something that participants of the study found as an important part of life during this historic period of the state. Moreover, personal features like being “humble” as a child, not asking for much, were also performed through this space. Lola emphasizes how being together on the square was enough to lead a happy and fulfilled childhood. More important, every

child had a chance to be equally involved in those activities since back then all of them “were the same.” The theme of social equality, equal opportunity provided to different groups to use and expressed themselves in this space, will be further addressed through analysis of personal narratives tied to other life stages.

The theme of unlimited freedoms, freedom to move, to act, to play in this space was often portrayed through narration of childhood memories. Moreover, this motive was depicted in relation to the spatial features of the square – its size, design, color of the stone, openness, views, and comparison to the topography of the city. In multiple places through her narrative, Marija equalizes physical spaciousness and openness of the square with a memory of being spiritually free and liberated in this space. While this particular memory can be interpreted just as a nostalgic reminiscence of childhood, here, positive childhood experiences are actually tied to specific physical appearance and the architecture of this place. Marija describes this relationship:

When we look at topographic configuration of Uzice, the whole city is so hilly, coming down all from those hills, hills, hills. Just like a funnel, but instead that narrow part, there is one big and wide space – the square. I can go back to that period of high school when, no, the period of childhood when the square was one big, empty space, free space where we could play freely. So, all that broadness and wideness, spaciousness... And freedom. I would connect that freedom with a particular time period and with that particular immense space.

Lack of material boundaries in this space for Marija represents the lack of boundaries in her life as a child on the square. Physical “broadness, wideness, and spaciousness” of the square embodies freedom of movement, but also freedom of spirit. For Marija, freedom is

embodied through childhood in this space and in this time. Lola broadens on the meaning of this relationship:

The first chapter, connected with the square, those are the best memories that I have, I mean... this is how I think about the youth, being carefree, just spending time there on the square. That space, broadness and freedom, friendships, then knowing about life, knowing each other, falling in love, going to the movie, concerts, sleds, fire department drills, Tito's visits...

This narrative exhibits how built environment shapes memories, but also the identities of its users. It is obvious that the frequency of space usage plays a crucial role in this process. Casey (2000) argues how we usually remember the places most familiar to us. Lola and Marija both lived near by the square during childhood and they were often exposed to different activities in this place. However, for Lola, size and openness of this space is not only tied to freedom to act, but freedom to grow, to make your own decisions, freedom to choose your own friends, and to learn about life through different activities in this space.

Not all experiences, and therefore memories, are portrayed as positive ones. Slavica provides the counter-narrative, a description of how exactly the size of the space was something terrifying and intimidating for her as a child:

The strongest negative impression I had as a child about this space was exactly how big, empty it was. I did not know what to do in it. You know, my family would send me there: "Go to the square!" And when I was in there I would always ask myself: now what? Completely empty, few benches, few people who were sitting there, that would usually happen around 3-4pm. Even in the evening,

I could not find children of my age there, nothing. Like, what we are doing in here? My brother and I, we would find an empty bench for ourselves to sit. But I always had that nagging feeling of being lost, not belonging there. The square never looked to terribly big like back then. In the winter, ugly, and abandoned. Only later I felt that I belonged there; it became my place for contact and storytelling.

While this narrative is not common between participants, it is important because it challenges mainstream views about the square size. Here, Slavica describes how spaciousness of the square had the opposite effect on her compared to others. According to the general rules of architecture and urban planning, it is expected for spaces of this size to intimidate the user once he/she is in it. The square was, first and foremost, reconstructed for political purposes. The size and shape of it were adopted for specific needs of the state: to gather the greatest number of people possible during state ceremonies. However, by the end of her narrative Slavica acknowledges that the square gained in significance through her life; she started to feel that she belongs in it. One way this change can be understood is that due to frequent use of this space through life, Slavica developed attachment to this place. This memory represents her first experiences of the space, a point in life when her family just moved into the inner city. Therefore, frequent use of the space and everyday activity through group membership contributed for this place to become an important part of her life, identity, and memory.

Childhoods on the square during the time of state socialism, while mostly characterized “free,” were actually observed 24 hours of a day. Rista, who lived on the square all his life, tells a story:

So, when I was younger and we played outside, there was that guard on the square. Coincidentally, he looked like Hitler. And coincidentally he was extremely strict; every ball that would end near his feet would be cut into pieces. I am not sure what he would do with it later, eat it or something... Anyway, we would never get our ball back. That guard had a mustache like Hitler. The mustache, together with his behavior, inspired us to give him that nickname. And he lived up to that name. That is an ugly memory. Dangerous memory... I mean, from the square.

Participants usually told stories about the guard on the square when asked about a negative memory from their early childhood. The guard on the square was an employee of the Public Utility Company and his role was simply to protect the square's green surfaces and other spatial elements in it from possible destruction or theft. Although recognized as an "enemy" of children, someone that children should be afraid of, the guard basically "was just doing his job," Lola notices. Children's everyday behaviors on the square were unrestrained as long as they would follow specific rules of the place, all for the purposes of square preservation. Lola describes how children were brought up and educated from early age to strictly follow the regulations and to participate in square protection and preservation:

The square was amazing, just beautiful. And we developed a special kind of bond with this place; it was, like, a place that you cannot touch. It was forbidden to break windows, to destroy floor tiles, you had to protect all that... protect the flowers. There was always someone watching over you, parents or the guard. If you do not behave properly the guard could find your home and parents. We did

not want that. We were afraid that he would call the police. We were extremely afraid of what he might do if he caught us. And that was a reason why the square was spotless. Today, everything is completely destroyed. Why would you demolish a trashcan? I cannot believe how kids behave today.

Although portrayed as highly accessible, the square was defined here as “the place you cannot touch.” Lola argues that constant observation and presence of the guard, although terrifying, was necessary to keep the square “spotless.” She addresses this issue from the point of present, where everything is “completely destroyed.” She continues: “For those reasons we early adopted a special model of behavior: you just had to behave right, you did not want to make a mess, you must behave like the square is your own yard.” For Lola, those learned “proper” behaviors practiced in this place carried specific value and were highly applicable later in life. Respect of the place, respect toward the other people in this space stayed with her generation for life. Other participants also observed this phenomenon from the perspective of the present. Although Rista criticizes the guard and his harsh relationship with children in this space, he notices that having somebody to look over the square was necessary for the whole community to function properly. Rista confesses:

Anyway, that man kept the square under control, but he used very rough means to do that. But now, when I think about that, I prefer that behavior better. I have to be honest now. I personally think that the culture in this place, culture and moral built through the communist period, is totally broken.

The lack of the guard gradually impacted the rise of unwanted behaviors in this space, which further initiated destruction of space, but also, destruction of cultural and moral

norms constructed during the era of communism. Partially regulated and forced everyday activities in this public space are preferred comparing to complete absence of social rules today. Additionally, Rista's narrative could be interpreted further: generations of children who grow up in this place without a "guardian" appointed to direct their behaviors, grow up to be uncultured and unmoral generations. Again, a narrated memory of one's own childhood in this space was utilized as a critique of current life circumstances in general.

Memories of Youth on the Square: The two most important themes found in connection to participants' youth narratives in this place are: social geography of the square and attachment of memories to specific spatial elements in the square. Both occurrences demonstrate theories that memories are not only attached to space, but to specific architectural elements and areas of space around which activities evolved. In adolescence, movements of individuals are the least controlled, and therefore, experiences of the place are the most intensified. During this life stage, people have greater tendency to try new things, to challenge old rules, to act in different ways than before. Besides, the need to spend more free time with your peers' increases comparing to the other periods of life. Importance of the term "the third place" (Oldenburg, 1999), defined as a place of leisure that is not a home or school/job environment, acquired vital significance during the youth stage. The square represented the third place for the young citizens of Uzice during this period of the state. Lena explains this phenomenon:

The square was really important to us. Except in school, we gained all our social contacts on the square. Everybody constructed his/her social identity there. We chose, I mean, it is questionable if a person can choose his/her company at all.

But, we chose our company there during the key period of our development, when

your identity is constructed. Everything was happening on the square. All of that, if I may say, was a practice, a good practice for us as social beings. And the square was the place for that practice: how to function as a proper social being. I mean, it wasn't school where we had to go and it wasn't home where we were born. The time on square - that was one big beautiful rehearsal for our future life.

Lena clarifies the connection between the square and construction of social identity of Uzice's youth. She differentiates fundamental physical sights where identity formation occurs, like home and school, but she also emphasizes that the square held a crucial position in this process. The diversity of collective events that transpired on and around the square contributed for this place to naturally attract bigger audiences. For that reason, spending time in this place educated Lena's generation about life, about what being with others and interacting with others means. While home and school represent inevitable parts of life, the square was a place of personal choice where you had unlimited freedoms to practice life, to succeed and to fail in the process of becoming "a proper social being." When asked about wisdom event from the square, Lola describes same phenomenon in a different way:

I began to understand myself in this space. Life on the square represents life wisdom. Maybe even more than that, and more things at once. I was really good in school, a nerd, as people would say today. I went to Gymnasium. But, I became "street smart" there on the square. I mean, if we can say that "street wisdom" is wisdom at all. You know, being smart in everyday life, something that you can only learn there.

Lola defines the term “street wisdom” as a special category of knowledge that could be gained only through group activities in this place. Her early life on the square, during both periods of childhood and youth, provided her with unique experiences which she considers as an integral and invaluable part of her identity in the present. The square, recognized as Lola’s “third place,” had a dominant role in her memory construction in this life stage. Talking about the same topic, Dusan argues and asks:

We are very lucky; I mean a lucky generation you know. It is simply positive that we had a chance to live in this space. Everything was happening there in that space, and it was happening much more frequently before than it happens today. The question is where all those events would have taken place if we did not have the square? I think that is the key. I mean, the square increased the chances for those gatherings, events, I mean... All of that was happening, happening on a whole different level.

While talking about the broader value of this space, Dusan emphasizes the uniqueness of the square as the main gathering place in the city. He argues how his social life, and lives of others in the city, would take a different course if the square was not erected. While he acknowledges that life would have inevitably happened, the opportunity to live in this space enriched variety and quality of experiences, elevated it onto a “whole different level.” These three narratives about this space signify the importance of the square during the period of youth, but also suggest that memory and identity construction is directed by the way we live and engage in public spaces.

As a representative of age generation three, Rista explains the meaning of the square during his youth:

You see, I want to say this again: the square was a lighthouse for many people from the city. And it is not the lighthouse today. That value it carried in the past is lost today, that energy this space spread around. I mean, during one period of my life, all city youth would be there in the evenings, everybody would gather there. This live physical contact was important for people. Today, it is completely neglected because of technology. That was the one thing that I like the most about this place, one thing that is missing today. All of that is replaced by café gardens, and I do not like that very much.

The square from Rista's youth is a "lighthouse," positive and safe space for his generation to gather and spend time. He is using this strong poetic image to compare the square with this symbol of home within reach, point of hope, assistance, and salvation during times of challenge and danger. Phenomenon of the square that "spread energy around," mentioned also by other participants of the study, is specifically tied to the decade of 1980s. During that period, particularly in evenings, social life in this space experienced its peak. As Rista, Lola claims, "Everybody wanted to come there; everything was there." Dunja describes the energy that she experienced in this space:

I already told you that, a really great feeling. I am going over the square. We are going through the crowd, the crowd made of young people who gathered on the square. Amazing! You are moving through this mass of bodies; you are pushing them around. You are hearing conversations. Everybody smells nice, all of them washed their hair, they dressed nice. That was an amazing feeling.

Dunja actually provides description what the "square energy" was made of: the beauty of the young people in this place. Furthermore, as Rista, Dusan emphasized the importance

of the live physical contact in this space: “And then, you would get together there, Saturday, Sunday usually. And then, people would just talk. We would get together to listen to other people’s stories there.” All mentioned factors were the key ingredients of the phenomenon of positive energy that the square “spread around” during those times. Today, according to Rista, that power of the square does not exist. Youth engage with the square in a completely different way, and according to study participants, complex cultural changes driven by technology development and commercialization of this space are to blame.

“Geography of the square,” as Dunja called it, was something that is frequently mentioned between study participants and usually with a sense of pride. This phenomenon could be described as unwritten square hierarchy rules where different groups that gathered on the square had its own spatial meeting points. The square groups differed by age, but also by personal interests and activities of its members. However, these socio-spatial distributions on the square, except for the demonstration of social structure of the square population, would often illustrate hidden intolerance patterns that existed during the period of the state. Lena describes this occurrence:

And then a new chapter, 14-15 years old, high school. That is when you started hanging out at the square. The central place, the square was the central place of social life. We went there religiously every day. We all knew our place in the square; it was mainly based on our age. We knew where the kids were, where the hillbillies were, you know, country people, simple people gathered. The Kajmak City, that was the name of the place. I still know where the Kajmak City was. Older high school youngsters had their own place, and so old “cool kids” were

there as well. And our whole high school period passed through moving from one place to another. Different stages of social development. It was known what was the place for teenagers, who were despised by grownups of course. The question was how to climb the hierarchy ladder, because we all knew where the “bosses” were. That was the question of context, I mean codex (of behavior). All of us who respected ourselves, we knew our place and we did not move into another part of the square before our time. Because, one day we would get there anyway. We will deserve that place. It was widely known as well where junkies were; you know “the draft.” The draft was the place on the square where first junkies of this city gathered, and Kec Bar as well.

There were varieties of groups on display in this space, mostly differentiated by their age and school level. The older youth, the square visitors in their early twenties, are marked by Lena as “the bosses” and “the cool kids.” They usually had privilege to pick their position on the square, while the younger visitors had to distribute themselves throughout the rest of the space. The place on the square “had to be earned,” and this would usually happen simply by getting old enough to move from one location to the other. As Lena states, youth of the square would spend “different stages of social development” in different locations throughout the square. This occurrence demonstrates existence of local power structures inside this space: there were dominant social groups and there were groups that “had to know their place” on the square. Furthermore, socio-spatial separations of the youth on the square happened based on social class as well. Lower part of the square, a less attractive area with not that much going on, was left over to the “hillbillies, country people, simple people.” Even the name of that space, “Kajmak City,”

could be interpreted as offensive and derogatory. Kajmak is a Serbian milk product similar to cheese or sour cream. While enjoyed and purchased by all layers of society, kajmak was made, still is, on the farms outside of the city. Therefore, the least popular part of the square was left over for the youth from city peripheries to gather. This part of the square still holds the same name, however, this socio-spatial bias does not exist today.

Except for the mentioned social collectives, other society representatives were exposed in this space. Through his narrative, Rista provides additional description of this occurrence:

Do you remember that part of the square where all city drunks were gathering? I am not sure how that distribution of people happened, but different groups existed in this space. Different small communities existed on the square. Everybody knew: in one corner city musicians gathered, in other – actors, in third – city drunks, in fourth – loafers, in fifth – students, and everybody belonged to some community on the square. All of these groups were individual groups, to say, but there were never any kind of conflicts between them. If you get my meaning.

Every group had their own corner, every group had its own story.

Rista's introduces different groups, or "communities" as he named it, into discussion about the square: musicians, actors, city drunks, loafers, and students. He recalls the exact gathering locations of every mentioned group in his narrative. For Rista, as well as other study participants, the square layout represents a memory device through which he accesses the past of Uzice's youth in this city. He clarifies, the same way as Lena does, that spatial rules of movement existed between the groups on the square, however, he emphasizes that the square was space big enough for all groups to co-exist without

conflicts in it. Through his narrative, he tries to portray the atmosphere of safety, security, and protection on the square. Rista differentiates the groups in this place, however, he also equalizes all groups through narrative of absence of conflict between them.

Study participants' memories of youth were not only anchored to the specific sub-spaces of the square, but also to specific buildings and spatial elements of this space. As presented, construction of memories is always tied to one's familiarity of space, frequency and diversity of activities engaged within space. Memories of café Gradska Kafana, Movie Theatre Partizan, Public Library, and National Theatre acquired a dominant role in the life of the city because these institutions offered the greatest variety of activities during this period. Until the 1990s, Gradska Kafana was the only café on the square, therefore, a majority of gatherings were happening in and around this place. It is important to mention that, although this space was completely renovated during the 1990s interior and exterior both, layers of memories tied to this place together with original architectural solution still holds the café in a favorable position comparing to other objects of similar function. Milovan was in his early twenties when he started visiting this place. The description, highly spatial in its nature, starts with the ground floor, and further, Milovan leads his listener through other spaces of this establishment:

Ground floor of Gradska Kafana, yes. Maybe 30-50% of the restaurant capacity was full during the week. I mean, during the week people would come, but there was no music. Throughout the day people would usually gather in the ground area of Gradska Kafana. That was the place for people to meet each other, to talk to each other. Have a coffee. That was our gathering place.

He continues into a personal experience of this particular space:

For example, every time when we would come back home from Belgrade during college breaks, especially winter breaks, we would be there. You would just go in and probably you would find a friend there. Or somebody would eventually show up. And you would always meet someone new.

Then, he switches into a description of Gradska Kafana's garden during the summer time:

Outside garden, yes. When we were older students, we already dressed nice.

Usually after the beach we would come to the garden of Gradska Kafana to have a drink. And that was really pleasurable, and those summers were real summers.

The water on the beach would be warm, and we would be warm from the sun, you know, summer atmosphere. You know that kind of pleasant feeling as you are at the seaside. And then in the evenings, we would go out. I remember that feeling.

You would go out and sit in the garden to relax, to have a beer or juice. Well, that was really nice.

Finally, he describes part of the café on the second floor and the night atmosphere in it:

Every Saturday, I think it was Saturday, or Sunday, I mean at least once a week the live bands were playing there. Dancing parties, on the first floor. That was the event, if I may say, for elite or for people who knew how to behave properly.

There were not any conflicts. I cannot recall even one event of that kind. People sat there, they danced, and you know, enjoyed. The bands were playing pop and rock music, domestic bands, and familiar melodies. Presidents of different companies were frequent visitors together with their wives. Young people came there, usually in groups, accompanied by other men and women. Those were really nice evenings, dance parties.

The structure of Milovan's narrative is an excellent example how space aids memory construction. As Yates (1968, 2014) argues, the architecture of Gradska Kafana represents "memory building," a mnemonic device where every spatial image recalled is tied to specific personal story of this space. While this *method of loci* often utilized imaginary spatial images to assist remembrance, here, the building on the square plays a significant role as a tool to recall the past. Milovan talks of architectural elements of the café, and at the same time, he recalls experiences tied to them like he is walking through those spaces. Moreover, his narrative differentiates rituals that happened in this space tied to different weather seasons, different days of the week, and different times of the day. The weekend evenings were reserved for parties and during the daytime people gathered to talk and exchange information. In summers, the garden naturally attracted youth more, whereas during winters people gathered in the "restaurant" on the ground floor. Through Milovan's story, but also stories of other participants, the nature of everyday life, daily rituals, and habits can also be explored. For Milica, this space carries special significance:

Gradska Kafana was there; that was the place where I officially started "getting out." You know, seriously getting out. You would dress nice and go to there. On Saturdays, dancing parties were happening there. I was at third or fourth grade of my high school. I mean, that is another chapter of my life, that is "a middle phase," middle period of my life. Live music performances. And we, I would say, we were visiting those parties. That was really nice. You would go there to see people and to be seen.

Milica's high school period was marked with events that happened in this place. She was literally growing up and maturing in this space, substituting one important life activity on

the square with the other. She would dress nice, meet friends in this place, listen to good live music; she would go there to see others but also to be seen. Throughout her whole life-story narrative, Milica frequently returned to this specific building, usually as a meeting point and key location, the “stage” of her life. Olivera was proposed to in front of this building at the age of fifteen, Milovan and Dusan had wedding receptions in Gradska Kafana, on the first floor, and Zoran met his wife on the plateau in front of this café. He tells the story:

Well, the most beautiful events from my personal life happened there, in front of Gradska Kafana. My first date with my then girlfriend, later wife, happened there. That was 1972 or 1973, yes. I met her actually in school that I worked, but the first date was on the square in front of Gradska Kafana. The first date. We would sit there, walk around, first time holding hands, first kisses... We celebrated forty years of marriage a few days ago. I must admit to you; this place was very lucky for me.

Multiple stories provided a good outlook on how the youth lived in the city. It can be argued that richness of memories and narratives tied to this particular object on the square exists as a result of Gradska Kafana being the only café in this space. Again, frequency and repetition of movements severely impacted the way space and life in it is remembered. However, smart architecture and design that provided numerous opportunities to act in this space shaped experiences and life of its users. While memories presented above belong to age group one and two, narratives about Gradska Kafana will be addressed shortly by generation three and four during both periods of 1990s and 2000-

present. Similarities and differences in relationship of city youth toward this place can be utilized to understand the change of the space but also behaviors in it.

Another important architectural piece and institution of the culture on the square to which memories are attached is the Movie Theatre. While the old theatre existed on the square before reconstruction, the design, luxury, and varieties of performances of the new one created feelings of amazement and wonder among Uzice's citizens. As many participants witnessed, it was often hard to find the tickets for movies shown. The National Theatre carried the same significance where for the first time, modern theater performances in a modern space were available for the city youth. The citizens were constantly encouraged to seize the opportunities provided through these institutions of culture, which they willingly accepted. While participants often praised the appearance of mentioned architectures on the square, marveled at the beauty of design and detail of it, functionality of those buildings carried essential importance for construction of life in this place, and therefore, memories of lives led in this place. Except for the architectural objects, study participants often tied their narratives to specific spatial elements on the square, like "yellow benches," the beauty of greenery, flowers, and linden trees on the square, the color and appearance of the stone cover of the square during this period, etc. Moreover, those stories are often portrayed by a majority of interviewees. While those recollections are not going to be addressed here, it is important to mention them in order to understand the capacity of memory to attach itself to the tiniest details of the space, and consequently, to aid the process of remembering.

Memories of Family Formation/Parenthood: Except for providing details of life of new parents on the square, their daily rituals, and significance those acts carried, narratives of

parenthood provides a generous outlook on Partisans' Squares' continuity and tradition developed around this space. Taking your children out for a walk or play in the evenings, especially during the warm part of the year, is an activity that became a mandatory practice and still survives. With every passing year, the square acquired deeper meaning for the city users tied to all the different layers of family memories interwoven into this space. Family narratives are usually tied to private spaces, like home, house, backyard, etc.; these locations are the strongest symbols of this social unit. However, this study expands on existing knowledge by providing insight into private memories tied to family generations that lived through this public space. Milovan, Igor, Lola, Dusan, among others, spent their childhoods here, engaged in play and fun in this place. But they also lived to spend time with their children and grandchildren on the square. Private memories of parenthood, as seen here, are not only tied to private quarters but could also be a product of collective family activities in public space. Additionally, sedimentation of generational family memories of this space enriched the meaning of it among users and provided reasons for strong emotional attachment to this space.

Memories of parenthood in this space are equally present through male and female narratives. Young parents would usually go together on evening walks with their small children. However, bringing a child to the square represented a different experience for a mother compared to a father. Slavica declares herself as part of a community of “young mothers” in this place. First and foremost, she would go to this space to meet with her equals, other women in the same or similar position as she was. They would stop their evening stroll and spend some time in conversation and exchange of experiences of motherhood. For Slavica, this activity represented a pleasant part of the day, time for

herself and her child. Moreover, through this engagement she would acquire much needed support which all mothers recognize as important during the period of early motherhood. Milovan, one of the male study participants' notices:

Later, kids arrived. First, kids of my friends, and after, of my cousins; then, kids of my own. Mothers and grandmothers would take the children out, for a walk or to play on the square. But soon after, I took my kids on the square as well.

Through this narrative, Milovan describes this ritual of taking children on the square, soon after their birth. Female members of the family, which includes mothers and grandmothers, would take kids out in early phases of the child's life. Father would only later, when the child came to a certain age, took responsibility of taking him/her outside to play. For young mothers being active as a parent on the square was not only about the children needs and entertainment, but also about themselves. The square was not just a place for collective relaxation and enjoyment, but a secure zone through which they would communicate, learn, and get support from friends and the wider community.

On the other hand, for Slavica the square represented a "fashion runaway," the place to proudly show off your "little offspring." During this period, mother was usually the one to dress a child to be presented to the world. As with other members of society, wearing proper clothes in public space, look clean and decent, was important to new mothers. This act would often cause immense feelings of satisfaction and gratitude for woman involved in the activity. Olivera describes:

When Ana was born, I would put her in a stroller; I did not have one when my first child was born. I would put Ana in a stroller and walk down Nemanjina street into the square. I would feel like the whole city was mine, like a queen! I felt like

that, you know? We went there often, she would look at shop windows, dolls. But that was the period that I spent lots of free time on the square with my kids, I took them on the square all the time. There were not so many children on the square back then, but that was normal because the city was much smaller. Later, when she started her preschool, most of her free time she spent on the street with other kids in front of our house.

Although she does not describe any social engagement while on the square, Olivera's feelings of fulfillment and joy emerges through her narrative. For her, being in this space together with her newborn child was enough to feel overwhelmingly happy. While participants usually described the process of interaction with other visitors of the square, Olivera created her own small family ritual in which she often engaged through her early parenthood. Her memories are tied to this space, but not to other people in this space. The center of her memory is her own family on the square, which can tell us about her life priorities and desires.

It is interesting that female participants who did not ever give birth to a child or ever had a child of their own, like Milica or Lena, still decided to present memories of parenthood in this place. Although Milica did not experience this space as a parent, her memories of the square are connected with her role of aunt in it. She would go there for a walk with her small nephews and sister-in-law, and that way, she too experienced the "parent community" on the square.

Memories of fathers in this space is similar, and yet, different than memories of mothers. While the women's narratives included understanding and sharing experiences of motherhood with equals in this space, narratives of fathers are tied to concrete

activities that involved children's entertainment on the square. Fathers would often take children out to shortly relieve mothers from parental duties and give them some free time to do other chores around the house. Zoran states: "We would dress kids, Natasa first and later Nena, my second daughter, I and would take them out for 2-3 hours on the square. My wife would stay at home, to clean the house, or to cook some food for us." During this period in the state, women carried greater responsibilities in household, which included nurturing and taking care of the children. Fathers were actively engaged in children's leisure time activities. Milovan depicts one winter image on the square:

I took my kids to the square, I told you the story about "swimming" in the snow. You know, the snow was very white, it was evening, and I took them out. The sun comes down very early during the winter. I took them for a walk. The snow was falling, no people outside. Just few people passing by. There was already a layer of snow; I would say 10-12 centimeters, maybe 15 centimeters. And they were swimming there in their winter suites, swimming. The light was hitting the white surfaces, everything shined. Sparkled. White trees. And so on. And, of course, I was always keeping them outside too long. I couldn't say no to them. And they would often get sick because of that.

This narrative is a typical example how memories of fatherhood in this space are presented, when presented at all, through the interviews. Father was the one to engage children with some interesting and exciting activity on the square. Milovan's narrative depicts the perfect winter image of the square, beauty and intimacy of this space, and excitement of both the children and the father, connected to the first snow of the year. As with Olivera, he mentioned the act in this space was collective, but it did not involve

anybody outside Milovan's family. For interviewee, this evening intimacy and privacy on the square only intensified the experience. The square, for a moment, became their personal playground.

Study participants' stories about experiences in this place as children are usually tied to the events the whole family were involved in or fathers only. When asked about negative childhood experience, Dunja tells the story from her childhood tied to her father:

Every Saturday my father would take me for a walk, while my mother was cleaning and cooking lunch. And dad, "young at heart," he loved to go to pubs, back then as well as today. So we would go for a walk for "my" pleasure. He did not take me to playgrounds, really he didn't; I did not grow up on the beach, or in the park, on the swing, no. I grew up in local pubs and cafes. In Gradska Kafana, outside during the summer, near the water fountain. Then, he would go to have a haircut, Hotel Zlatibor, that was in the lower part of the square. I think that some kind of barbershop is still there. So, he would take me to these places. He did not think at all about how I felt. I grew up there; I knew all the people there. And he, I am telling you, did not think at all about my feelings, he also did not try at all to meet my needs, you know.

She describes this activity from the position of a young mother. Today, everything in her life revolves around her daughters' needs. Therefore, when with her kids, Dunja exclusively chooses to go places where her children desire to go. That act often, but not always, includes the square as a choice for them to spend leisure time there. Through description of the square visit with her father as a child, she actually compares two different parenting styles. While today, life of parents mostly revolves around needs of

their children, during Dunja's childhood how leisure time was spent was primarily tied to parents' undertakings first.

Being a parent on the square was described as a pleasurable activity by a majority of study participants. As Zoran states, "The square was a beautiful place. Safe place, for sure, to take your kids out, to have a walk with them. And they would play there, it was safe, no traffic, it was not too crowded." Families with children of different ages are still the most frequent visitors of the square for the same reasons Zoran described. As the social conditions changed during 1990s, the way parents with kids engage with the space slightly changed as well. However, the desire of new generations of parents to socialize with other parents and citizens in this place still prevails. Zoran clarifies:

I remember, I met Dr. Jovanovic with his wife on the square and he told me:

"Look, the square has a new generation of parents." Two of them were the generation before us, and then we were the new parents that took our kids there.

And after us others came. And hopefully, will keep coming.

The Decade of 1990s

Life on the square during the decade of 1990s was symbolically portrayed by study participants as departure of the individual from the collective. Yugoslavian nation was built through the idea of “brotherhood and unity,” the model based on the Partisan anti-fascist struggle that “attempted to disaggregate differences of region, gender, religion, nationality, class, in order to unify those differences on a supranational level” (Volcic, 2007, p. 69). While different groups were found to act in this space during socialist times of the state, like Tito’s pioneers, different youth organizations and sport clubs, workers’ guilds – unions, etc., distinction between *us* vs. *them* was not portrayed across participants’ stories. This idea of equality through collectivity and togetherness was recognized as the central construct of the stories about this place until 1990s. Years 1990 and 1991 were marked as a point of fracture, moment which separated life *before* and *after*. As one of the participants indicated, “Everything started from the beginning of the war,” everything meaning different declines: political, social, cultural, and moral. Zerubavel (2004) defines this moment as a collective turning point, a dramatic change of course in narrative, “the mental road signs marking such perceived transition” (p. 19). Therefore, the nature of memories tied to events which happened during the 1990s on the square stands in opposition to memories of events which happened between 1945 and 1990. The narratives of life until 1990 are “progressive” and after 1990 “regressive” in nature (Gergen & Gergen, 1988, p. 24), or differently defined as narratives of “rise-and-fall” (Zerubavel, 2004, p. 19).

This process of separation of us from the other in this space usually occurred based on moral categories: on one side, there were people who had integrity, honor,

principles, who were warm and kind, always working for equality and community first; and on the other side there were people who were greedy, primitive, stupid, superficial, sellouts, exploitive, people who “came from another place” and betrayed the city’s community. Spasic (2012) states how the divide us against them is usually based on social categories, like wealth and class, education level, ethnical membership, social origin, etc. However, that was not the case with narratives of events that took place in Yugoslavia during the 1990s. Through examination of stories about the life on Partisans’ Square I found this to be true. Spasic and Biresev (2012) states:

While Bourdieu’s or Lamont’s research lead us to expect that one’s fellows will be viewed primarily, or at least to a significant degree, through some objective characteristics that group them in a certain way – in Bourdieuan terms, through their distinctive capitals – in our data judgment by individual, psychological and subjective criteria prevailed, while appreciation itself was expressed mainly in a moral vocabulary (p. 160)

The only *us* vs. *them* divide found in this study based on social categorization was *us* as an urban dwellers and *them* as rural “hillbillies” on the square. This occurrence was previously described tied to the socialist period of the state and will be addressed further. Furthermore, immigrants that came into the city after the beginning of the war in 1991 were often marked as the *other* in this space, particularly ones involved in local politics. This opinion was especially popular among members of generational group three, in which four of the five study participants provided negative comments about this group. These narratives were rationalized with the explanation that “people who came into this city do not care about the square” and “this space holds completely different meaning for

them.”

The group, most frequently marked as *other* in this space, were politicians. And this occurrence is consistent throughout both periods, the decade of the 1990s and period from year 2000 to present. During the period of the 1990s, both state level politicians and local politicians were part of this group, often mentioned in connection to different negative events that took place on the square. That changed around year 2000 with removal of Milosevic’s regime, after which only local political officials were mentioned across participants’ narratives. This shift correlates with important changes of behaviors in this space: the square almost completely stopped being used for political propaganda and became a highly commercialized zone of the city. In other words, the square has lost its original purposes and it has obtained new ones, closely tied to the nature of a new political-economic system of capitalism that has been introduced throughout all new states that once were part of Yugoslavia. From that moment decisions about the future of the square were exclusively tied, and still are, to the local government. After the year of 2000, the role of the *other* was relocated from all politicians to local political representatives only.

Additional groups in the space that are marked as the *other* were businessmen and tycoons, who came to wealth during the 1990s wars and state desolation and groups defined by ideological criteria, like nationalists, rightest, etc. Very often, the *other* is represented as amalgam of all or few categories mentioned above.

Collective Public Memories of Place – Organized from Above

One of the first symptoms of change, change in the state but also of behaviors in this public space, is tied to activities that gradually broke the social collective constructed

across Yugoslavia. This next event happened at the end of the decade of the 1980s, however, chronologically this was the first occurrence portrayed by study participants about the transition that is going to come. When asked about turning point in his life, Zoran states:

This thing happened to me... I mean, it could be a turning point for sure. It happened in the late 1980s, after Tito's death. Tito died at 3:15pm, and in the years after his death that moment had to be commemorated. On that day, the first class in every school was dedicated to that. You probably do not remember? At exactly 3:15 p.m. everything would stop. It was some day in May, maybe May 1, maybe around May 5 or 6... Everything would stop and the sirens would mark that moment. I had a break in school and had some free time between classes. The weather was bad, cloudy, heavy, and hard to breath. I walked over to the square to the Hotel café; I ordered a drink, coffee probably. There were some people around me. But suddenly, everything cleared out, I was completely alone. Bartender too, he disappeared. I did not feel good, so I did not even realize that. In one moment, I heard the siren and all of them were outside... They had to run out on the square, to be together there. And I stayed alone inside the café. I was having my drink and was ignoring that moment, the moment when I had to get out to honor and respect. Everybody got out. I was confused, you know, and in the moment I realized: the sirens! And I was ignoring that moment that commemorated Tito's death. And, I became afraid momentarily you know, somebody from the offices of State Security will see me. Everybody was on the square, and me, the only one inside having drink. I was afraid; I did not honor the memory of Tito. State

Security officers, they were following everybody, they knew everything, they could come and tell me: “Look at this traitor. You are a teacher, is this how you are bringing up our children?” Something changed inside of me on that day...

The ritual when sirens would be turned on at exactly 3:05 p.m. on every May 4 across whole Yugoslavia to remind and commemorate Tito’s death has happened for years after his passing. In that moment, people would cease all activities and just stand together for a few minutes in silence and preferably in public. However, the described act is important for another reason: for the first time Zoran decided not to follow the rules as all other citizens. In that moment, he symbolically and physically removed himself from the rest of the group, saying, “*They* had to run out on the square, to be together there.” This action was a symbol of recovered personal agency that was previously partially appropriated by the state, a type of rebellion expressed by the individual in public. While Zoran does not remember the right date or time of Tito’s death, he clearly recalls feelings of fear that came with realization that he was the only person who stopped following the unwritten rules. He represents the event as something that happened to him by accident. As an employee in the public sector, an elementary school teacher, he was completely aware of the consequences he could face if officers of State Security found him inside during this ceremony. However, after he realized what was done, he did nothing to change his position. He acknowledges, “Something changed inside of me on that day,” understanding that he had an option to decline to participate in public life under the specific rules established by the government. Although the act was portrayed as spontaneous and not premeditated, in other words, the opportunity arose and Zoran seized

it, the fact that he decided to present this event as a turning point tells us that this activity was conscious and deliberate.

Zoran describes the event not only as an observer, but as a participant and activist of change. Other study participants usually portrayed the events that occurred in the beginning of 1990s from a position of silent observers, witnesses of change that snowballed in front of their eyes in this place. They would usually talk about new “revelations” and “discoveries” when asked to describe a turning point in their life or a wisdom event. However, most often events from the square which happened in this period were represented as a negative life episode.

Political Rallies: I will present three narratives, reported from the standpoint of the observer, starting from the youngest to oldest study participant. Here I want to demonstrate that the age at which the story is told is less important than the age in which the events were experienced. In other words, the way activities are remembered depends on the period of life in which they were experienced. Jovana delivers her story and opinions about what happened and how she experienced the change in the beginning of the 1990s:

And that was the period between ages of twelve and fifteen; I remember the square as a place where really strange social events happened. I didn't understand them back then. I mean, different kinds of massive political rallies started to happen there. You know, somehow... I would connect now the Youth Day Parade with everything else that happened there later on. The square was the central spot of the city, and all beautiful and carefree events that occurred there were suddenly transformed into a huge revolt. People there... I do not know... they started to

express different kinds of frustrations, anger there in the open, I do not know...

They fought, and fought, I am not sure for what... I guess for democracy...

As a whole, the broader excerpt of this narrative is interrupted and broken, sentences are not tied together well. Jovana sounds confused like she is trying to explain to herself what actually happened. She is using specific language to describe this atmosphere of uncertainty, like “I do not know,” “I am not sure,” “I guess,” “I didn’t understand,” “strange,” and a “different kind,” etc. She does not provide any details about how the square was utilized, the dates when it was used, which groups were using it and in what way. The reason for that probably lies in the fact that she was trying to recall something that happened to her when she was only 12 years old (in 1991). Life in this place was represented as a cumulative experience of several events that occurred, a single impression tied to feelings of sadness, distress, and disappointment. To emphasize the abrupt change manifested in this space, Jovana mentions the Youth Day Parade as a standard of “beautiful and carefree” life that once happened on the square. She further compares how the positive energy that the square carried transformed into “frustration, anger, and huge revolt.” Jovana does not mention the political situation in the state, political parties and political opponents, their activities and actions, and the reasons why problems escalated. However, she does question that “the democracy” as one of the reasons why disturbances started in the first place. Her memory focuses on people, citizens of Uzice, the group that during the 1990s became the *other* in this space. Through this narrative she distances herself from the group that she was a part of previously.

Rista was 18 years old in the beginning of the 1990s. His narrative provides more detail, and certainly, much clearer attitude about the events which happened on the square during this period. He explains:

I can say this now, I recognized that something was terribly wrong when all those rallies started. Political rallies. That started in the beginning of the 1990s, and escalated from that moment onward. Both groups would switch performances, government and political opposition, in this space. And by looking at those rallies, I recognized that tremendous division between people was activated. If we could have only known back, then... We were brought up as equals, all of us; that was the system that I grow up in. We did not separate people based on national belonging, right? Based on race, or wealth. However, when the rallies started I sensed that something was wrong. You could see an open hate of one group toward the other. When the governing party visited, their followers would gather. We all were fellow citizens; we chose different political parties to follow. However, unbelievable hate surfaced, hate of one group toward the other. Verbal insults, fights, and you could see this bigotry and intolerance between people who co-existed with each other: between family members, between neighbors, colleagues. I honestly think that politics did that. And did it really well, it achieved its goal: to divide the people in order to, I guess, manipulate them easily. Because, when people are united you cannot manipulate them easily. If you plant the seed of distrust and fear, you can do whatever you want with them. It is like with a fist: one finger cannot do much, but five fingers together are a weapon.

For Rista, radical change of behaviors on the square represented the first signs of future disturbances and conflicts that later occurred throughout the state. From the beginning of the narrative excerpt he firmly communicates that the politics and politicians are to blame, politicians on both sides: members of the ruling party and all political opposition. During the socialist period of the state, regular citizens generally were not concerned with politics in any way. Moreover, while talking about the period between 1945 and 1990, study participants barely addressed the theme of political monism. As did Jovana, Rista challenges multiple attempts by numerous political parties during the 1990s to introduce democracy and a democratic system. To clarify, both of them did not have anything against the democracy, however, looking from the perspective of the present, they consider that democracy did not deliver what it promised. On the contrary, it was one of the many causes that created severe disturbances, hate, conflicts, intolerance, etc. That is the reason why Rista does not differentiate politicians into two groups: through acts in this space they created equal damage.

Like Jovana, Rista recalls the memories of a previous regime to describe what normal life looked like. For both of them “how it once was” spontaneously arise as the only concrete “normative model” (Spasic, 2012, p. 582). As previously stated, the theme of equality between different social groups was one of most repeated and most important themes tied to the socialist period of state. Here, Rista utilizes this story for specific purposes. In order to emphasize severe fragmentation of local society which happened during the 1990s on different levels, he juxtaposes the narrative of social equality in Yugoslavia to the narrative of “unbelievable hate, bigotry, and intolerance” that developed in this space under the guide of both state and local politicians. Evidently, the

way narratives were told and the nature of the language used, confirms that rapid political changes introduced through this space had a tremendous impact on the citizens of Uzice.

In 1991, Dusan was 39 years old. As with two other interviewees, his story is of a similar content, however, he provides more details and insight into events that happened in the beginning of the decade. He clarifies:

I have some memories, from the early 1990s; a later period of my life. Memories are political in nature. During this decade everything was happening on the square, but I do not think, how would I put this, I do not think that all of this could be categorized as positive. That was a really specific moment, turning point, when we started to realize who we are, where are we, and what is actually going on in this country. The square was the place where... When the multi-party political system started to exist in Serbia, and new political parties were formed, that was the place where events were happening most of the time. Vuk Draskovic, Djindjic, and all the others came to speak. I remember how people were distributed on the square; who were standing in front of State Security police, how all events were pre-planned, how people from the criminal milieu were involved, often directed all those events. All political opposition was on the same side back then, working together. You could feel how different lies were spread around, you could see deceit and dishonesty, you could notice all those people who were there exclusively because of their own interests, you know. And people, they were under different influences, how... Those were very complex influences; you know, psychology of the masses, these kinds of things. People were anxious, and anxiety was induced by different political speeches, and by people who were

excellent orators, they knew how to give a speech. Especially, you know, like Vuk Draskovic and others. And then, you could see how in front of your face everything is evolving, this manipulation of the masses, and you could say that you understand.

Dusan, as Rista, starts his narrative of this space during the 1990s with acknowledgement that the square played a crucial role for political changes happening in this city.

Moreover, he immediately marked all events that happened during the decade as negative. For Dusan, experienced events from the square that represent a type of awakening, the moment when “we realized who we are, where we are,” but not in a good manner. As many other participants, he explains this transition from one political regime, and one type of life, into another as disturbing and painful. As mentioned, during the period of more than 40 years’ regular citizens were not concerned with politics at all. Another participant, Slavica, argues: “You were born in one peaceful, civilized environment, in prosperity. Politics was not your concern. Life was implied. Then, people started losing their heads, and you realize that we were taking life for granted. You understand that you were manipulated.” Political rallies and events in this place completely shattered the images of previous life and forced citizens to wake up into a completely new reality.

Dusan also mentions the existence of a new multiparty political system in Serbia that became visible in this space, which performed for the first time during general elections in December of 1990. He provides more details about which political group and politicians were active on the square the most. While the outsider would expect that political party who tried to introduce democracy into society would be praised, Dusan, as

Jovana and Rista before him, represents democratic political forces, in that time political opposition, as the ones who “spread different lies around, deceit, and dishonesty.” All three study participants, shortly before and sometime after the year 2000, were active members of the Democratic Party. However, all of them decided to bring up the parallel between presence of what was called forces of democracy and the rise of severe conflicts and a divide in this space. The collective, nurtured for more than 40 years, was suddenly broken. For Dusan the *other* in the space is a group of politicians who were there only “because of their own interests,” but also people who decided to follow them. While, on one side, he defines *us* as “we who started to realize...” and who see through politicians’ lies, people who allowed to be manipulated and who willingly decided to participate in actions on the square were also presented in narrative as the *other* in this space.

“Anxious, angry people full of hate,” continued to behave in this way throughout the whole decade. The monument removal was first of many implications of it.

Tito’s Monument Removal: The problem of the city name was addressed for the first time in the local newspaper Vesti on February 23, 1990, in the article named: “Tito’s Uzice or just Uzice? How Uzice became Tito’s city” (Zeravcic, 1990, p. 4). From that moment the dispute around the city’s name was mentioned at least 20 times, often on the front page (see Figure 12 and 13), until the moment the name was changed on July 25, 1991. The problem of Tito’s monument and its position on the square appeared for the first time, also in local newspapers Vesti, on March 30, 1990 in the article named: “Tito’s monument must be removed from the square” (Dogandzic, 1990, 17). The monument was removed immediately after the city name changed, in August 1991 (see Figure 13).

Figure 12. “Yes or No,” front page *Vesti*, March 22, 1991

Figure 13. “From cult - to museum,” front page *Vesti*, August 30, 1991

While those acts are common occurrences in countries of rapid political regime change, the nature of the stories told about Tito's legacy, Tito's monument, and life during his presidency was in sharp contrast to the manner in which monument removal was portrayed. Only one participant in this study did not mention this event in his life-story, the member of generational group one who tried to stay fully apolitical throughout the whole interview. Four participants mentioned this act four to five times during the interview, including members of group four who were not born at the time that the monument was relocated. As noted before, while Tito's death was often recalled as significant in relation to life in Yugoslavia (Volcic, 2007b), for Uzice's citizens, removal of the monument carried greater significance. This event happened at the same time the official dissolution of the state began: the first conflict, Ten Day-War, happened in Slovenia on June 26, 1991 and the monument from the square was removed on August 28, 1991. For participants, the act of removal represents the temporal marker between the life *before* and life *after*.

Igor, who at the time worked as a secretary of local city government and was personally involved in the political decision of the monument removal, describes events that happened on that day:

Well negative event, I have one... removal of Tito's monument. That day, when we made the decision about the removal, it was some church holiday, Slava (Serbian custom of celebrating a family patron saint), and the president of the municipality and myself, we were guests of honor. We sat in the car, and the president said to me: "Igor, drive around the square, please." We drove down the main street, and then behind Robna Kuca,

toward the National Theatre. And what did we see? The monument was not there. I could not believe that the monument was removed. We went to that church holiday celebration, and one of the guests was a WWII general Markovic, he was angry because of the monument removal. And I had this feeling... it was not sadness, naturally, but I felt responsible for what happened on the square. I had to put the signature on the paper. Simply, the president of the municipality wanted to remove... I had to put the signature because executive council already made the decision. There was no voting. It must be done. The Serbian executive council sent recommendation... That monument, it was beautiful, lots of people would take pictures there. I have many. Anyway, that is how I feel about what we did there on that day, and I do not even remember the date or the year now.

Although the decision, or “recommendation,” came from the state government officials, local politicians also preferred for the monument to be removed. Moreover, the local government was under tremendous pressure caused by nationalist groups from the city. While this act was marked as an event organized from *above*, at the same time, destruction of the monument was planned from *below* as well. When I asked her was she present on the square when the monument was removed, Jovana, whose father was one of the people who participated in removal, explained:

No, I was not. I was at home because everything happened late at night, and because it was illegal in that moment. But it was pre-planned, I know that, like a guerilla action. It was planned and it happen right before the dawn... And by

noon, everything was removed with cranes and other similar tools. So I wasn't present, I was at home. And all that seems so unreal, absurd to me now... I firmly believe that there are some folks who also felt truly awful about the entire situation. Looking back, I think that was the greatest nonsense that I've ever seen that happened on the square.

In both narratives the feelings of guilt, even shame, can be noticed as a result of personal involvement in this event: Igor, because he had to sign the document of removal, and Jovana, because her family was part of this act. Igor acknowledges that his involvement did not create deeper feelings and he, through the narrative, often tries to justify and explain his position: he was just doing his job. However, when in contact with people who were hurt by this incident, he recognized that he carried part of responsibility for this act. Jovana finds the monument removal "unreal, absurd" and "the greatest nonsense" that happened in this space. Part of her guilt, as with Igor, coming from the realization that generations who shared the memory of the revolutionary past were upset and offended by this act. Additionally, Jovana questions removal for a few other reasons and she is especially critical of how savagely the whole act was performed. Jovana argues:

I think that back then people's revolt was wrongly focused on the statue. I mean, the monument was not to blame for the political situation of that time. And one more thing baffles me: why, after that entire rampage and madness, why they did not destroy the statue, or bury it somewhere? Why behind the museum?

Jovana connects the theme of anger, hate, intolerance, etc. that arose in this space during the 1990s with the monument removal. She recognizes that the situation in the state was difficult, but she cannot find the excuse for people to act in this manner. Although,

Jovana later acknowledges that she believed back then that removal “was completely appropriate” because of family influences, she condemns this act in the present. Rista also addresses the nature of this action. He describes:

Listen, I was privileged to be born on the square. That was literally my courtyard. The first memories of the square are tied to Tito’s monument located up there. In a sense, he was guarding the square. So, that bronze monument is engraved in my memory. Although later, they mutilated him with horses and ropes. I see now, they want him back, again.

Rista tells the story about the monument and monument removal as if he is talking about a living person. I had difficulties translating the last two sentences for that reason: the word *rašćerečiti*, which I translated it as “mutilate,” is the verb used in Serbians exclusively in relation to living beings. Rista uses language specificities to elevate the meaning of this act to a completely new level. Moreover, he provides us with familiar an allegorical scene from Serbian mythology of the body dismembered between two horses as a punishment for wrongdoing. Later in his narrative he states, “I cannot say that this event spoiled my mood,” meaning he did not care whether or not the monument stayed there. However, he is using specific language in order to portray the monument removal as a barbaric act (see Figure 14). The same occurrence can be found in Jovana’s narrative, when she questions the relocation of the monument from the square to the space behind the Uzice’s National Museum. Jovana asks why the protestors did not “destroyed or buried the statue,” alluding that the act was pointless, even foolish, because the monument was still visible, and therefore, still *alive* in the memory of citizens.

Figure 14. A child, ten to thirteen years old, sitting on the monument after it was pulled down with Serbian Orthodox Church flag in his hands. *Vesti*, August 30, 1991

While a majority of the study participants condemned the act of the monument removal, their opinions were divided when the idea of monument reinstatement on the square was brought up. Narratives that stand against initial monument removal were categorized into four themes: the monument as the symbol of our history, the monument as homage to Tito who built the city, the monument as the vital element of the square ambience, and the monument as a piece of art. While the same categories were used to justify the monument reinstatement, theme of tourism was also found to be an important reason to return the statue to the square.

The theme of the monument as local symbol of “our,” history and the theme of Tito’s role in square erection, development, and growth of the city were often presented together through participants’ narratives. Marija, who mentioned the monument removal multiple times through the narrative, argues:

I already mentioned this before. I really think that removal of the monument was a bad decision connected with this place. I mean, I am not talking here about good or bad during his presidency, or reasons why they removed him, or which political party made that decision, and so on. Tito is, for all of us, part of our history. I mean, our city carried his name for a while. The square was named Partisans' Square. And, all the names changed completely. And why? Because new political parties that came to power didn't like our old political system, and they didn't think about how that period is also our past, our history. I mean, what is happening right now is going to be part of our history tomorrow.

This specific sentence "Tito is part of our history," in other places "that period is our history," was repeated on multiple occasions by a majority of the study participants. Marija, as the others, acknowledges that artifacts and traces of all histories in one place must be preserved and protected from ruin and destruction, no matter what kind of history it was. In other words, knowing your past is knowing who you are in the present. Marija mentions that she does not see the point in describing specifics of Tito's governing, however, she criticizes the "new political parties" for engaging in the act of monument removal. Communist governments, as other totalitarian regimes, were extremely successful in history revisionism and history erasure. Neither Marija nor any other interviewee mentioned or criticized how the political system during Tito's presidency dealt with the past and heritage of times before he came to power. When addressing the issue of monument removal, Lola states: "This represent our tendency to cut, to alter, and rewrite things. Today, we are ok with something, and tomorrow, well, not anymore." She is aware that this revisionism is not only a thing of the present, but as

a general rule repeated multiple times through history. Although personal, the monument removal is just one of the symptoms of “who we are.” Slavica also addresses this issue:

I think that to remove the monument was wrong. That monument and that square were erected in one concrete point of time and they are symbols, that monument is the symbol of that historic period. If we are pleased with the square, and I think we are, why should we... For me, that looks like fixing, correcting, like falsifying. If there was no socialism, and Tito, and the whole project, there would be no square. And the square represents the city’s identity. It is like you are deleting the past, or, falsifying life today by erasing the traces of life we led yesterday. The act of monument removal represents the act of falsifying the past. You know, you can either break up with past ideology or stick with it, that should not impact your relationship with this place. I mean, that is so pathetic...

While a majority of the participants tried to rationalize this event, to be objective as possible, their stories are exclusively constructed by looking through the lens of their personal lifetime experiences. History of Tito, his life, and legacy is “our” lived history, or at least a big portion of it. A majority of the participants lived the greatest part of their lives in this specific past. Therefore, not to condemn removal of Tito’s monument from the square in present, the strongest symbol of that past, in a way represents an alienation from self. There lies the main reason why all participants that lived in this period, regardless of whether they were for or against the political regime, mentioned and negatively criticized this act. Popovic (2017) claims that the monument removal from this open public space created a void, “meta-empty-space,” which today symbolically portrays times of transition, political, economic, cultural, and moral decline.

The question of monument recovery and its return to the square was mentioned on multiple occasions through interviews. Except for already presented motives, the theme of tourism and commercialization of WWII heritage arose as a significant explanation why the monument should be rehabilitated. Backovic & Spasic (2014) found that the citizens of Uzice recognize socialist and communist heritage and the city's revolutionary past as a great potential for economic progress. Lena, who works at the local museum, argues:

My personal opinion, we have to treat that monument as a piece of art. Something that has an esthetic value. The monument should be there, that is not a bad monument. I mean, it is not as radical as people often try to portray: the square looks the same even without the monument! I mean, the square can be without a monument. The square is a beautiful big wholeness that functions nicely even without the monument. I just want to be practical: we should keep the monument because of tourism. I am working in the museum so I know, the first thing that visitors ask us: Where is Tito? His monument is the first thing that people want to see. Therefore, it is much better to place it on the square instead of in the museum's backyard. Personally, I didn't have any sympathies for Tito, but I think that we have to bring the monument back.

Lena starts her narrative with the statement, "the issue is so politicized, it makes me sick." She immediately separates herself from mainstream views presented above. Lena approaches this issue from the position of her profession, curator of the local museum where the monument is currently located in the backyard. She recognizes that tourists frequently ask to see the monument, therefore, the monument should be returned to its

original location for practical reasons. Lena's narrative is not nostalgic representation of the past, she does not provide a story about deeper meaning of this place, or symbolism of monument removal. For her, the monument is a "piece of art," it has its audience, and she tries to find the best way to utilize it in the present in the most beneficial manner possible. Through her narrative Lena instantly transforms the monument, and the whole square, into a tourist commodity that can be sold. Her idea is actually inspired by the current trend of high commercialization of all revolutionary artifacts of Yugoslavia, here positioned in the public space, through exploitation of Yugonostalgia and Titostalgia (Velikonja, 2017). Spasic (2012) claims that the market of relics, images, and monuments that remind people of Yugoslavia is extremely successful because it is rooted in real needs.

Ivan, one of the youngest participants of this study, starts his story about the monument with the sentence, "More than anything, I would like to see the statue of Tito back on the square." This came as a surprise, considering that he does not possess any personal experience of the square when the monument was still in there. However, his story takes a twist:

So, I would put his statue on the square and I would paint one half of it, it doesn't have to be precise, it can be diagonal or maybe circular. And the other half I would paint with some happy colors. I would do the same with hotel Zlatibor. There is just so much gray around us and I would paint all that with different colors to where it looks like Legoland. So it's, you know, nice to look at, and it awakens some positive reaction, positive emotion in people... instead of this dull grayness. I don't know, on a city level it shouldn't be really expensive to do

something like this. It will probably never get done here, but I would like to see the square with Hotel Zlatibor painted, as some sort of a large figure dominating the area... considering this structure...

Not only the square, and the monument, are transformed through this narrative into a highly popular commercial product - Lego blocks – a very generation-specific child toy. Through the imaginary act of transforming the square's spatial elements into Legoland, Ivan, in an almost comic way, portrays symbolic conversion of one ideology into the other. He grew up in this place, has spent his whole life there. However, he does not have any memories of the square from socialist time, except through the stories told to him by his grandparents. His childhood and youth is tied to a visual imagery of gradual expansion of commercialization in this space. He supports preservation of that specific history in this space, and on multiple occasions he even expresses respect and admiration toward Tito, "everything that you have here in this town, these buildings, the square, all was built by him." However, he does not have the same relationship toward this history compared to others; older participants of the study and older Uzice's citizens as well. Not carrying the burden of direct memories of this, often unwanted past, provided him the freedom to address this issue in a different manner. The appearance and imagery of the square's social-modernist architecture, described by Ivan as "dull greyness," in his narrative, is substituted for a colorful, flashy face of consumerism in public space, similar to NY Times Square or Shibuya district of Tokyo, here adopted for local circumstances. While the color of the buildings around the square never bothers its users or obstructs people from using the square, Ivan hopes the new appearance could awaken and stir much needed "positive emotion in people."

The difference in opinions about the monument removal/return was found in narratives of participants from generation four comparing to others. While other members of this group did not provide as imaginative, vivid stories and ideas about the square as Ivan, the rest of them generally agree that squares and public places are locations where statues of politicians should not be placed. They spent their childhoods on the square during 1990s, when the space was already physically altered and where the nature of behaviors changed. Marko presents his attitude on this issue:

Those statues, I mean, and similar objects, Tito's monument that was there. I personally think: the square is not the place for that. Monument removals are the best examples of transience of ideologies. So politicians, current and former ones, national heroes, the square is just not a place for their statues. Artists, writers, scientists, we have to promote those values that are different from symbols of destruction. So I would like to see that, you know, and more flowers! If some monument should be there, some sculpture, I would not like it to be Aleksandar Vucic. But, obviously, it will ...

Marko delivers a new outlook onto the theme of monuments in public space. He maturely explains that a public place should celebrate and commemorate different, positive social values and not symbols of destruction and conflicts. Milan, another member of this generational group states: "Artists should get everything, and politicians nothing. I would never allow for a statue of a politician, the person whose only purpose is to create conflict between people, to occupy some beautiful public space like main street or the square." The youngest participants were free from the burden of political memory of this place, and therefore, their stories focused on positive ways the space should and could be

utilized. Optimism, confidence, and determination, that prevailed though their narratives, is tied to life not exclusively shaped by the (negative) events performed in this space. Milan claims how people would always fight in the name of ideologies, and that should be the biggest reason why their symbols must be abolished from the public space. While talking about monument reinstatement on the square, Milan argues:

I consider the square as a representation of broadness, of freedom, and it should not be a burden to its citizens or visitors in any way. By putting “this or that” on the square we suffocate the space. The square is losing its meaning. It becomes “Tito’s Square.” And that is really lame, to say, the least.

According to Milan, inserting political symbols into public place can completely overshadow the original purpose of place, which is leisure, socializing, and pleasure. He emphasizes this also by criticizing the name of the square, still politically and ideologically colored, and he asks: “And why we would not call our square, The Square of Joy, or of love...”

Milan criticizes the politics, which through its material presence, occupies the space, but also he is against the commercialization of the public space. Moreover, he connects these two forces through a critique of both: “They “beautified” the square, they put an electronic billboard on the square. Is there something uglier and less appropriate than an electronic billboard on the square? Better Tito than a billboard...” Soon after Tito’s monument was removed, the local government erected a huge electronic billboard on the edge of the space where the monument was located. Although harshly criticized by all study participants, and a majority of locals too, this commercial tool is still available for rent. Milan recognizes that the monument at least carries some kind of value

compared to the new “ugly and inappropriate” advertisement device. Symbol of one political ideology in this space was substituted with the symbol of the new ideology: Tito’s monument was replaced by the electronic billboard.

Local Politics and the Beginning of the Space Commercialization: The decade of 1990s was a decade of deep disturbances, not only on the political scene but economical as well. All companies and factories, previously owned exclusively by the state, started to close down rapidly with the state dissolution and as a consequence, people started losing their jobs. Additionally, impoverishment of the citizenry was increased when Yugoslavia was placed under United Nations embargo from 1992 to 1995 and under United Nations/United States sanctions from 1998 to 2001, lifted after the fall of Slobodan Milosevic regime. From 1992 to 1995, Serbia experienced the second-highest and second-longest hyperinflation in world history. It peaked in January of 1994, when monthly official rate was 313 million percent (Hanke, 1999). Already closed public businesses started to be privatized. Naturally, all these shifts in the state altered life in the city and on the square.

While different commercial services were available to the citizens of Uzice after the square reconstruction in 1961, the variety of stores, one café, hotel, movie theatre, etc. did not hold dominance over other programs offered on the square. In other words, trade was just one of many activities provided in this space. During the decade of the 1990s the spaces around the square started to be rented by private parties. First, the number of cafes began to grow rapidly with many other businesses that followed, which changed the appearance and functionality of the square. Moreover, businesses started getting out into the square’s empty space, especially cafes with expansion of café-gardens. This process

of physical “occupation” of free space initially happened gradually and slowly, however, soon after the process became extremely aggressive and nearly unstoppable. Local government, whose purpose it was to regulate behaviors in this space, gradually lost its powers for numerous reasons that will be addressed later. Severe commercialization was only rising during the 1990s, therefore, this theme will be further addressed in next section tied to period after year 2000 when the commerce became a dominant actor in this space.

Participants interviewed for the study generally had negative opinions about the square commercialization. However, some changes were welcomed better than others. Slavica explains:

Listen, the square literally follows our way of life, our habits. Society changed, and naturally, the square changed its function and appearance. This place is changing because we are changing. I mean, when first Chinese store appeared on the square, that was the sign of our material poverty.

In this excerpt, Slavica notices how public space changed in order to satisfy current needs of its users. Moreover, the dynamics developed between the square and users became very visible: physical change of space instructed life of citizens, and furthermore, life circumstances also impacted space to change and adopt. When the square transformed in 1961, physical reconstruction brought reconstruction of everyday life of the citizens. When social and economic circumstances changed in the state during the 1990s, the nature of everyday life changed which further impacted the square to physically transform again. Slavica here addresses one of the first signs of commercialization in this space, Chinese stores, often mentioned by other participants as well. This type of store

sells the cheapest and the lowest quality goods exclusively made in China. They began to open throughout the whole state during the decade of the 1990s. Slavica continues:

You know when in the place where Gradska Kafana was, a legendary gathering place of this city; that big Chinese store was opened? Not the other one, in Robna Kuca Progress, but the one above Gradska Kafana. Well, when that store opened, it was almost like a personal insult for me. It was like a flea market was moved onto the square. I mean, the square was still the symbol of that previous, civil and courteous life. Well, the new Chinese store showed up, and it was like: we are completely ruined. The first time I noticed it, I was standing below the library looking in that direction. And I saw through glass windows those ugly mannequin dolls, with fluorescence shirts on it, panties, and other underwear, all in front of my face. I was thinking: that is, it, we are ruined and this is the end.

Here, Slavica explains how the spatial symbols of once “civil and courteous” life on the square were substituted by symbols of “our material poverty.” Gradska Kafana, a major gathering point during the era of socialism and a symbol of the city’s urbanity and culture, was replaced by a store. And not just any store, but a Chinese store that sells the cheapest goods. Moreover, Slavica finds its visibility especially offensive: through the windows where once you could see young people dancing and celebrating life, mannequin dolls wearing “fluorescence shirts, panties, and other underwear” were situated. For Slavica, the space change symbolizes “ruin,” collapse and downfall of the local society in this decade on multiple levels.

Other study participants also connected eradication of café Gradska Kafana with further commercial shifts in this space. Ivan explains how other cafes started to open:

They closed Gradska Kafana somewhere in the 1990s and there were no restaurants, taverns, or cafés on the square. So then someone intelligent realized: there are no cafés on the square and if I open one I should do really well. Which was true, and it was the right business decision. I really think that the closing of Gradska Kafana was the spark, the trigger that moved us from the old traditional model, to the new, modern, capitalist style, and that everything went downhill from there. That cafe was a unique place, it was old school, had traditional values and feel to it. After placing the first café garden on the square, opening of the first café, everything else, sort of, rolled out. I don't know which café garden it was.... I think it was Café Art, or something similar. It was attached to the theatre and it had a café garden. And there was an Internet Café in the Movie Theatre; it's called Zicer Café now. So after the first café garden opened, then the second one came, and then the third, fourth, and the fifth... And it just rolled on from there. After cafes, the stores came in: Idea, DM, this and that... And then the Chinese stores, the Chinese store above Gradska Kafana.

Ivan pictures how the expansion of commercial programs happened in this space through time. First, new cafes came in to substitute old and already closed restaurant. Later, other businesses followed. For Ivan, that incident represents a moment from which all “went downhill,” almost like it cannot be controlled. The previous lifestyle in this space disappeared, and it made space for another type of lifestyle to evolve. As Ivan states, traditional values of the square were substitutes for values of societies that are part of the capitalist system. One of the first cafés to open, following the trends around the world, was the Internet Café.

While the increased number of stores and shops, especially Chinese stores, was characterized as a social catastrophe, expansion of cafes was not always tied to negatives in this space. Many participants marked this change as one of the rare, positive occurrences that happened during this decade. Newly designed café gardens provided new ways for people to interact with each other, and furthermore, the square got the appearance many participants described as a “metropolitan” look (Serbian: *mondensko mesto*). All commercial changes that happened during the 1990s on the square Zoran exclusively labeled as positive:

The square changed a lot from its beginnings. It obtained multiple purposes, many different events started to happen there. Before, it was only for standing and watching; its main purpose was political, for ceremonies and rallies to be organized from time to time. They allowed for cafes to get into that space, for people to sit and enjoy there. Opening of cafes, putting the tables out, that beautified the square. Back then, I travelled and I saw the squares in Trieste and Paris, they had cafes and small shops, like kiosks, where you could buy stuff.

By drawing the parallel between Partisans’ Square and some other squares in Europe that he had visited, Zoran argues that this transformation as an inevitable part of life moving forward. Through this act *we* became the same as all others, this square was equal to all other squares around the world. For him, commercialization of this space does not carry any symbolic meaning. He finds the previous political system restrictive and limited, which did not allow any freedoms to act or entertain. On multiple occasions, Zoran emphasized that with the death of the previous regime the square obtained multiple new purposes, which enriched and improved citizens’ lives on the square. A few other

participants provided similar narratives. Slavica describes, “Spreading of the café-gardens somehow returned that urban look to this place. They completely fulfilled their purpose. Because tempo of life changed and people needed those new spaces.” Milovan notices, “Also an interesting thing, one part of the older population often talked like this: what did they do with the square, they turn it into tavern! Well, it is not ok for the square to be empty either.” Therefore, a majority of study participants never had a problem with increasing expansion of the café-gardens. What they considered as unacceptable was uncontrollable nature of this action that was portrayed as negative in this space.

Additionally, in order to insert new elements in the space, ones that were already there must be removed. As a consequence, the old habits and everyday actions tied to the square’s previous appearance needed to be changed as well. Lola critiques radicalism of spatial transformation because of commercialization. She addresses this issue from the point of view of her late parents. She argues:

I do not like all that stuff occupying the square. I never did. The square is indeed for gathering. That is the square! You cannot sit there in peace anymore, you know, when you are there in the café they blackmail you with a glass of water. I want to sit on the bench! Then older people... I know when my father, he died there, he complained about this as well. I mean, he did not even know how to order “espresso” or something similar. He had a bad heart. So he would walk for a while, then he would sit on the bench to get some rest. But then, they removed the benches. They removed everything. There is no logic in that.

Lola briefly touches upon the issue rarely addressed by other study participants tied to the new appearance of the square: the question of the elderly who do not feel comfortable to

gather in local cafes, but also, other groups who do not want to engage with this space in this particular way. Groups who could not afford to visit local cafes were barely addressed in participants' stories. This theme of limited movements, but also uniformity of everyday actions in this space provoked by high commercialization will be specifically addressed for the period from year 2000 to present day. Lola provides a personal example how the spread of cafes limited and directed behaviors in this space and how this change forced social groups like elderly, who got used to engaging this space in a specific manner, to avoid the square. Some people and some groups had a hard time adjusting to big changes, and the oldest generations were part of that group. Based on data collected, the "yellow benches" were always popular among study participants, and further citizens of Uzice. Not only popular, but considered necessary. While children and youth would usually sit on the stairs or edges of the square, older generations would gather to rest on the yellow benches after long walks. However, during the 1990s the benches, flowerpots, and jardinières were removed to make free space for café-gardens. Here, it can be recognized how a simple act in public space, like placing or removal of benches from the square, can create significant changes in the lives of some social groups.

Descriptions of other commercial intrusions on the square, in addition to ones already mentioned, were also found in participants' narratives. Part of the square on the opposite side from the cafe-gardens was rented during the 1990s to business owners who installed children's entertainment in this space, inflatable castle bouncers, carousels, trampolines, and children's driving park, all for profit. Participants agreed having all that equipment installed completely changed the appearance and functionality of the square.

Moreover, after intervention by locals, a majority of it was relocated from the square in the last five or six years. Jovana argues:

The other part of the square toward the apartment buildings, where they installed all those kids' toys and playgrounds... My opinion is, that the square is not the place for that. The "little square" is much more suitable for kids, you know the area in front of the hotel. The square looked really ugly; it changed the whole appearance, whole ambience because of plastic castles and trampolines.

Jovana, as did a majority of the study participants, critiqued the act of renting space on the square for these purposes. She argues that multiple locations around the city are available for children's entertainment, including the lower part of the square she calls "little square." As others, she finds that newly introduced spatial elements destroyed the space, its appearance, and the whole ambience. Lena claims, "This is what I call arrogance of small city residences: they want everything to be in front of their noses. I mean, everything cannot be situated on the square!" Lena somewhat holds the citizens responsible for the destruction of the space. If they did not ask for children's toys to be there, and if they did not use it, nobody would ever put them in the space. Furthermore, she claims that locals are spoiled and want everything to be in reach of their hands and that is just not possible in space like this. Rista presents another opinion:

So parents with children, they all knew too well about those inflatable bouncing castles that were installed here in the beginning of every spring. Man, and it was so pricy, too. So, naturally, parents avoided coming to the square because they cannot fight the kids in the middle of the square. Children naturally want to go

there to ride and jump in there, to eat popcorn, or burger. They are attracted to all that commercial junk.

Rista argues that children were naturally attracted to activities offered on the square, however, parents were not always in a position to afford it. Being on the square was again limited to consumption. In order to spend some time with children in this space, parents were practically forced to pay for a ride to avoid conflict in the public space. According to Rista's experience, the best solution was to avoid the square altogether. Through data collection, I did not find any testimonial from parents who were in favor of this commercial addition to this space.

Although general opinion between all 20 study participants is that a majority of the decisions made about this space during the 1990s impacted the square negatively, it limited movements, it directed behaviors, destroyed its aesthetic, diverse views were found tied to spread and utilization of cafes on the square. However, absolutely all participants agreed that the local politics and politicians were to blame for the severe space commercialization during this decade. While the majority of critiques and negative comments tied to this issue were found in participants' narratives of the present, interviewees generally shared the opinion that this spatial shift began during the decade of the 1990s. Jovana directly addresses the issue:

I sit at the square regularly and I have coffees there, but I don't think that's a good way to generate revenues. And all that other stuff around... That was the wrong decision of the city government; they allowed for the square to turn into a redneck fair.

In this narrative excerpt, Jovana openly blames the city government for turning the square, which should be a cultured and civil place, into a “redneck fair.” For her, as was other participants before, the square represented the symbol of previous good and stable life, which was taken away and replaced with uncertainty, instability, and poverty.

Politicians are the ones described by many, as people with a suspicious past; they came from somewhere else during the wars and they cheated, lied, and stole in order to rise into power. Furthermore, they are in politics only for their own interest; they do not care for local citizens, city, or the square. Because of this particular opinion, when asked about their own involvement in square preservation, interviewees claimed that the issue is very political and they do not want to be part of that population. Study participants consciously distanced themselves from politics and politicians, which naturally led to “passivation and depoliticization” (Spasic, 2012, p. 592) and a complete lack of agency to act, change something, or improve life in this space in the present. Marija addresses this issue:

When I talk about this issue, I have to talk about politics as well, and I do not want to talk about politics that much. I am not that type of a person; I am not made for that. The city government was, still is, constituted from people who were not originally from this city, and I am really unhappy because of that. I mentioned this before. They were not born here. They came here from different places. They rose up through the ranks, those people that were virtually unknown before here. They finished some kind of “schools” ... They recognized the square as a good source of a continuous money flow, extra money. They rent all possible

parts of the square, spaces appropriate for rent and space that is not. They collect big money for renting square meters of this place.

Marija explains how she is not interested in politics, she is not “that type of person” meaning greedy, manipulative, cheating, and uneducated. Furthermore, politicians are solely to blame for the commercial activities that happened on the square. Spasic and Biresev (2012b) claims how the politicians are recognized in transitional Serbia as “universal bad guys” (p. 156). Moreover, politicians mentioned here are not only the enemy, but they are the enemy which “came from different places” who cannot and do not want to understand the life of the locals.

In her narrative, Jovana is using a specific image of a “redneck fair” to portray appearance of the square. Other study participants utilized similar terms, like “flee market” or “country fair,” to describe the transformation of the square’s look but also behaviors in that space. Lena argues, “Children’s castles, cafe gardens, and I would not be surprise to see one day one big fair over the whole square.” The square is recognized here as a place for a show, an exhibition, set of particular performances on everyday basis, but with a one purpose: profit. By using these comparisons participants wanted to emphasize the lack of regulation in this space, but also primitivism, crudity, vulgarity, even low moral introduced in this space through activities of the 1990s. Rista, like others before him, references the appearance of this place during the socialist period of the state to emphasize change of behaviors on the square:

You know our domestic music band Beogradski Sindikat? They have a song “the whole city smells like sausages and burgers.” So, our square smells like that for a long time now, from the 1990s. That is actually one thing that is missing on the

square, someone with a kiosk to sell burgers in the middle of the square. Before, the square was protected. That harmony and beauty of the square is broken.

Collective Public Memories of Place – Organized from Below

Dissolution of the socialist government who partially organized, and certainly observed public life of the citizens in this place created opportunities for local groups and activists to freely use this space for new and diverse activities. This change allowed for this space to be used differently, provided complete autonomy for local citizens to act in it in a different manner. While the events of culture and sports were utilized in this space by the socialist government to spread political influence and to keep citizenry busy and occupied, the new political system removed that limitation. Abruptly, it was up to an individual or a group, which does not have to have a connection with the government, to freely and openly act in this space.

Memories of public collective events organized from below, found across narratives of all twenty study participants, included: memories of rallies of political opposition that started to rise in the beginning of the 1990s; and events of culture, sport, and entertainment organized by different local institutions or groups. Occasionally, those two types of events which differs in nature would overlap, for instance, musicians would perform before or after some political rally in order to attract more attention. However, events of culture or sport on the square would frequently be organized separately from the politics and political events. While all the organizers would need permission from the local government to perform in this space, usually local representatives were not opposed to any legal suggestions.

Political Rallies: All political rallies happening during the 1990s that were organized in the name of the current government or political opposition, were described as a negative occurrence on the square. I found only one exception to this statement across all participants' narratives, a story that portray a period of "great hope" during the year of 1999 when later elected, but assassinated, Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic was running for office. Moreover, the only positive narratives about the politics in this space were tied to his sporadic visits to the city throughout this decade.

When asked about a low point in his life in this place, Zoran explains:

Well, nothing bad happened to me there. I did not fight there; I did not argue...

But, you know, the stain, like the stain in my memory about the square, and a big ugly one was created because of political rallies that happened there during the 1990s. Ugly scene, ugly image in my head. Those gatherings and those events, yelling, screaming, howling, all those different demonstrations in that space: ordered from the current government and those organized by other political groups. Well, I had friends, members of ruling Socialist League party, and they would say to me: We have to organize a rally of support for Slobodan Milosevic, we got the order from the state government. And I had to go to that one and so did all my colleagues from the school. Those were nationalistic rallies; politicians gave these passionate nationalistic speeches, it was horrible. So, the square was abused like that.

Zoran describes in entirely the same manner the events organized by the political "nationalist" ruling party and political opposition marked as a "democratic" alternative. The opportunity to finally choose your political representative through democratic

elections and to participate in those events was not welcomed well by Zoran, but others as well. He soon realized that all different narratives distributed in this space were actually the same, since none of them were working for a common man. All political events were fused in one unpleasant memory, as a “big stain” as he describes it. Zoran finds that all organized events were exactly the same, since all political options did not deliver what they promised. The only difference between them is the ruling political party gatherings were mandatory participation for all public employees. Zoran continues:

Later, political opposition also organized rallies there. I did not like that either, I did not go there as well. When the ruling party organized, well, I had to go, all employees from my school. I did not like any of them, political position or opposition. I also hated those rallies that were nationalistic in nature, like support for Serbs in Kosovo. All of that was manipulation. And all those rallies, they represent ugly events from the square. When I think about it now, I went there maybe a few times, but soon after I avoided them altogether. I recognized immediately, all of that was just empty promises. I despised all of that; I realized soon enough that all of that was just big idiocy.

The language used to describe both types of rallies is completely the same. All of them were recognized as “manipulation” of masses and “idiocy,” no matter what political view they represented. Zoran’s memory of these events is exclusively tied to the present outlook into the past: he now possesses the knowledge and experience that can be used to interpret everything that happened in that space during the decade of the 1990s. After almost ten years of struggle, Slobodan Milosevic’s regime was overthrown in 2000, and democratic forces finally took over the political power. However, for Serbian citizens

nothing actually changed. Politicians exchanged positions, but all energy that was put into this process by ordinary citizens, including participation in numerous rallies and demonstrations, did not get them anything good. That is the reason why understanding and interpretation of memories tied to political rallies in this place was uniform among all study participants who were old enough to experience these events. Moreover, the way stories were told and the type of language used was strikingly similar. Milovan, as Zoran, describe the same experience, to share how misleading those events were when I asked about his turning life point in this place:

I mean, this was not a turning point, this wasn't a big turning point you know, one political rally happened in this place. And this rally, by its character, was supposed to be a "spontaneous rally." So, I came there you know. And then, based on some small details that were not so obvious in that moment, I suddenly realized that actually this rally was organized. It really was not important in what year this happened... I mean, it is important of course, but I will not tell the year you know. This rally was supposed to represent, as we would say, the "people's will." Later on "so-called democrats" organized rallies in this place, I mean they wanted to be democrats. And again, another rally before elections happened there, I think it was DOS. I mean, Vuk, Vesna Pesic, maybe Kostunica, all of them were there. So, we listened Vesna Pesic talking before on TV, and a few other people as well. But there, they addressed the crowd who supported them in that moment, and the way they were talking to us was very elitist, completely different than before. Vesna Pesic was not the same Vesna Pesic. She acted like she was in the middle of a folk parade or something similar. She was talking not to us, but to the

peasant crowd. I mean a completely different attitude. I was really disappointed, I expected Vesna Pesic to be... to represent the people. To be different, to speak to us, to invite us. Well, those are the things connected with the politics in this place. Again, by describing one type of rally after the other Milovan aims to picture similarity between them, although on the surface both events represented two opposing political positions. Through both stories, he portrays the deceit and abuse of an ordinary man, the group of citizens that he was a part of. First, Milovan describes the rally as organized by the government, ruling political party of that time, represented among locals as a “spontaneous” civil gathering. It is a well-known fact today that Milosevic’s rallies, when organized on Partisans’ Square or anywhere else, would pull all the workers from local factories in order to make gathering appear bigger and more massive. As stated before, for public employees it was mandatory to attend. However, Milovan describes his disappointment when he relisted that political action that officially represented “people’s will” was not that at all. The other event he mentions is a gathering of “so-called democrats” on the square. In her study, Spasic (2012) detects the use of those specific relativizing terms, like “quasi-democracy” or “so-called democracy,” when participants tried to portray the nature of this political system established throughout the territory of Yugoslavia after its dissolution. She argues that democracy did not succeed to impose itself as “guarantor of human dignity” (Spasic, 2012, p. 590), although that was one of the original constitutional goals of it. It can be understood from Milovan’s narrative that, at that time, he was a sympathizer and maybe even supporter of pro-democratic representatives. He provided details about their members, and speeches as well. He expected for them to “represent people,” to be different than other politicians and other

representatives before them. However, he soon came to realize that he had been deceived and this understanding came through participation in events that took place on the square. For Milovan, as with many other study participants, involvement and observation of political events happened on the square during the decade of the 1990s that represented a type of political awakening. And for some of them it represented a hope, a short-term hope, that life can be good again, restored to how it was before.

The last year of this decade on Partisans' Square was marked by events of NATO bombing, turbulent demonstrations against foreign aggressors, and at the second half of the year, political rallies which served to promote different political campaigns for state elections that happened in September 2000. The only positive event remembered was tied to the Democratic Party campaign which happened on Partisan Square on July 6, 1999.

Slavica describes her experience and portrays her memories about that day:

So another image from August 1999, I remember that very well. That was the first time that Zoran Djindjic... He actually started his political campaign for the elections in 2000. And in August of 1999, the square was packed with people. And people laughed. The year of 1999 was horrible. The bombing was happening during this year. All of us, we were in some kind of delirium. But that amount of positive energy, optimism I felt on that day... And the drummers, they were there, they were making magical noise. A huge number of people were on the square; all the people that I know were there. And, hope returned to our lives, that hope returned there, in that place. The great hope. The protest of 1996-1997 were also positive, good energy, positive energy. But that night, a beautiful August evening, warm and bright. We were sitting on the benches near café Gradska Kafana, but

we had to stand up because we could not see anything. So I remember that, first drummers, then Zoran Djindjic, then Zaharije Trnavcevic, Mladjan Dinkic, and many other people that I cannot stand today. People came from all cities around Uzice, I do not know. It was incredibly bright. That... impacted my life so much. I truly believed that Zoran Djindjic could change things back then. Well that sounds so naïve and stupid right now. But I truly thought that he knew what he was doing. That he had a vision in which direction we had to go, what we had to do to get out from that... that thing we were in, called transition. We are still stuck in it. So, from 1989, now is 2014, we live in some kind of transition, going from something into something else. I thought that he knew what we had to do to get out of it. And I know this sounds so pathetic now, but I truly believed him. And I experienced his death as my personal loss. So, Djindjic's visit, speech on the square, symbolized the return of hope.

Slavica describes this event as one of most positive and hopeful, and certainly, the most beautiful one that happened in the decade of the 1990s. Her story is less about the event itself, and more about the image of Zoran Djindjic, then president of the Democratic Party, the most popular candidate of the political opposition. Moreover, during those years his image was a symbol of "great hope" and optimism, faith of a better tomorrow. Therefore, the event itself was remembered in that manner. She begins her narrative with portrayal of life during the 1999, in order to emphasize the importance of the event. This year was marked as a period of "delirium:" after almost a decade of economic decline, the city, and the state, were bombarded during a period of four months. Moreover, this decade is marked as a period of constant demonstrations, protests, and rallies. From 1991

to 1993 people protested against the civil war and Milosevic's government that started the war. From 1996 to 1997, after the war ended, big demonstrations were held again against Milosevic's regime; and during the year of 1999 for four months people demonstrated against NATO aggression and against the west in general (Jansen, 2000). By the end of 1999, the atmosphere was boiling and people were ready for a change, for a better life, for something different. And that was the main reason why Djindjic's visit was memorized in this manner: as Slavica stated, she believed that Djindjic had a vision, a plan to get the citizens out of the long transitional period. This is the moment in her narrative where she changes the tone, claiming how she was naive to think that anything could change. As other participants of the study, she addresses her disappointment in politics and politicians for not being able or not willing to change anything from 1989 until today. Slavica's narrative is divided in two parts: one, the image of the rally on the square tied to Djindjic image as a symbol of hope, and other, tied to the political reality and pessimistic truth about the outcome of all that struggle and effort.

On multiple occasions, Slavica characterizes this event as a moment of "the return of hope." Spasic (2012) argues that Yugonostalgia differs from other types of nostalgia because it does not represent longing for some concrete past in the present, but it is yearning for lost "hope," longing for "an idea of a promising future" (p. 587), which was an essential part of collective life in Yugoslavia. Spasic (2012) claims: "What socialism had, and capitalism lacking in, is utopia - a collective aspiration for a better future" (p. 581). Through Slavica's story, it can be noticed that the hope shortly returned through a few events that took place on the square, including the democratic presidential campaign in 1999. Furthermore, while she acknowledges that all other politicians failed to delivered

what they promised, this short moment of hope is preserved through the image of former Serbian Prime Minister Djindjic in this place.

Memories of political events throughout the decade of the 1990s stand in sharp contrast with memories of the period after 2000. In other words, except for a few narratives collected about the presidential race in that year, study participants did not report any political events that evolved on the square after 2000. Politics is exclusively mentioned in relation to activities of the local government, issues of spatial regulation of commerce and trade. While few participants mentioned activities of different non-governmental organizations in this space, the descriptions of demonstrations, rallies, or political protests were omitted. Serbian citizens discontinued to revolt collectively in this space, and all other open public spaces in the state completely.

Events of Culture, Sport, and Entertainment: At the end of the 1980s and during the whole decade of the 1990s, public events started to be organized separately from government interference and for the sole purpose of entertainment of the locals. New given autonomies provided freedom to act and engage this space in a new and different way. During the era of socialism all public events that took place on the square were, first and foremost, organized for political purposes. Culture and sport were heavily utilized to reinforce the state unity through celebration of important dates from revolutionary past. Moreover, the independent party was incapable to act separately from the governing body and outside of communist party regulations. Change in politics directly influenced behavioral changes in this space, allowing individuals or groups to act and organize differently without direct control from the governing top.

While study participants mentioned few new events that were introduced to Uzice's citizens throughout this decade in this space, the greatest agency to act in this way was demonstrated in the period after year 2000. Events that interviewees recognized as significant, interesting, and important initiated during the 1990s were: public celebrations of the New Year on the square, annual National Festival of Theater, sport tournaments, concerts of different musicians and musical bands, and independent concerts of professional national folk dance ensembles.

During the socialist phase of the state, The New Year was usually celebrated at home, with family, or in local restaurants, cafés and hotels, like Gradska Kafana, with friends. These new public and collective celebrations on the square, that included free music, fireworks in a decorated open space, and free drink, was a novelty of this decade. Zoran describes the event:

Later, public celebrations of New Year's began to happen in this space. Those were beautiful events, unfortunately, I was already too old for New Year celebrations outside. I was already pretty old for that. I think those celebrations in public space never happened in old Yugoslavia. Famous singers and musical bands were performing. That first happened in late the 1980s. Beautiful event, for young people, wonderful. Youth had opportunity to listen to popular music of their choice, music that they liked. When I was young, those types of events never happened; neither here nor in the capital city. I think this was initiated first and foremost, because of social reasons: suddenly, many people could not afford to pay for a New Year's celebration. So, that was a wonderful thing from the square.

The New Year was very important date to celebrate during the socialist period of the state. It represented the substitute for all religious holidays that happen at the end of the year, like Christmas, because all of them were forbidden to be practiced publicly. While the freedom to practice religion publically was regained through 1980s and especially after 1990, the tradition of New Year's celebration continued into the period of the new state and the new political regime. As Zoran states, these activities were especially significant for the youth, a social group whose movements and freedoms to act were completely disrupted by severe economic crisis. Therefore, many generations, for years, celebrated their New Years in this space. Rista shares his memories:

I cannot separate just one nice memory, one nice event from all the others that happened in this space. There were so many of them. For example, every single New Year, when we sat there completely frozen, wet, half-drunk ... That atmosphere only represents amazing memory for me. I am talking about us, my crew, my friends, time we spent there sitting, welcoming different New Years, telling jokes, laughing, dancing ... Those were my fun days in this place.

For Rista, celebration of the New Year on the square carries special personal significance. When asked about a positive memory from the square, he explains that he cannot separate one celebration from the other because all of them were equally memorable. They are all merged into one beautiful reminiscence, amalgamate of different New Years spent in this space. The story about New Years on the square is a story about him, his friends, and life in general. As many times before, study participants equalized their own identity with identity of this place: his life represents the life of this place.

Narratives presented above are important because they emphasize the socio-economic aspect of the New Year celebrations. Although severe poverty struck the citizenry during this decade, this public festivity represented an opportunity for locals to equally enjoy this evening once a year. Zoran argues that this event was organized because many could not afford a New Year's celebration. Other study participants also addressed this occurrence tied to public events organized in this space. Jovana describes:

The square was the central place for different types of concerts. There was some kind of summer program, whole summer program called "Summer on the Square," something like that. Different concerts, musical groups, dance performances, all of that was very special and very important. Maybe because it was always free, so everybody would come to listen and enjoy.

Not only that the New Years were celebrated, and still are, in this space, but the whole summers would be organized as one big festival. During the summer, citizens would have longer vacations and children and youth would have longer breaks from school or college. Therefore, different performances and concerts would enrich everyday life of Uzice's citizens, especially those who could not afford to leave the city. Initiatives of the local art community, musicians, actors, dancers, and others helped tremendously in this process. Furthermore, local private companies and businesses would sponsor those events. The square was a mandatory location to visit during the summer evenings.

Citizens not only enjoyed observing and watching the events, but they also had the pleasure to participate in them as members of different performing groups and institutions. Marija danced for local a Professional Folk Dance Ensemble Sevojno, and she describes her experience from the square:

Well, this just came to my mind. There is this story, it is a good story but it happened when the crises already started in the country, and all other bad stuff. Good event, yes, I already mentioned before that I danced for years with local Folk Ensemble Sevojno. The first concert that we had, the first time that I performed on the square, that was a magnificent feeling. There was a big stage in the middle of the square, and so on. We had many concerts like that, but the first time when you get out on the stage and dance in front of so many people, in your city and on the square, definitely the strongest impression. I mean, I cannot explain kind of feeling ... never mind. You know, we danced on different stages, in different villages, cities, in Belgrade, outside our country. But when you get out on the stage in your own city, on the square, in front of your people to dance. That represents one beautiful event that I remember vividly. I cannot remember the time. It was summer. We celebrated something. And we danced on that big plateau on the square.

Marija portrays this event as a positive one, even though it happened during a decade of crisis in the state. She describes the excitement of performing in her city, on the square, in front of her friends and family but also other citizens. Throughout her whole life-story narrative, it can be recognized that this place carries a great significance for her. She is very emotional when talking about the events from her life that happened on the square, starting with multiple participation in pioneers' ceremonies as a child with friends from school, then during the 1990s performance with her dance ensemble, and later in her life, exhibitions on the square with her own students. Although she performed in many other places, cities and villages, her first concert in this space fulfilled her "wonderful and

magnificent” feelings. For Marija, this represented her place, space where she felt safe and happy in everyday life or when she performed.

Study participants’ experiences were generally positive when addressing organized events that happened on the square during this period. Although the whole decade of the 1990s was full of disturbing occurrences, events of culture, sport, and entertainment organized on the square represented the escape from economic and social depression. They kept people entertained, removed their thoughts from the negative present. Furthermore, they enriched everyday lives of the citizens and enabled the most impoverished layer of society to enjoy and to live through this period of distress.

Collective Personal Memories of Place

Collective personal memories tied to decade of the 1990s were portrayed in a similar manner across study participants’ narratives. However, variations were found throughout testimonials tied to three historical periods of the state. The main reason personal memories of events occurred in this space changed is space commercialization that began in this decade, which specifically impacted everyday routines of the locals. When new commercial programs were introduced, naturally, the way people engaged the space transformed. Activities practiced before were replaced by new ones, more suitable for new spatial organization and new spatial functionality. Collective personal memories found across narratives of the 1990s are memories of childhood and youth on the square. However, the stories about *incidents of hostility on the square*, not found in narratives of the socialist period of the state, were reported by study participants in connection to the decade of the 1990s.

Memories of Childhood on the Square: Only generational group four, the youngest study participants or “Post-Yugoslavs,” experienced childhood in this space during this decade. Narratives of childhood provided by participants who lived near the square were more complex and rich in detail. In other words, children who live close to the square developed different relationships with this place compared to children who visited this space occasionally. Everyday engagement through play and leisure determined for this place to be a main spatial constitute of childhood memories. Therefore, differences were found in the way children utilized this space based only on spatial proximity of their place of residence to the square.

Ivan, who at a time lived near the square, tells a story about the different phases of his childhood and how space engagement changed with passage of time:

I grew up there. My apartment building is there. And my first memory of the square is actually connected with “the little square,” that’s how we named the part of the square below the main street. This memory is connected with playing with marbles there. There are many trees on the square, usually fenced, with grassy area around them. We regularly pulled grass out and played marbles in those fenced areas. We made holes and played marbles there. And that is my first memory connected with this place, as a kid you know. Because most of our time back then we spent there on the “little square”. Elderly (retirees) were sitting around and were taking care of kids. And that would be the first chapter of my life there, I do not know... On the square, the little square for little people, for playing with marbles.

Later, when we grew up a little and we outgrew playing with marbles, we started to play football there. We played soccer on the upper part of the square, you know, where is ... Big staircases, toward the theatre. That was period 2nd, 3rd, and 4th year of elementary school. Until first grade, you were playing marbles on the little square. After that, you were playing soccer. We played soccer on the upper part of the square. You know there is one part of the square, during the winter they install a skating rink there, you know where that is? There. We mostly played there. And we sat there on the “kliza,” waiting, if the space was occupied and somebody else was playing soccer there. But that was the place for football.

Later, during my 5th, 6th, 7th grades, around that age, our social life completely changed. You know, first loves, girls. Then we moved again; we were sitting on “Kajmak.” Do you know where “Kajmak” is? Across from the store Lilly, there. So, we were spending our time on “Kajmak” then. That would be the third chapter of my life on the square.

Later on, during my 7th and 8th grades of elementary school and 1st and 2nd year of my high school, you were there... you were spending your time in local cafes, and during the night you were on Kajmak. You didn't sit there at nine in the evening like before; kids were there at that time. But later, when everybody was coming back home from evening out, around 2 a.m. in the morning - that was the time for Kajmak. Lots of teenagers were gathering there during the night, and different things were happening there. Good things and bad things.

Ivan's narrative represents an excellent example how memories are spatial, they are remembered and recalled inside of the spatial framework of the square. Ivan moves from one spatial scene to another in order to explain not only different activities that he was part of, but also the nature of life that evolved on the square for a child who lived in a nearby residence tied to different age periods. Ivan states, "The time would pass by, and you would move from one part of the square to the other." This time-place phenomenon tied to the square, where specific group(s) would utilize different parts of the square through lifetime differently was already detected in connection to narratives of youth in socialist era of the state. This occurrence was named by one of participants *the square geography*, meaning that the square was mapped based on the social group that was using it. However, this occurrence is not only spatial, but it is also tied to passage of time. How Partisans' Square was engaged and how it is remembered, first and foremost, varied based on the historical era and specific political, economic, and social circumstances of that period but also the moment (present) in which the recollection of memories happened. However, everyday movements and use of this space inside one historic era differs primarily based on group membership, in this case belonging to the same age group.

The part of the square participants called "the little square" is a quiet zone of this space, below the main street, where pedestrian traffic is reduced. Compared to the upper, more crowded and busy area, the lower part represents an intimate place for people who want to get some rest, to sit in quiet and peace. Many study participants, on multiple occasions, marked this space as more suitable for children than the upper part of the square. Ivan marked this space as a zone for elderly and small children, place where they

can be isolated but also protected from the traffic and city commotions. Although still in city center, this space provided them with privacy and intimacy. Ivan's first memory of this place were tied to playing marbles with friends and grandparents who were taking care of them.

While Ivan was growing up, he exchanged one game with another: street soccer was substituted for marbles, simple game with more complicated one. He also changed the group that he was hanging out with, gained some freedom to act in this space, and he changed the space of interaction. From one space suitable for a specific age and social groups he moved into another space, into busier and more active part of the square. He was mature enough to take care of himself, and also to function independently in his own age group.

From age of eleven to thirteen, Ivan's life changed again: playing games with peers was not in the center of his life anymore. As he states: "Our social life completely changed. You know, first loves, girls." The reasons he spent time in this space changed, and with that, the gathering area changed as well. This new activity did not require so much free space, like the act of playing soccer, so Ivan and his friends moved into an area of the square with available seating spots, where smaller group of acquaintances could communicate and interact easily. The purpose of gathering shifted from socialization through play to socialization through conversation in this space. The area of the square named "Kajmak" was again mentioned here as important, however its spatial meaning was changed. When one generation replaced the other, the derogatory meaning that this space carried was lost and forgotten; the only reminder left was the name.

The last image that Ivan presented characterize his crossing from childhood into youth. Part of that new mature life included gathering in local cafes and late night gatherings on the square. Therefore, life activities spatially expanded again into new areas of the square with new acquired freedoms. Moreover, the way old gathering spaces were engaged changed as well: Kajmak was utilized only during the late night because “new kids” were there during the day. Furthermore, the commercial aspect of life on the square gained importance with individual maturation.

The theme of collective engagement or togetherness through childhood activities was also found during the period of the 1990s as it was during the socialist period of state. Ivan describes:

I was part of the gang from the square. We had classifications, all kids from the square who lived close by, we were divided in groups, and I was from “the little square,” but the rest of my friends “were from the square.” We were living close by and we knew each other.

As during the era of socialism, study participants who lived close to this space declared themselves as “kids from the square,” a group privileged to use this space on an everyday basis. For them, the square represented an extension of their own home, one of the important places where they grew up. However, this relationship was different for children brought by their parents to this place. Moreover, during the decade of the 1990s reasons to bring children on the square changed. Study participants explained how the principal motive to go to the square or to bring a child to the square was to engage in some kind of commercial activity, like a carousel drive or riding small electric

automobiles, or to have lunch or ice cream. The new commercial offers provided new reasons for people to come into this space.

Slavica, parent of a small child during this decade, explains:

My kids, they hated to go there. When they started to move around independently, they usually would choose to go to the city beach. Because, the square visits included acts of dressing nice, remaining clean, they did not like that... However, when those attractions for kids started to show up, small electric cars and other big toys, we had to go there. My Ana was small, that happened maybe around 1997 or 1998. They asked every single evening, to drive few circles around the square in that. So we had to go. But only that activity, after that we would leave the square and continue our walk down to the river and beach.

Taking children onto the square required special outfits and appearance, so Slavica's children avoided going there altogether. They preferred to play freely during their time out, therefore, they found better options for evening walks. In late the 1990s, when commercial programs became available, it was mandatory for Slavica's children to go there and "drive small electric car." Rista also confirms how these commercial entertainments were the reason why parents often avoided to bring their children to the square. When in this space, it was impossible to turn children away from plastic toys located in this space. Members of generational group four often participated in similar events on the square in their young age. Milan explains:

From my childhood, I remember small jeeps on the square. You still can rent those there. But then, that was a phenomenal experience. I remember, I went there often with my parents. I was very small, but old enough to remember the feeling.

So would other families, our neighbors, we would go together. All this happened on the little square in the evening. They would have a drink in that café Satelit across the square and my brother and I, we would drive those jeeps and that was a phenomenal feeling. We actually did not have all those other programs that kids have today on the square. Today, I notice a whole little square occupied with trampolines; also in another part of the square they placed that inflated castle. I mean, that is good, there was nothing in this space for the children to play with.

Milan narrates his only childhood memory from the square. While he emphasizes that he usually played with his peers in front of his apartment building, he occasionally visited the square in the evenings with his parents. Milan portrays this experience as “phenomenal,” and he was not against installations of children toys and entertainment equipment like many other participants were. Iskra also reported that driving small cars around the square was her favorite activity on the square. Moreover, Marko provides the story of “gastronomic history of the square” as he called it, an overview of his favorite ice-cream parlors on the square. He describes:

Well, what else to say, I liked to eat. I was maybe 6 years old. I loved sandwiches from one small bakery located on the square, next to the Movie Theater. But ice creams, there was a fantastic Italian ice cream in café Zicer, our acting teacher Tanja would take us there. Every time we would go there, I would have an ice cream and I had my signature combination: 3 scoops, I think, biscuit, stracciatella, and nougat, or caramel, actually all depends. Also, there was an ice-cream stand on the lower part of the square, close to the main street. Uhhhh, my half-brother would have vanilla and I would have a mix of chocolate, vanilla, strawberry, or

nougat. Those stands are still there, and I often buy ice cream there. That represents one nostalgic act, right. Ice cream with a taste of nostalgia.

As a child, Marko was not interested in inflated castles on the square, but he loved to spend time in local eateries. Moreover, he remembers exact tastes, places and locations, and the people involved in activities of food consumption. He closes his story with the narrative how he still occasionally has an ice cream on the square, so this spatial reference serves as a tool for him to recall events from his childhood. This specific memory was found significant because it demonstrated the principal difference how childhoods were remembered differently in connection to different periods of the state. Personal memories constructed during the decade of the 1990s, when the high commercialization of this space began, are also inevitably tied to participants' engagement in acts of consumerism. This type of memory was not detected in relation to childhoods during the socialist period of the state. Moreover, memories tied to various types of consumption are dominating memories in the period from 2000 until present.

According to Jackson (1996), but also Bourdieu (2000) and Lefebvre (1992), spatial memory is the result of habit or custom. Frequent involvement with places over time carry greater significance in memory construction than unusual composition or forms of space. Personal collective memories in this study were created because of repeated everyday engagement with this space. Therein lies the reason why study participants who lived closer to the square provided richer and more detailed narrative: duration of time they interacted with this space is prolonged compared to participants that resided somewhere else. This rule is applied to all personal memories, childhood, youth,

or of parenthood. Ordinary people possess imaginative ability to make the most unremarkable space memorable over time.

Memories of Youth Period on the Square: While the square continued to be main gathering place in the city, participants reported that in the beginning of the 1990s space also started to change physically. As many witnessed, the place but especially social life tied to it was moved from outdoor areas into the cafes that started to open. When opened, cafes were not very popular among Uzice's citizens. As Marija describes: "During that period, there weren't so many cafes in the city, like today. Mass phenomenon, you know. There were two to three cafes in the city, but actually no one visited them. They were mostly empty." However, through time they gradually gained in popularity and soon after people were spending time on the square exclusively in café-gardens. Other sitting areas on or around the square lost they function and significance that they previously held among the citizens. Lena explains:

During my college days, well I studied for a long time... When that period ended for me, the square was already a different place, full of café gardens. I somehow felt estranged, because I never liked the idea of an ice-cream parlor/pastry shop on the square. Social life there moved from the square into local cafes. The square became too crowded, lots of really small children... and, what we used to call idle, dressed up ladies with their bags. That is the place for the women to come after shopping. Although, there were one or two cafes that I liked to visit.

Jovana describes similar experience:

And you know, by that time everything changed. The whole concept of the square changed. In that moment, there were many more cafes and café gardens on the square than before. I mean, I was one of the people who didn't accept that change

easily, the new image of the square. It became the place for chairs, garden chairs and tables. Although, well, that was not a bad thing. I mean, I can admit now, it was acceptable.

The main argument about the *change* of this place was tied to appearance of new cafes on the square. Expanding of the cafe-gardens into the free surface of the square initially was not recognized as a positive. Immediately, the square started to attract a greater number of people, which made it overcrowded and busy. The appearance and functionality changed, behaviors as well, but also the type of visitors to this place. Lena argues how the square became a popular and fashionable place to gather and have a drink, where “dressed up ladies” came after shopping. It invited and brought groups of people in that could not be seen there before. Jovana finds that the square ceased to be place for the city public and became a place for “chairs and tables.” She refers to the appearance of the square, which almost overnight, became covered with commercial items. Both study participants criticized this spatial spread. However, after the period of adjustment passed, they willingly engaged these areas of the square. The square occupies the central space in the city and it is the crossroad of pedestrian paths of the broader city center, as Ivan stated: “It is the only square, the only place of this nature that we have. So, very often, that was the sole reason to go there.” Physical inevitability of the square would bring people into the area of the city during the day and through time citizens re-learned how to use this “new” space again.

The role that this place has kept and the function of it that did not change through time is the square as a principal meeting point of the locals. This feature was especially important for the generation of young people that resided in the city during this period.

Although social life was partially moved from the outer space to the interior, youth still found the square as a very convenient place to meet. Marija stresses the importance of this specific memory:

Than high school, that was already the period in the beginning of the 1990s, the crises already started nationwide, but also in the city. There were no more celebrations on the square, no good memories. Nice memories from that period are that we always got together there on the square. We always were getting together on the square, especially during the summer.

For Marija, significant change happened in this period: good memories that were exclusively connected to organized public events in Yugoslavia, like memories of “slets” or pioneers’ initiations, were substituted for other types of memories tied to only personal everyday events during this decade. Jovana explains: “At that point in time we didn’t meet near Tito’s monument because Tito was not there anymore.” While positive memories of socialist time of the state were tied to participation in government organized rituals and ceremonies, in the period of the 1990s positive memories were constructed through everyday life in this space. This decade represented hard times of crises, wars, and social decline. The old life on the square was removed to make space for the new one. Socialization through collective engagement was extremely important for the citizens in time of hardship, people drew the positive energy from the activity of being together in this space. Marija continues,

Every time I had to meet with someone for some reason, we met to the square. You know, with everybody... The square is always the beginning of every “date.” That is the place where we get together and we continue into the evening from

that place... We usually meet in the upper part of the square, or in the lower part, in front of the movie theatre, I mean that is not so important... We gather there, and that is our starting point. And of course, during my absence from the city I always missed the place and always... And this place still has an extremely important role in my life.

What can be noticed here is that people started to rely more on themselves, and not on governing body or political parties, to organize their life. The “good” memories of the past were in the past, the local youth found a new way to construct new positive memories. Simple acts of being together, meeting friends in this space, became the main resource of pleasure. Rista, who lived close to the square in this decade, provides his experience of being young in this space:

We sat there every day, whole daylong. My whole youth... That is not good... I spent my whole youth in this place. I can say now – that is not good! However, you see, I do not regret that. There is no regret because it was beautiful. If it did not feel right I probably would not have spent 14 hours a day on the square, sitting on a hard bench without a back. But you know... Some parts of my body got very stiff. We will see if and when rheumatism will flare up. I can thank the square for that, what else. Can you imagine how it is to sit there in November... Ok, not in November, the benches are removed in November. Can you imagine to stand there for three-four hours in November? And during summers, we would stand there, seven-eight people, and we would just talk!

Rista’s nostalgic narrative can be understood as simple longing for youth, a wonderful part of a life that passed. However, he did spend it on the square with his friends, and he

proudly states that he does not regret it because it was “beautiful.” This story is significant for multiple reasons. Firstly, Rista describes how he often spent fourteen hours per day, during summers, in this place with his friends engaged in the activity of talking. Of all places that they could visit, and different ways they could occupy free time during winter and summer breaks, they purposively decided to stay on the square together. However, the other way this story can be interpreted is that severe poverty and country isolation did not allow people, especially youth, to engage in any type of activity outside their hometown. Parents were busy throughout the whole day, and a majority of the children were on their own. Moreover, many of them could not afford to have coffee in one of the cafes on the square. Multiple study participants emphasized this aspect of youth during the decade of the 1990s. Marija explains:

So, literally you are there and nobody ever... If we talk about money, you did not need... Of course, there was no money at all back then, but you did not need money to sit there. You only needed goodwill and to be in the mood for socializing.

Dunja also adds:

But, high school, that space was really important during that period. Café gardens were there, but anyhow, we did not have the money to sit and have some drink or treat. Rather, we would sit on those fantastic yellow benches, which are green now. We made friendships there. We played pantomime. We would sit there, and laugh. That was a gathering place. “Where we are going to meet? We will meet on the square!”

While participants did not necessarily comment that not having money was a bad thing, they surely mentioned it on multiple occasions. Moreover, both study participants portray

this occurrence as complete normalcy of that time. Being in this space with friends, engaging in some interesting activity, was the most important thing that could happen to members of the city youth. Dunja continues: “You know; in that moment I was happy. I said to myself: Yes, this is the moment of true happiness. We needed so little back then to be happy” During this decade, young people from the city still had an alternative in a way to engage the space. They could choose to sit on yellow benches, or on the edge of the square, or go to a café. Although commercial programs started to spread all over the square, during this decade different behaviors were found throughout the study participants’ testimonials. That changed completely after the year 2000, when it became socially unacceptable to sit anywhere except in café gardens located in this space.

The theme of significance of personal contact with others, face-to-face conversation, was also found across the personal narratives of youth in this place. Study participants would usually engage those stories in order to criticize the nature of society, communication, and socialization in the present. Rista continues his narrative:

There was no Viber, we were talking for free! We talked for free. I could see that you get some tan, that you get a few gray hairs. I could see that my other friend got circles under his eyes, again, other friend, his girlfriend scratched him all over his face. You understand what I mean? That is life. Was life! You know, I am not managing well these modern times...

By mentioning Viber, a popular massaging app, Rista directly portrays how means of communication and human contact changed today compared to the period of the 1990s. He defines life as live interaction with another human being, his friends but also others, in public space. To go out, to meet other people, to see them, to talk with them, all of that

constituted big part of Rista's identity. He even acknowledges that the social change introduced during the decade of the 1990s, "the modern times" as he calls it, is really hard to manage. According to Rista's narrative, the importance that Partisans' Square carried was to provide a space for life to happen. However, when the space transformed, the life in it irreversibly changed as well. Similarly, Dunja addresses the discrepancies between life on the square of high school children then and today. She explains:

We would put together two of those yellow benches and we would play pantomime. If I would mention to the fourteen-year-old kid to play pantomime today in the middle of the square, well, that would be a scandal. Sadly, today everything is different with our kids. Somehow, they have lost imagination, and so many things need to happen in order for them to become interested in something... It was different for us.

According to Dunja's story, the most memorable act from her youth was playing pantomime, acting with friends in this space. This memory for her represents reminiscence of true feeling of happiness, the example of how high school years should look like. She compares it to current behaviors of children of the same age, claiming that the society deeply changed. Playing the same game in the same space would be considered as a "scandal" today. Both study participants, Rista and Dunja, utilized the stories of life in this space to exhibit the way life has changed in present compared to how it was before.

Incidents of Hostility on the Square: Narratives that portray different acts of aggression and violence were reported on multiple occasions tied to the decade of the 1990s. Study participants provided stories about several murders, fights, bullying, and different types

of offenses that took place on the square. As Slavica explained, the behaviors on the square always represented a mirror of life in the state and in the city. Vital changes in the life of Uzice's citizens, included negative ones during this decade, which first started to appear in this open public space. Hostility, aggression, and conflicts caused by state dissolution became very visible. Rista, who was a witness to these behaviors on the square, describes one of his experiences:

For example, we witnessed one shooting that happened there, it happened on the square. One man was killed in that conflict. We were standing there on the square that evening, and a huge number of police officers came... It was 1990 or 1991. Four or five of us were there, and the shooting happened, and the police came. You could see a bloody trail in front of the Hotel. It was in the newspapers later. When police came they immediately cuffed us, interrogated us there, they asked did we see anything. Well, even if we did, you knew better not to tell anything. Those years were... That is one ugly, awful memory from the square that stuck with me. You probably do not remember, you were small. I was young too, it was 1991, right. Also, lots of fights happened in this space later. All of that started to happen when people began to lose their nerves, you know. The war was coming, and negative energy started to accumulate in the air. Lots of fights, lots of them. I was a witness to many of them. All those horrible problems were unleashed in this space. I watched from the terrace; or I witnessed it directly. I can even say that I participated in some of them.

Rista's story depicts the act of killing one of the members of local criminal milieu, a clash between two criminal groups that happened in this space. This particular part of the

population started to be visible in public space at the end of the decade of the 1980s, and became a completely normal occurrence by the end of the 1990s. This image stayed with Rista because of the brutal nature of it: the blood, the police scene, the arrest of his friends and himself. Although they were only observers, by being on the square, they were drawn into the incident and became one of the participants. Rista finds that the reason for these behaviors lays in general destabilization of the whole broader social structure that happened in this decade. People started to express aggression as a consequence of the destructive politics and fears that this practice caused among citizens. Moreover, a lack of local regulations and protection of an ordinary citizen became especially visible as well. Rista mentions numerous street fights as the most frequent manifestation of aggression in this space. This narrative was especially addressed by study participants in relation to the period after the year 2000. “The negative energy” accumulated during this decade started to materialize itself through constant conflicts and clashes of different groups in this space. The feeling of safety and protection that the square provided in a previous era were replaced by the feelings of powerlessness to act and move freely inside this space.

Period from the Year 2000 to Present

Comparing to the other two historic periods, the main differences found across participants’ narratives tied to life on Partisans’ Square during this period of the state were: lack of direct political performances, actions, and activism in this space on both sides – the government and political opposition; and total commercialization of citizens’ everyday life in this place. Personal collective memories were exclusively narrated in relation to various acts of consumerism in this space. Political events were mentioned

briefly and only by two participants, both politically active throughout the decade of 2000-2010, in relation to presidential elections and the overthrow of Slobodan Milosevic's government. When that happened, this event carried deep meaning for Serbian citizens because of the enthusiasm and new hope that was awoken only to be shattered soon after. Looking back from the point of the present and almost fifteen years after its occurrence, events of October 5, 2000 completely lost its significance across the population in the state. In her study, Spasic (2012) argues that the years of 1990-1991 was chosen by study participants as a symbolic "breaking point" and the years of change in newer Serbian history, whereas the year of 2000 was almost forgotten. The same occurrence was detected in this study as well.

While the locals still continued to meet and gather in this space, probably more than ever, social interactions across different groups exclusively occurred through one of the commercial activities: most frequently having coffee or lunch in one of cafes/restaurants, and furthermore, shopping in stores around the square or taking children to play in outdoor entertainment areas located on the square. Study participants reported that the frequency of watching films in the local movie theater have rapidly decreased in the last decade. Life on the square became uniform, and according to many participants, uneventful and boring. However, different interviewees understood and portrayed this new use of the space differently. While the members of the two oldest generations generally described functionality of the space in a positive manner in the present, generational groups three and four, especially the youngest study participants, found this space as inappropriate for youth to use on an everyday basis. This group required a bigger variety of entertainment activities, and very different ones from those

currently offered. Iskra characterized life and activities on the square: “There is not any content... Minimum substance in all that is happening there. All superficial appearance and no substance.” For this reason, members of the city youth preferred to stay away from the square altogether.

The work of the local political body through space commercialization here is closely tied to the construction of *collective personal memories* of the study participants. Because the rules of the market and economy impacted the square’s functionality and appearance in the present, everyday life that happened in it and memories tied to it were also constructed inside this framework. In other words, stories and impressions of the space changed through commercialization which was hard to separate from experiences of personal everyday life that happened inside this space. Therefore, they will be presented here in relation to each other. *Collective public memories* of this period organized from below were described in connection to involvement in organized events of culture, sport, and entertainment in this space. It is important to notice that events of this nature were primarily organized by local institutions of culture and sport, like different sport societies or tourist organizations, unrelated to the city government. While the local government always needs to approve the event and sometimes even provides partial monetary support, local politicians and political groups are not initiators of these events.

Collective Personal Memories of Place

Local Politics and Space Commercialization: The uncontrollable space commercialization was portrayed by members of all four generations as a real threat to square preservation, and moreover, everyday life on the square. While a majority of them

approved one or the other aspect of this process, lack of regulation of its spatial spread and physical occupation of the whole free area of the square was considered as the biggest threat to normalcy of everyday life. When asked what would be the biggest challenge in square preservation, Slavica explains:

The biggest challenge would be commercialization. You know, we have that billboard located in the corner of this space. I am afraid that the square would become one big billboard, of any kind, electronic or otherwise. Because there is enough space to erect another ten other boards in the space. That would annul the meaning of this square.

Similarly, one of the youngest participants Iskra explains:

Well let's see, I mean our city is a small city, but we are trying to stay afloat and to follow trends, you know, to modernize like all others. You probably noticed that we have that electronic billboard on the square. So my point is, we are going to have more and more occurrences like that. I think that the square will become one huge jungle full of commercials, cafes, and all other similar stuff that supposedly are symbols of modernization, modern life.

For both participants, the billboard represents embodiment of high commercialization that was not accepted well by the citizens. It symbolizes transformation from one type of space to the other, and from one type of life into a different one. For study participants, the future of this place does not look bright. Both interviewees agree that this process would continue in the future and that modernization cannot be stopped. The way memories are constructed in the present is not only tied to the narrator's relationship to the past, but also the narrators' outlook on future life in this place. Here, the installment

of one billboard as a sign of change also represents prophecy of many future changes that will be introduced in this space. Slavica claims that through this act everything the square represents, the city, the culture, the urbanity is and will be terminated. She further explains: "Shopping does not symbolize the city. The city is a theatre, a library, a movie theater, a park, a square. This square represents the city, everything else represents our sleeping quarters." Slavica insists that institutions of culture, situated around the square, should be preserved because they represent the heart of this place. All other programs offered, including commercial ones, should have a secondary role. Another participant addresses the social aspect of the commercialization process and how negatively it reflects on everyday life. Marija explains:

This should not be a place for making money, I mean, for taking money. You know. Because, the square turned into that: a tool for earning money. This place should be one big, free space that you can be in it even without money. It should not cost you anything to be there.

Marija critiques consumerist behavior that dominates this space. To be on the square means to spend money on some of the commercial programs offered. Ivana references the old appearance of this place, when the square was "one big, free space," as the only democratic alternative and version of it. Although she often acknowledges through her narrative that she is a frequent visitor, she does not feel that the space should be utilized in exclusively one way. Another participant, Lola, names this phenomenon "a blackmail," meaning, if she wants to use the space there is only one way to do it; through the act of spending money.

Ivan brings discussion about commercialization to a new and different level. He describes the experience of personal engagement in one of those activities. He argues that being on the square and having coffee there feels like being a mannequin in a shop window:

There is a constant feeling that you are being watched, like in “Big Brother.” I see the square as big a “shop window” because people, even ones who already live there on the square, they all dress up in really nice clothes, go outside and spend one hour drinking coffee, and then they go home... You are there, you know, and you chose to be there, so now you have to bear that pressure and all that looks, people are buzzing like wasps, people are looking all the time. You are a mannequin in that window. And that is what I meant when I said that the square is one big “shop window.”

For Ivan, an act of being on the square is equivalent to participation in a reality show. He characterizes the act as unpleasant. He is bothered by the atmosphere on the square where “everybody watches,” and he does not feel that he can relax and enjoy every time when he is in this place. Through his narrative, the whole square is transformed into a commercial display for people to look, to judge, to evaluate, and comment. He further describes how the pressure often keeps him away from this place. He continues: “As I am getting older, I try to stay away from this place because I love to have my coffee in peace.” His voice is the voice of all other members of the youngest generation, the youth generation, who do not consider the square as a place where you can spend quality time with your friends. With this generation, the square stopped being “the third place” (Oldenburg, 1999) in the city, as it was for all generations before this one. While their

main meeting places are still spatially attached to the square and the city center, as Iskra stated, the square continues to be a gathering place “for lawyers, elite, and for kids.” Her narrative represents her subjective interpretation of this space in the present; it does not portray the real image considering that a variety of people actually gather in the square today, different social groups and class members, people of different ages and economic statuses. However, her own subjective experiences of this place and experiences of her own age group, contributed to her feeling unwelcome and to avoid the square altogether.

Other narratives utilized to portrayed commercialization of this space were the critique of uncontrollable spread of café gardens and children’s entertainment areas throughout this space. Participants agreed that these actions firstly impact free movements of people on the square, but also destroy the square appearance. They found that the main reason for this occurrence was, first and foremost, unstable economic situation and poverty. New businesses, including restaurants and cafes on the square, represent necessary sources of employment for locals. However, study participants agreed that regulations and rules must be established because the square is a public area of the city and it belongs to all citizens. According to interviewees, local governing representatives allowed for public space to be rented by various private parties and local business owners. Therefore, politicians and businessmen were usually held accountable for the lack of regulation on the square. The theme of importance of square preservation was found across narratives, however, study participants were generally pessimistic about the square future. While some of them argued that the damage already done was not irreversible, the majority considered that is only a question of time when even bigger changes will be introduced into this space.

Lola argues:

I do not see that the whole square should be covered with cafes and restaurants.

We cannot allow for businessmen to rent the whole place. I mean, this is not the square today. It is one big cafe. That is, it...

Through her narrative, Lola describes how the spread of cafés substantially changed the square and transformed it into one big café. While her narrative is not fully true, because the cafes barely occupy half of this space, through this exaggerated story she wants to emphasize her personal, subjective experience of severely limited freedoms of movement comparing to how it was before. Lena provides a more accurate narrative of this spatial spread:

The number of chairs in café gardens should be lower, because this passage toward the movie theatre is already blocked. To leave all cafes, there should be cafes on the square. But not so many of them and not in that size, their gardens already occupy one third of the square. That last café, one above the main street, its garden spread across half of the square...

Lena argues that cafes on the square are a necessity, however, they should be reduced in size and number. She provides details about spatial organization of café gardens, describing in which way they limit the movements of people on the square. However, spatial occupation and restriction of use were not the only problems that participants mentioned. Description of visually aggressive and unpleasant appearances described in comparison to how the square looked before the installation of café gardens was often utilized among participants for various reasons. Jovana passionately communicates her own views on the new square appearance:

My personal opinion is that such changes affect the square in a negative way. The square changed a lot from early days when it used to be empty and had only benches in it. It was truly a beautiful place. Today there are all those cafes situated there, and the biggest issue that I have with them are those damn parasols, all colored differently. That drives me crazy, it's disgusting. It's like a thorn in my eye.

Ivan also describes the image of the square:

But when you visit the square what do you see? One café owner has Guarana parasols because Guarana paid him to advertise them, the next owner has Zajecarsko Beer parasols and the one next to him has Tuborg Beer parasols. They offer them 5000 euros so you would use their beer, fridge, glasses and umbrellas. And the owners, how can they say no, I mean 5000 euros annually means a lot. And when you come to the square it all looks like a parasol parade. It's very ugly. And that's why I would completely standardize appearance of it; regulate what is and what is not allowed to be on the square.

Both Jovana and Ivan, members of different generational groups, share the opinion that the appearance of new café gardens is distasteful, especially in comparison to how the square looked before its commercialization. Jovana revokes memories of the square during the era of state socialism, which she describes as a “truly beautiful place.” Her narrative tone and nature of the language used was very emotional, almost like she was talking about the ruin of her own property, home or yard. These feelings of familiarity and intimacy that generations who lived in the time of Yugoslavia developed toward this place were often expressed through participants’ stories. Physical violation of this space

was experienced and understood as a personal insult, or “thorn in my eye.” Moreover, this exact term was utilized by three study participants for similar purposes, usually when they portrayed the commercial appearance of the square today. Ivan describes underlying reasons why café gardens look as they do: café owners try to cut all renting costs and to profit from selling the commercial space to beverage companies. He urges for spatial regulation to be introduced by the local representatives. Later in his narrative, he provided examples how this problem was solved in another similar setting: through regulation and unification of spatial elements, of their sizes, shapes, materials, and colors.

Lola, as Ivan, holds “businessmen” and “café owners” responsible for this act of spatial aggression and she urges that people are the ones who must do something to protect this place. Other participants often blamed the “rich people” and tycoons for the space destruction. Zoran claims: “The square will not lose its importance. However, these new rich men, well, they can obviously do whatever they want. They just take the space, and they earn the money with minimum investment. That should not be allowed.” Zoran, Lola, and others recognized that the groups who caused disorder on the square must be stopped. However, study participants could not identify the right way to do that. Moreover, all participants demonstrated a lack of agency to do anything that would preserve or improve this space in the future. Rista explains:

Many people who live around the square seriously think to leave this place. There is this new way of life forced on us by new arrogant café owners. I told you already, the square lost that intimacy and peace that it once had. Something must be done.

This narrative represents a radical example how citizens who lived on and around the square, especially ones who resided above the café gardens, were defeated by commercialization and severe insufficiency of regulation in this space. Some of them were forced to sell apartments and move from this place because of a noisy and active nightlife. Lack of governmental regulations decreased the quality of life and living standard of people who resided around the square.

While study participants were aware and thoughtful enough to acknowledge that economic hardship and lack of resources forced the square's physical exploitation, government officials were frequently criticized for all the wrong decisions made in connection to the square. Moreover, in collaboration and support of local business owners, politicians were constantly mentioned as the main reason why this space was transformed through severe commercialization. When asked about challenges tied to square preservation, Lena explains:

Well, the number one challenge would be the current government, how they would like to rent every square centimeter of the square. I mean, this problem became a consistency, greed of every new government that comes, how much and how they are going to take. There is a constant need for money, money earned from literally renting plots in the square. The lack of knowledge and consciousness of the local government related to the square, knowledge about its architecture and urbanism in the first place, left us with only the ideology of this place.

Marija also notices:

I mean, they try to keep existing appearance, more or less. But politics plays a crucial role here. And you know, the politics is saturated with, how to put it,

uneducated people. And so on. I feel free to tell that corruption and bribe are the main players in this game. You know... Love and appreciation toward this place disappeared.

These narrative excerpts are two of many found in this study that openly criticize work of the local government body and local politicians as the main instigators of it. Greed and corruption were singled out as the main motives for extensive square renting, and not only of the governments that were there but also governments that are going to come. Therefore, the theme of cultural and moral fall (Spasic, 2012) that occurred in the state after 1990, together with the lack of consciousness and education, were depicted as the underlying reason for negative changes that happened in this space. Moreover, there is a pessimistic outlook toward the future of the square, a belief that nothing can be done to change the current state of this place, which prevailed across all narratives. Older study participants expressed hope that younger generations must and should do something to preserve this place, whereas the youngest participants could not find a reason why they would be involved in such activity. When asked about the future of the square, how they can help with place improvement, a majority of the interviewees were initially willing to engage in different endeavors. However, the conversation would usually end in an atmosphere of disappointment and frustration because of understanding that to change something you have to be actively involved in politics. And no one was willing to do that. When asked about future challenges in this place, one of the youngest study participants, Ivan, argues:

Well the first challenge would be to preserve the square's identity, one that it used to have. When I say identity, I literally mean its construction, materials used, and

everything ... to keep its visual identity. Second would be a social challenge, the square must remain a place for social interaction, an instrument for socialization.

The square is the best instrument for that. Also, we must prevent this pure exploitation and commercialization that is taking place. We should not do everything for the sake of business and profit. The square can be used for some higher cause, maybe invest some money in it that will not result in immediate profit but will provide someone with some knowledge and information, whatever.

To where it's not solely used for exploitation as it is now, only for economic and commercial purpose, but something else ... To change a purpose ...

Ivan evokes memories of times when the square had a different role, when it was a place for socialization and interaction. Although he does not provide details about when the square had and how it lost this role, from his life-story narrative it can be understood that the period mentioned was the one before the space commercialization. Therefore, Ivan considers that the relationship between people in this space, how they interact and relate to each other, changed with the change of space use. He insists that the purpose of the square must be adapted to serve people better, with more events dedicated to education of the citizens, improvement of culture and knowledge. Ivan emphasizes that the square should not be a symbol of monetary exploitation, but a center of culture where people can come to learn, to be educated, and inspired. He stresses how, "With every passing day, we are more and more... I do not know how to put it, what word to use... There is less and less culture in our lives; we are more primitive for sure." Again, the square is used as an image of social and cultural collapse of the local citizenry, but also the example of how actually the same square can be used to change this undesirable position. As he

reflects on the negative aspect of current life on the square, Ivan also provides multiple ideas how this space can be utilized differently in the future:

I would establish public poetry readings, connected with the library, in the evenings. It does not have to be for ten thousand people. It could be for fifty people to participate and to be successful. I would organize the lectures about the city, for the people to... They could learn many things, like, when we started using electricity in this city compared to Vienna? When we installed the first street lights compared to other European cities? How the production of leather in Uzice influenced the stock market in Milan? People are not familiar with all these stories. But, there is just one concert during the year that we organize there, the only manifestation of culture that is happening in this space. So I would like for the square to be... I would like for more people to be involved.

Through this narrative excerpt, Ivan singles out and lists all ways the square can be used to improve the life of locals, but at the same time, to actively engage citizens in the process. He ties all those activities with institutions already situated on the square, like the library or the theater. This way, already existing organizations can use their resources, experience and influence to transform this space and lives of all in it. Ivan talks for a long time about positive improvements that can be done in this space, however, when asked if he is willing to do anything about the issue, he declines. At the time of the interview he was planning to leave the city for good, with explanation:

In order to do something like that, to make changes in this city, you have to be, how should I say it, you have to be bold and crazy but at the same time morally

sound because people will constantly be in your way and try to trip you. I do not want to spend my energy on that. I could, but I won't.

Members of the youth purposively choose not to engage in any future endeavors for multiple reasons. The act of city improvement and also improvement of the square's appearance and life conditions, was not recognized by the youngest study participants as something they should be directly involved in or invest their free time in. Members of the youngest generations generally preferred to start their life in some other place, often in another city, which can offer them more freedom to act, move, learn, and work.

Nevertheless, not all the narratives about the square were portrayed in a negative and pessimistic manner. Members of generational groups one and two, and some members of group three often expressed joy and satisfaction tied to everyday engagement with this space. When asked what this place represents for him today, Milovan, one of the oldest study participants, described how "the square is the place for the better part of the day." He continues his story,

Something is always happening there, and always something beautiful. And I am like an observer that observes, as people would say. Well, maybe I am also a participant in some of those events. Both. I mean, that is how I see this place. For me, a big event is just to cross over the square, that is big event for me. This is the place of beautiful events, in short.

After more than fifty years of its existence, the square still represents the place that causes pleasure and excitement among its users on an everyday basis. Milovan, but also others, finds the beauty in the simple act of crossing over the square, often multiple times during the day. When asked to summarize the meaning that this place carries for him, he

purposely chooses to forget all negatives that happened here and to portray the splendor of everyday life in this space. Milovan further explains how he engages the square when alone, but also, spends quality time there with his family members. In other words, he is an observer but also a user of this space. He continues his narrative,

But every time I am in this place, with my son, the other son, granddaughter or daughter-in-law, I feel like I am walking by the river. This place relaxes me. You know, that kind of feeling. I just enjoy this ambience. And like an idiot, I admire the same thing over and over again. I look at that bush, how it grew, and I am astonished: Wow, this is so beautiful!

Although he has lived in this city all his life, Milovan is still repeatedly amazed about every detail of this place: the appearance of it and activities in which he engages alone or in the company of others. Enthusiasm that he often expressed through his life-story narrative about this place is tied to his admiration of the whole square project from the point of view of an architect. A big part of his story was portrayed through detailed descriptions of specific spatial elements of the square that he found successfully designed and organized. He compares the square's ambience to the atmosphere of natural settings, because it causes the same emotion as being in nature.

Members of generational group two also expressed satisfaction initiated by the opportunity to use this space on an everyday basis. When asked about the current life on the square, Milica states, "When I decide to go out – I always go out on the square first," and Dusan responds,

I don't know, I mean, I use it every day of the year. For me, a daily walk from Omladinska Street (home) up to the square is an ideal route. I take a walk to the

square and I usually run into someone I know. Anyway, I frequently walk to the square and I sit in one of garden cafés, maybe have an ice cream or two... I go there often, pretty much every day.

The role of the square in everyday life of older citizens is important, it can be said that it is even crucial to sustain healthy and wholesome existence in this city. For this generation the square visits became rituals, small everyday acts around which afternoons and evenings are organized. Milica and Dusan prefer to visit this location first during their evening walks. Sometimes, this place is a thoroughfare only, but often it is the target location to visit, and to have dinner or ice cream. The square today is the central place where members of this group can socialize, see and meet others, and engage in conversation. Slavica explains how this place perfectly fits into her current life style,

I mean, the square today is exactly what I think it should be. Made for my needs... People rarely visit each other at home today. And this is a great place to meet friends, to have coffee, talk, without taking too much time from each other.

You do not have to clean the house, to cook, prepare everything for guests.

Instead, we can have coffee there, and that is great.

Slavica clarifies that the way of life before completely changed in the present. People do not visit each other at home anymore; the square overtook the role of the meeting place. Located in the central part of the city, a crossroad of main pedestrian paths, the square is the most convenient place for all group members to gather. Jovana, a member of generational group three, provides a similar description on life in this place:

After 2008, my graduation, the square is the main gathering place for me. Place to meet some dear and important people in my life, and sometimes even my business

partners. Again, I still think that “all roads to happiness lead over the square.”

Today we all are really busy and often do not have a time to meet each other, to make arrangements, but you know that you are going to meet them on the square for sure.

Like Slavica, Jovana understands that the current pace of life does not allow people to see each other often. However, the square still carries a vital role in her social life. It represents the location, almost like a safe place, where she knows she will find her friends. Moreover, the square has had this role throughout her whole life and this tradition only continues in the present as well. This theme of the square as a constant, something that unifies past, present, and the future, is probably one of the most powerful themes found in this study. Although many study participants provided negative projections about the future of this place, the beautiful images from the square portrayed throughout their narratives indicate the importance of this place in the lives of its visitors. A sense of comfort and familiarity, attachment to this place that prevails through stories demonstrates the hidden significance, even power, which this place carries in the lives of its users. Jovana describes her favorite ritual and an image from the square:

Saturday mornings, those are my favorite. It is not crowded, city workers washing the square, during those moments only the most diligent ones are outside. They wake up early, go to the local farmer’s market, and they stop there to get some rest and to refresh on their way back home. The rest of the city sleeps. The square is the most beautiful in that period, and yes, when it’s sunny. It is really beautiful when it’s sunny outside. The city is waking up, for me that’s like, that image is just remarkable.

People have utilized this space often in the same way, through same/similar public ways but also private everyday rituals. They participated in communication and transmission of experiences gained through those events. As a consequence, their narratives were often portrayed in a strikingly similar manner in this study. Occasionally stories told, like Jovana's here, conveys personal significance and meaning that expresses part of the identity tied to this place that belongs only to her.

Incidents of Hostility on the Square: Different acts of aggression and violence were mentioned on multiple occasions through participants' narratives tied to this period. Although started in the 1990s, these incidences have become almost everyday occurrences on the square in the present. Unsurprisingly, the youngest generations addressed this issue more frequently due to regularity of use of this space and personal involvement. Older participants would usually talk about this matter in relation to lack of safety on the square, but also as a critique of behaviors of the younger generations in this space. They would frequently utilize narratives of comparison: how safe and secure the space was before and how dangerous and threatening it could be in the present. While stories of violence were not dominant across all 20 life-stories collected, change in behaviors that appeared in this space in the 1990s and which continue to exist today signifies important illustrations of changes of life in this place. Moreover, those narratives also represent portrayal of how hostile activities, when repeated frequently, can become societal normalcy up to the point that users of the space stop detecting them. The youngest study participants usually portrayed those events from the perspective of observers who were personally present when actions took place.

Milica describes her attitudes about the safety of this place:

It was incredibly safe to be on the square in my time, between the 1970s and 1980s. It was like you were in your own backyard. Nothing, I mean, all the time during day and night. Like my neighbor would like say: “You could sleep on the bench on the square, nobody would take your wallet.” But literally, I mean, nobody would... What is today, I mean... To be honest, I do not go out during the night, so to know what is going on there. I mean, I stay sometimes a little bit longer in the night... But I really think that it is not so safe there today. It is not safe actually.

Although she was not using this space during the time of the day when acts of hostility usually happened, Milica expresses her concern about the safety of this place during the nighttime. As many times before, behaviors occurred during the period of Yugoslavia were utilized as example of normalcy, or how people should act when in a public area. To explain how safe this place was, Milica uses the radical example of how locals could sleep on the square bench without anybody harming them in any way. Another member of this generational group, Lola, introduces the story of an event that recently took place to illustrate how different life was before and after the decade of the 1990s. Lola describes,

I heard recently, a concert was on the square, I am not sure when it happened exactly. And somebody tossed a bottle and hit the singer in the head. I cannot even imagine that. I was not even part of that act; however, I was ashamed. That was awful. Before, you wouldn't see people behave badly in public. And today, children drink alcohol and then use bottles to hit singers with them. That is horrible...

Lola builds her whole life-story on continuous comparisons between the life in this place during the period of Yugoslavia and today. This tremendous change, as she experienced it, was constantly highlighted throughout her entire narrative. The personal event of her relocation from the apartment on square where she lived more than twenty-five years to another place that happened at the end of the 1980s when she got married, caused her narrative to be constructed in this way. Here, Lola provides concrete examples of completely opposite types of behaviors which happened in the same space. She insinuates how the same society can produce rigorously different actions in only 20 years' difference. In the rest of her narratives, not presented here, she delivers multiple examples what concerts looked like earlier in order to highlight this change. She did not experience this event personally, however, severity of it made her to remember and reproduce it for the purposes of this study.

Younger participants narrated events that they personally experienced in this place, usually fights between different groups but also incidents that involved them personally. When asked about negative events from the square, Marija describes,

If we want to focus more on one particular event, maybe negative event would be one fight that I witnessed there. Everything happened very fast. But, that could be seen often, really, really often today on the square. Really often. It was late at night; we were coming back from the club, around one-two a.m. That happened five or six years ago. One group of adolescent boys, they were beating one, only one boy. He was alone. And there were five of them. And all the people around, them were just standing there in shock. All of us were too afraid to step in, to react, nothing... I remember, all cafes around the square were closing down. And

the waiters from cafes, they were cleaning the tables, and all of them ran outside. One of them called the police and ambulance. And all the people there were completely in shock, speechless. You realized in that moment that you were not safe anymore, no security. You couldn't go over the square safely anymore. And, these kinds of events happen frequently. I mean, you realized that you are not safe in the center of the city, on the square. Safety, in that big and beautiful space, was lost.

Marija recalls the memory of the event that she experienced for the first time in this space. While she claims that street fights have become regular occurrence on the square today, it was shocking for her when she initially witnessed it. Moreover, her understanding that she is not capable to do anything to help, that herself and all the others completely lost control to act in this space was an awakening experience for her. Before this event, the square was a secure "big and beautiful" space, free of aggression and hostility. However, this act changed her understanding and image of everyday life in this space forever. The idea of the square as a sanctuary was crushed through direct participation in an event, but also through understanding that the power to act in this space was gone.

A member of generational group three; Milan, describes similar events that took place in this space. However, the tone of his narrative is completely different than Marija's. He is not surprised, nor overly upset with the event he witnessed. Because of the increased frequency of those occurrences on the square, he does not identify this event as unusual or uncommon. He explains:

I don't have a negative event... well I do, I have one. One, involving some unfamiliar actors and in which I took part only as a silent observer. But you know, it was like, how shall I put it, a transfer of unpleasantness. Something you witness; some unpleasant scene and you absolutely should not be affected but somehow you were. This was some four-five years ago. In any case, there were a few guys approximately my age, maybe older or perhaps younger, three-four years above or below my age. And it all started with these stray dogs... So these dogs were roaming around the square, barking at these guys and the guys were teasing and provoking them until one of the dogs' kind of attacked one guy and the he, in return, kicked the dog. And that's when an old man asked them if they had anything better to do. So they started arguing and taunting the man and in the end they beat him up. I mean they didn't beat him badly, but still, they beat the older man. That picture somehow got engraved in my mind. There are many images like that from the square. That is why I told myself: You need to leave this town.

For Milan, this event is just one of many similar events that were happening; still are, on the square. However, he found this particular act unpleasant because the older person was the victim of the conflict, the older man who tried to protect the animals wandering around the square. Later in the interview, Milan acknowledges that street fights were regular occurrences almost throughout his whole youth in this place. When I asked how often these disturbing events happened, he explains, "It happens quite a lot actually, frequently, mandatory weekend occurrence. Pretty common sight during my high school years. These days less, but it still happens. This is the center of the city, life happens

here.” Milan grew up in this kind of atmosphere, and furthermore, he does not possess the reference of the previous times in this place. For him, the square actually represents a blend of various events of different natures, the good ones and the bad ones, that were performed there at the same time. Only his personal experience, direct participation in them, determined how the events were remembered and interpreted in the present. Milan clarifies that everything that is prevalent in people’s lives, also becomes visible on the square. He finishes his narrative: “All that comes from some sort of identity crisis that we are in, that is always very visible on the square.” Here, as shown many times before, the square is the reflection of the real life of local society, with all their problems, issues, conflicts, and crisis.

Collective Public Memories of Place – Organized from Below

Events of Culture, Sport, and Entertainment: Based on study participants’ reports, the list of events that were organized for entertainment purposes of the locals in this space increased during this period. Except for the previously mentioned public New Year’s celebration, annual National Festival of Theatre, different musical concerts, concerts of local professional folk dance assemblies, and sport tournaments, few additional events are offered to Uzice’s citizens in the present. The most popular and largest in size is the International Children’s Folklore Festival “Licidersko Srce,” which started to happen in this space in 2009 and through time it only gained in popularity, size, and attendance. During seven days in second part of every August, this festival gathers children from all around world. In 2017, more than 7000 children ages ten to sixteen from more than forty countries around the world including: France, Germany, Poland, Turkey, Latvia, Egypt, Columbia, Brazil, Costa Rica, India, Russia, China, etc., participated in this event. Local

in character when organized for the first time, the festival gained popularity through the years. Furthermore, this event put Uzice and Partisans' Square back on the tourist map of Serbia. Free of charge, it is available for everybody to come enjoy multiple shows throughout the day. Moreover, during the seven days of the festival multiple workshops and different humanitarian fundraising activities are organized on the square. Other important events that study participants mentioned were: high school Graduation Dance, Literary Festival "Na pola puta," different promotions of local schools, and activities of the local student organizations.

While a majority of the study participants described these events in a favorable and positive manner, they also criticized some aspects of it. Interviewees urged that the city needs more events of culture that will be open for all on the square, especially during the summer. Everything that costs money immediately excludes involvement of a large number of people due to high unemployment rates and extremely low wages. Dusan notices, "For example, this theatre festival that is happening in the fall, we have to keep that happening. And we need much more, more different cultural events there, as much as we can get and attract." People understand that the events of culture are an essential ingredient of everyday lives of all societies; study participants of all four generational groups noticed that. However, when a high price tag is attached to it, events of culture became a privilege that only few can afford. While a majority of the mentioned events are free of charge, National Festival of Theatre is described as expensive for the average citizen. Zoran explains,

And all events, all shows that happen in the theater during the festival are important. Beautiful and important events. However, I always do quick

calculation and I determine soon after that I cannot afford it. Same thing every year. The set of tickets is 8000 dinars (80 dollars). People who love theatre very much, they can afford it for sure. They want to pay that much for the tickets. I go through my bills, and I know that I can put that money into something more practical. Last year, my refrigerator broke. So I had to buy a new one; no money for the theatre. But, if theater shows are to be performed on the square, and for a greater number of people, you can charge 100 dinars per ticket and still earn lots of money. And that is something that everybody can afford.

This festival is the oldest and biggest theater festival in the state. Every year it attracts the most prominent theater shows, directors, and actors from Serbia, but also from all other ex-Yugoslavia states. While Zoran acknowledges the importance and beauty of this event for the citizens, he also emphasizes how only theater enthusiast can afford tickets today. Officially, the average monthly salary of Serbian citizen is around 350 dollars, however, it is a completely normal occurrence that only one grown up family member is employed. To give 80 dollars on festival tickets is impossible for many. Zoran democratic option for the festival: relocation of theater shows on the square where it can reach bigger masses of people, and with cheaper ticket prices, many would be able to see it. For some study participants, this annual event carries great personal meaning. It represents an occasion that they are waiting for throughout the whole year. Slavica, professor of literacy and Serbian language in the local high school, explains,

The theater festival carries significance for me personally. November is dark and rainy here in Uzice, it can be really horrible. So, those 7 days bring some kind of new light into our lives every time. A few of my friends and me, for years now,

we regularly attend the festival. And after the show, every evening, we go to the same place to have a coffee and talk about what we witnessed. I mean, it is often hard to afford the tickets for all shows, but so far, we managed somehow. And the that whole ritual, meeting with friends, watching different performances, the whole atmosphere, well, I am happy now when I talk about it.

She also acknowledges that it can be hard to find money to pay for the festival tickets. However, for Slavica, this organized event is the most important occurrence of culture that happened throughout the year. And for her, it is not only about watching the shows, but also about learning, socializing, friendship, and the creative atmosphere that revolves around this event.

Few members of the youngest generational group of this study are affiliates of the local student activist body that acts in this space. They gather and work on the square; they organize fundraisings for different local causes, they organize sport tournaments, and different volunteering activities. This place provides them visibility, but also the opportunity to reach a greater number of people and to spread their own agenda throughout the city in the fastest and most effective way. However, as few study participants noticed, student organizations in the city are not supported enough by the local government body. Mila describes,

I think that student organizations can help a lot; we can be of help for many righteous causes. However, those people in charge... They are not really in the mood to help us, to work with us and for us. So, we tried to organize a fundraising volleyball tournament on the beach. We had our stand that we had to put on the square, with flyers and all the information about the event, you know, to sell

tickets there. We had to pay 1000 dinars to municipality to do that, to get permission to put the stand on the square. And we were all volunteering; we organized everything, we printed everything, we made the stand, and then the local government... Instead of helping, to contribute for the right cause, they asked us to pay. And we had to do it because the communal police would destroy us.

These collective events and actions, organized by local students, are important because they are novice occurrences that only started to happen on the square in the last ten years. They are completely self-organized, bottom-up, without any kind of finances or funds available to support them. However, as Mila explains; their work is often discouraged and challenged by the local government and the political body. All participants of the study, not only the youngest ones, noticed that local government hardly wants to be involved in any events on the square that does not bring profits to the municipality. And that is one of many reasons why the members of the city youth feel that they do not belong in the city. They do not see their future there: moreover, they are confident that their energy and activism could be put to better use somewhere else. Ivan mentioned multiple times through his narrative that he feels like Don Quixote that constantly fights windmills when he tries to do something, to change something, to be involved in one of these activities.

CHAPTER V

Discussion

In *The City of Collective Memory*, Boyer (1996) states: “Architecture and city monuments can become artifacts and traces that connect the past with the present in imaginative and inventive ways and help to build a sense of community, culture, and nation” (p. 309). Memories are not about the past only, but the past in the present and the relationship between the two through time. In this study, through the process of autobiographical storytelling study participants constructed their identity by relating past, present, and future to this place. Partisans’ Square as a physical constant, one of the rare city artifacts preserved for almost 70 years and actively used on a daily basis, became a theater of change the whole society has lived through. Different images of life; good and bad, were recollected in relation to events which happened and acts performed in this space. Halbwachs (1980) explains how all memories are recalled from outside, meaning that the environment in which one resides offers different means for memories to be reconstructed in the eternal present. Therefore, life of the locals and life of nations, can be understood through examination of memories of public spaces. Lefebvre (1992) argues that place is a social construct: it is created as a symbol of specific cultural, historical, political, and economical circumstances. However, when designed and erected, public places also shape our everyday lives. Societies design public spaces and public spaces design memories that we live by.

According to Esin, Fathi, and Squire (2013), storytelling operates “dialogically between the personal and the surrounding sociosocio-spatial worlds that produce,

consume, silence, and contest them” (p. 204). Tellers draw on individual but also cultural narratives when constructing their autobiographies. McAdams (2001) argues that life-stories always reflect cultural values and norms, which differs from one setting to another. Moreover, Halbwachs (1980) emphasizes how the construction of collective memories of the group is highly dependent on the cultural context which the group occupies. Therefore, understanding the specific historical, social, cultural, political, and economic research contexts and how this set of *power relations* operates between each other was the key to understanding how the narratives of this place were constructed. In this study, the political and economic power forces that acted through this space had a critical role in how life-stories were shaped, displayed, re-negotiated, and later on, analyzed. During the early stage of this research, data collection process, I recognized that the nature of the narratives told by three of the oldest generational groups were astonishingly similar. Moreover, how they were portrayed, through two opposing discourses of life before the 1990s as positive and during and after this decade as negative, which indicated that the event or set of events that took place in between these two distinct periods were critical for identity formation of the locals. Zerubavel (2004) named this type of life-stories “rise-and-fall” narratives, meaning that originally a story of success “following some unfortunate event suddenly turns into one of decline” (p. 19). The “progressive” narratives (Gergen & Gergen, 1988), in this study portrayed as narratives of prosperity, stability, and good life tied to a period of Yugoslavia, was followed by rapid “regressive” narratives of moral, cultural, social, and political decline after the state dissolution. When study participants of the three oldest generational groups, would describe how “satisfying, good, beautiful, free” life in this space was

before; they would frequently utilize opposing narratives about the present in order to portray life *after* the 1990s as the turning point. By using this way of telling, interviewees wanted to emphasize how radically life in this place and in the state, had changed.

Found phenomenon is a good example of how memories are constructed in the present, to meet our present needs. Process remembering always starts in the present: memories are first recognized and then reconstructed based on a current set of circumstances of an individual and group to which one belongs (Halbwachs, 1992). Nostalgic narratives of life in this place during the era of state socialism are not only stories about the past, but at the same time, they were primarily utilized as critiques of life led in the present. Moreover, Spasic (2012) states that narratives of this specific past also represents “affirmation of old social values, now neglected and abandoned” (p. 586). Study participants employed this way of storytelling when describing how everyday life behaviors on the square started to change when the state entered into the decade of the 1990s. The best example of this occurrence was portrayed through narratives of violence, hostility, aggression, or just rude and immoral behavior that this decade produced and which continued into the present. Study participants usually negatively criticized behaviors of children and youth in this space, but also other layers of society; frequently claiming how it was impossible to experience these acts on the square during the era of Yugoslavia. Also, frequency of hostile narratives in space significantly increased in the period from year 2000 to present. While only three interviewees noticed this behavioral change during the decade of the 1990s, more than two thirds of the participants, including the youngest generation, addressed the issues tied to the last period of the state. The narratives of the decade of the 1990s portrayed more brutal acts, including killings and

deaths on the square and stories of the present usually involved descriptions of frequent street fights only.

The undesirable situation that participants find themselves in today, made narratives of the future in this place to be portrayed in a negative manner as well. Current activities and actions performed on the square were often described boring, uniform, and uneventful and often extremely limiting to the everyday square user. High commercialization of this space reduced freedom of movement for all society members. Therefore, looking from the position of a negative present, study participants could not find a reason why the already initiated exploitation and destruction of the space for the sake of profit would not continue in the future. Memories and identities constructed here through storytelling of self are not about the past and present only but also how the two are connected to the teller's idea of the future. The future of the square described in this study is a future of "even worse" (Spasic, 2012, p. 587); which can be tied to complete loss of agency to act in this space, to help improve and preserve the square from attacks of power representatives.

The theme of the decade of the 1990s as a "turning point" (Zerubavel, 2004), "breaking point" (Spasic, 2012), or point of rapture of all previously constructed social frameworks of behaviors in Post-Socialist Serbia was found across multiple studies. Spasic (2012) argues that "normalcy of life abandoned us" (p. 581) in the 1990s, and furthermore, "this situation" (Jansen, 2005), "great fall" (Simić, 2013), and "abnormal behaviors" (Greenberg, 2011) took over the place of what was formerly known as normal life. While a majority of these studies examines the polarity of narratives tied to the period of Socialism comparing to period of Post-Socialism, I found that the political

powers acted differently in this space during the period of the 1990s compared to the period after year 2000. While the era of state socialism was portrayed as a period of unity, communal rituals, acts, and performances in this space, the decade of the 1990s was described as a period of disruptions and separation of an individual from one collective. The key to understanding differences between all three historical periods and how the memories were constructed differently through each one of them; is to understand how groups were formed and how they acted in this public space. In other words, interviewees' memories were, first and foremost, impacted by *power relations* that acted differently through three distinct historical periods, but also, by *group membership* they declared themselves to be a part of. Halbwachs (1980) argues that a person remembers only by situating himself within the viewpoint of one or several groups and one of several currents of thoughts. Moreover, group membership provides materials for memories and pushes the individual into recalling particular events and into forgetting others. McAdams argues that life-stories echo group attitudes in society and reflect "prevailing patterns of hegemony if economic, political, and cultural, context wherein human lives are embedded" (McAdams, 1996, p. 307). During the period of Yugoslavia, there was no separation between *us* and *them* inside this space. The motives of inclusion and equality of all subgroups that performed in this space represented dominating narratives connected to this period of the state. While the citizens were members of different organizations, like Tito's Pioneers or the communist youth, all of them were approved and organized by the government and all of them worked for the same goal – the idea of the "brotherhood and unity" of the whole nation. Moreover, expressed feelings of belonging and togetherness developed through both public and

private performances in this space were dominating themes found throughout narratives of this era. The decade of the 1990s was portrayed by study participants as the departure, voluntarily and forced, of the individual from the collective. Disturbances that erupted throughout the state, started to be visible on the square as well. The whole region went through political transformation: from communist and socialist monism into democratic multiparty system. Thus, the greatest conflicts on the square were political in nature. Consequently, political groups and politicians became the *other* in this space. Additionally, participants described in a negative manner local businessmen and tycoons who abused chaos of this decade to slowly transform the space into a commercial center of the city. This way, spread of commercial activities physically limited freedom of movement, but also caused uniformity of behaviors where to be in this space meant to engage in an act of consumerism. The same classification of the *other* in space was found in participants' narratives of the last period of the state; from the year 2000 until present. While the state politics ceased to preform and act in this space, as well as political opposition, study participants developed antagonism and resentment toward the local politicians that were found as solely responsible for the square's commercial abuse. Therefore, on one side there were just, honest, sincere, moral citizens not able to act or to improve and protect the space and on the other; there were corrupt, dishonest, uneducated, local politicians and tycoons, who protected only their own selfish interests. It rarely happened that study participants would take over part of the responsibility for the state in which the square is today due to complete passivism and lack of agency to act. To actively engage in square protection, a citizen needed to be at least partially politically active. However, locals who participated in this study were not ready to engage in this

activity because, as they defined it, it was a “pointless” activity and you had to be really “crazy” to spend your energy on that. This phenomenon of deliberate separation of regular citizens from the ruling political body was also found in other studies. Spasic and Biresev (2012b) found that the politicians were recognized as universal “bad guys” in Serbia today, and as a consequence, a majority of the participants did not want to be part of that group.

While memories are tied to the experiences of the group to which a person belongs, groups can often produce memories in individuals that they never experienced in a direct sense (Halbwachs, 1980). Assmann (2008) defines communicative memory as memory constructed primarily through everyday interaction and communication of three consecutive generations which normally reaches no further back than eighty to hundred years. In this study, I purposively selected study participants based on belonging to a specific age cohort or “generation,” expecting that narratives of these four groups would differ tied to portrayal of events that happened in this place. In 1928, Mannheim (1997) introduced the concept of generational memory, based on the impression that there appears to be critical period for the construction of people’s identity tied to adolescence and young adulthood. McAdams life-story model of identity, rooted in work of Erikson (1994a, 1994b), also assumes that narratives and therefore identities, differ based on the developing life stage of the individual. While slight differences were found across fifteen narratives of generation one, two and three, memories of the youngest generation were found significantly different in its nature. I found that the key reason for that lies in *personal participation*, or lack thereof, tied to the specific part of the history here described as life in Yugoslavia that evolved in this space. The oldest participants usually

described it as “our” history. While the three oldest generational cohorts possess memories of prosperity and good life in this place, which were often utilized as a comparison of current undesirable life, the only personal experience that the youngest generation had was of life in the decade of the 1990s and after in this space. If all four generations of this study actually constitute the backdrop of Assmann’s proposed framework of communicative memory, how transmission of these memories was carried out from one generation to other exclusively depends on personal experience of specific political powers and how they acted in this space. In other words, transmission of collective memories between generations one, two, and three that had lived in the same political systems significantly differs compared to transmission of the same memories of members in group four who do not possess firsthand experiences of life in Yugoslavia in this space. Understanding and interpretation of memories that were communicated to them only depended on their own context, knowledge, experience, and their own personal worldview. These differences will be explained next.

How Generations Remember

From the moment this research began, few studies were completed in connection to generational remembering throughout ex-Yugoslavia territory. Some of them investigated memories of multiple consecutive generations (Palmberger, 2016), others studied only one particular generation like “last pioneers” (Popovic, 2016) or “last Yugoslav generation” (Volcic, 2007a). In this study, four generations are defined not only as objective cohorts based on the year of birth, but are organized based on historico-political periods that individuals of different groups have lived through. They are treated not as passive consumers of the experiences that happened in the square, but rather as

groups actively involved in meaning interpretation of life in this place. Through examination of the data, I found one thing that separated narratives of different generations was the presence of personal experiences of life during the period of Yugoslavia on Partisans' Square. In other words, nature of stories told about life in this place divides participants into only two (generational) categories: Yugoslavs and Post-Yugoslavs. While the minor differences were found across stories of fifteen participants that belong to the first cohort, these two groups portrayed life in this space in a dissimilar manner.

The most important theme found across narratives of the Yugoslavs group is overly positive, enthusiastic, and often extremely nostalgic stories told about life on the square during socialist period of the state. Representation of those events as positive can be tied to understanding of life in Yugoslavia as a good one (Spasic, 2012). Overall feelings of safety, social security, economic well-being, higher moral and cultural values influenced the narratives to be portrayed in this manner. Government organized events, but also everyday private life, were depicted by study participants as a "normal life," something which was preferred as desirable in the present. Socialists past or "what used to be" in this place represented a model; a "normative instance" (Spasic, 2012, p. 580), of better times that should serve as an example of how present is supposed to be lived. Therefore, these stories are not only warm reminiscences of the past, but at the same time, critiques of life led in the present. Furthermore, positive attitudes toward collectiveness, togetherness, and teamwork, which was extremely visible through organized public activities in this space, prevailed as a dominating sentiment found in narratives of the three oldest generations. The ability of the whole society to organize

itself in this manner was highly admired by tellers looking from the position of the present when everything is “separated, divided, segmented” and when teamwork does not exist anymore.

The other theme found throughout narratives of the Yugoslav group was a lack of critical discourse about experiences of organized public events that happened on the square during the era of state socialism. All occurrences of this nature, like the Youth Day Parade or Fires of Uzice’s Republic, were described by using similar language. Participation in these events was “phenomenal, beautiful, full of positive emotions,” however, almost no one mentioned the non-voluntary nature of it. Interviewees occasionally and unconsciously revealed how they “had to” be on the square, but the event portrayed was still described in positive manner. And not only that, the act of being present on the square and to participate in these spatial ceremonies was understood, interpreted, and described as a thing of honor and pride. Political monism, repression and lack of political freedoms during the socialist period of the state, was mentioned only once, shyly and cautiously, at the time of the interviews. Furthermore, portrayal of organized public ceremonies not as events tied to political powers, but as events of culture and sport, also shows the nature of understanding of those events among study participants.

The first time events which happened on the square were marked as political was in relation to the decade of the 1990s in this place. Similarly, narratives about this period were similar across all members of the oldest generational groups. Older study participants frequently criticized politicians that performed in this space, both the government and political opposition, because they all manipulated and deceived people.

The political governance of the infamous Slobodan Milosevic's political party was described in completely the same manner as democratic political forces that started to organize in this decade. Occasionally, participants criticized the lack of political awareness and complete confusion of all citizens during the decade of the 1990s. Because of political ignorance, study participants felt that all of them had easily allowed themselves to be manipulated into conflict that expressed itself in this space as well. When political rallies stopped being mandatory, a majority of the interviewees discontinued participation in all of them.

Although all three of the oldest generations provided similar narratives throughout all three historical periods defined in this study, life-stories of this place and the way they were told by generation three differs slightly from other narratives. This generation was 12-15 to 22-15 years old in the decade of 1990s, therefore, they spent their most important formative years in an atmosphere of state dissolution, wars, severe political, economic and social decline. This generation started their adult life and professional life in the period of transition and harsh economic conditions within newly founded ex-Yugoslav states. While generational groups one and two lived a big part of their lives in Yugoslavia, generation three or the "Last-Yugoslavs" were brought up on utopian stories of a prosperous future in this state, however, they never had a chance to really live it. Spasic (2012) argues that what the socialist system in Yugoslavia had, and what obviously neoliberal capitalist system is lacking in, is utopia – a collectively constructed optimism of a better future. When the war and other disturbances started in the state, that was exactly what was taken from this generation: collective hope of a better life. This Yugoslavian utopian narrative was not real, it was constructed and disseminated through

every pore of society to serve multiple purposes, however, the feeling of loss was real and still is today. Furthermore, it actively influenced collective identities of this generation and their understanding of the social reality in the present (Spasic, 2012; Volcic, 2007b). In this study, almost all childhood narratives provided by generation three were tied to observation or participation in organized public rituals on the square. Moreover, the Pioneers Initiations and other activities tied to this group were described exclusively in a favorable, enthusiastic, and often overly nostalgic manner. Two members of this group were the only ones that cried on multiple occasions when talking about life during childhood in this space. Moreover, the feeling of pride and fulfillment portrayed through these narratives was often mixed with underlying feelings of shame tied to experiences of socialist/communist childhoods. The language of humor was often utilized by members of this generation to disguise the stigma attached to this particular history.

Interestingly, the number of studies dedicated to generational remembering on the territory of former Yugoslavia that specifically focus' on narratives of "Last-Yugoslavs" or "last pioneers" is currently expanding. This generation is currently in the life phase that can access this phenomenon in a critical manner and often through scholarly research; to try to explain robust but often confusing, bewildering, ambivalent memories that they possess about this part of their lives. This dissertation is one of many works undertaken.

Compared to nostalgic narratives of generation three, stories of this place of post-Yugoslavs were portrayed in a different way. Events that occurred on the square during the socialist period of the state were something that happened to their parents or grandparents. Regardless of their feelings toward life in Yugoslavia, memories of this

period were not constructed through personal experience but through transmission of memories of group elders (family, friends, school teachers, etc.) to them. Therefore, memories of post-Yugoslavs were revised and reconstructed according to their own environment, their life style, social context, education, awareness, etc. Rothberg suggests for multidirectional understanding of memory: “generations borrow, cross-reference, and negotiate individual and shared past in finding their narratives, and therefore constructing their identities” (Rothberg, 2009, p. 3). The first time memories of this generation were introduced in this study was when discussion opened about Tito’s monument reinstatement. All members of this generational group were born after 1990, therefore no one personally experienced Tito’s monument on the square. While all of them mentioned the monument and the removal of it, stories told were impersonal, they lacked in emotion and enthusiasm. Collective memories of this event were transmitted to them, however, they do not carry any personal significance or strong emotions. All five members of this group shared the opinion that any political figures should not act or be placed, in the shape of monument, in the open public space because all those spaces are symbols of freedom, happiness, leisure and fun. Moreover, they often utilized language of humor, often making fun of inherited memories of events that are not part of their own personal lived history. This is an excellent example of how memories were communicated from one generation to another. Palmberger (2016) argues that “transferred memories are scrutinized, contextualized, and selectively adopted to accommodate personal worldviews” (p. 225). Furthermore, Wertsch (2002) claims: “Just because someone is exposed to a cultural tool – and just because she has mastered it – does not guarantee that she has appropriated it as an identity resource” (p. 120). Narratives of political events that

took place on the square during the period of Yugoslavia were not a source of identity for post-Yugoslavs. Moreover, narrative tactics that they employed were characterized by the depoliticizing of their lives in this place. This process of distancing from the past, here both a positive past of Yugoslavia but also a negative past of the 1990s, is a common occurrence of the youngest generations who try to construct positive self-identification in the present (Palmberger, 2016, p. 216). Post-Yugoslavs, as all other participants, often criticized current behaviors visible on the square, lack of opportunities to act, and to engage this space in various manners. However, this generation never utilized examples of behaviors performed during the period of Yugoslavia as an illustration of how life should look like in this space.

Historical Contexts, Question of Power, and Construction of Collective Memories

I roughly categorized all memories in this study as *public* and *personal collective memories* through all three historical periods of the state, consciously recognizing that this classification to be one of many ways collected life-story narratives can be interpreted. To do this, I relied on available literature, but more important, the nature of the data gathered tied to the specific context of this research. Public collective memories are defined as memories constructed through participation in different organized events or rituals, organized from *above* or *below*; and private collective memories are memories constructed through participation in everyday practices of groups that are family or friends. Olick (1999) argues that we have to keep in mind that memory occurs in public and private, “at the tops of societies and at the bottoms, as reminiscence and as commemoration, as personal testimonial and as national narrative, and that each of these forms is important” (p. 346). This specific categorization helped me understand that

similar events that happened in the same space through time can be remembered in different ways, all depending on the nature of the narratives groups constructed around them at the time the events happened but also at the time when the stories were retold. Furthermore, how the events are recalled and also how they are narrated in the present, can tell us a lot about the nature of life that happened in a specific historical period. Understanding of individual, private, collective, collected, social, public memories is still very different throughout many fields that study this subject. Here, I embraced Olick's (1999) argument that we have to be open and conscious about a variety of mnemonic processes, practices and outcomes and how they are related to each other.

While we know that all events are remembered and interpreted in the present based on the social frameworks in which we live and function, in this study *collective* also means that events recalled were experienced through group activity in this space. In other words, participants not only remembered as a part of some social group, a group which shared values, interests, history, etc., but they constructed memories through physical engagement with this space as a part of one or many groups at the same time. Olick argues: "Accounts of the collective memory of any group or society are usually accounts of the memories of some subset of the group, particularly of those with access to the means of cultural production or whose opinions are more highly valued" (Olick, 1999, pp. 338–339). More powerful groups that acted in this space, like state government, unsurprisingly had bigger control over memory construction than some other groups that performed there at the same time. A good example of this occurrence can be detected in this study as well. During the era of Yugoslavia memories were primarily constructed under the influence of socialist/communist governance and frequent rituals in this space

organized by this party. However, during the last fifteen years when the rules of market economy completely changed the life of the locals in this space, the way memories were constructed and what was remembered changed to fit a relating life style.

Study participants rarely reported that they spend any time alone in this space. Partisans' Square is first and foremost a social place, gathering and meeting space. Locals do not go there to work or read a book, but to meet others. When asked about spiritual experiences in this space, Jovana described: "Spiritual? To be spiritual is to be alone. I am alone when I am in woods or nature. The square is not a particularly spiritual place... or maybe it is, if you consider the beauty of companionship as a spiritual thing." For Jovana and others the square is the urban center of the city, a place to share with others through some pleasurable and sometimes not so pleasurable actions.

Collective Memories Tied to the Period 1945-1990

As already presented in the Findings chapter, during the era of state socialism all collective memories reported were categorized in *collective public memories* organized from *above* and *collective private memories* (see Figure 15). Study participants did not mention any public events in this space organized from *below*, which correlates with the repressive and authoritarian nature of the political regime that existed in Yugoslavia. Freedom to act and to organize in this space, or any other public space, were severely limited and controlled. Political state powers and the ruling communist party interfered with lives of all citizens on multiple levels and open public spaces carried a significant role in that process. Total and absolute commitment of all levels of society through repetition in similar rituals tied to WWII revolutionary struggles pushed all other types of life narratives onto periphery of collective memory. The obligatory nature of engagement

of all public and private groups in public events worked as an excellent instrument for (re)construction or “redirection” (David, 2009, p. 151) of memories, in this case; what will exactly be remembered and how it will be remembered. Furthermore, sense of community, belonging, solidarity and partnership was also constructed through participation and active presence in public ceremonies. Although study participants acted in this space as a part of different groups, Pioneers, communist youth, and family; they reported how all of them worked together for the same goal. Therefore, the divide between *us* and *others* did not exist in this space (see Figure 16).

Figure 15. Relationship between state powers and memory construction in Yugoslavia

Figure 16. Group membership performed on Partisan Square 1961-1990

While private everyday life generally occurred independently from the government influence, still, unwritten rules of behaviors were followed when in this space. Based on the nature of the data collected, private collective memories were presented as memories of childhood, youth, and parenthood in this space. The government applied different practices, part of public organized rituals, that served for the purposes of construction of a “new man.” One of them was construction of the narratives of “honor” and “pride” around acts of participation in Youth Rally or Pioneers’ Initiation. Both, pioneers and youth organizations strongly encouraged excellency and would reward their members for it by choosing them to personally contribute to mentioned events. However, practices of construction of the “new man” were found also across narratives of private life in this space. This happened through implementation of preferred public behaviors on the square, like wearing proper clothes or acting in a particular way when in this space. Study participants often reported how there was an unwritten set of rules to follow before and when entering this space. New moral values

and ethical behaviors were organized from the top and successfully implemented in the everyday lives of the citizens through this space. In the 1990s, when the dissolution of Yugoslavia happened, a complete breakdown of all established social and moral frameworks inside which society functioned for 45 years was experienced by study participants as the greatest loss. For that reason, separation of *us* and *other* in this space happened based on moral categories exclusively.

Collective Memories Tied to the Decade of 1990s

Spasic (2012) argues that the divide of the *other* from *us* is usually rooted in social differences, like wealth, class, education level, ethical membership, social origin, etc. However, it was found across multiple studies of life throughout former Yugoslav territory that this separation happened exclusively based on moral categories. Groups that acted as the *other* on Partisans' Square during this decade were: different politicians and political groups, businessmen, tycoons, members of criminal milieu, regular citizens who engaged in different public acts of violence, etc. Those are the main actors whose actions in this space shaped construction of both public and private collective memories.

Evidently, what differs in this decade compared to the socialist period of the state is a greater number of power players in this space that impacted everyday lives of citizens, and therefore, how life was remembered. As a consequence, public collective memories are organized from *above* and from *below* (see Figure 17). According to study participants' stories, the way new power groups performed in this space stands in opposition to the performances of the previous representatives of powers. The new government was active in this space in two different ways: through organization of mandatory political rallies and through slow introduction of a new economic system of

neo-liberal capitalism (see Figure 17). The process of space commercialization that started during this decade particularly influenced everyday lives of the citizens, and therefore memories of their personal lives.

During this decade a multiparty political system was declared in the state, therefore, different political opponents started to organize themselves through grassroots movements. Through time, the same movements transformed into different political parties, democratic or nationalistic parties and all of them had an important role in the act of overthrowing Slobodan Milosevic's rule at the end of the decade. Initially, all those groups of political opposition acted in this space irregularly through different political gatherings, however, later on in the decade they became very visible. According to study participants, after the year 2000 and the overthrow of the Milosevic regime all political actors completely ceased their activities in this space (see Figure 17).

Figure 17. Relationship between powers and memory construction in the decade 1990s

The lack of complete political dominance and control over this space existed during the era of socialism which enabled local institutions, organizations, and initiatives to start organizing events of culture and sport separately from the state or local political powers. Teachers and professors from local schools and universities, members of different high schools or student groups, different tourist organizations, local traditional dance assemblies, etc., all of them began to organize events and to perform in this space. Moreover, collective public memories tied to these events were only memories recalled as positive from the square during this decade together with particular memories of private events experienced.

Similarly, to the previous period of the state, private memories of the decade of the 1990s were categorized into memories of childhood and youth in this space. However, both these categories tied to everyday life of the locals were heavily influenced by increased space commercialization (see Figure 16). This process that began in this decade achieved its peak in the present.

Collective Memories Tied to the Period from Year 2000 to Present

The way collective memories were constructed in relation to this period, again, differs compared to other two eras of the state because of different power actors that established themselves in this space (see Figure 18). Main differences found across narratives of life on Partisans' Square were: lack of direct political performances and total commercialization of citizens' everyday life in this space. Personal collective memories were exclusively told in relation to different acts of consumerism. Locals still continue to meet and gather on the square, however, memories of life in this era became

uniform like life itself in this place. The only way the local political body impacts the lives of locals in the present is through the process of regulation, or lack of it, of commercial

2000-present

Figure 18. The relationship between powers and memory construction 2000-present

forces that threaten to completely consume this space. The good collective memories of the square portrayed through participants' narratives were, again, participation in various events of culture and sport.

Implications and Suggestions for Future Research and Application

During my initial research of the literature, I genuinely thought that my study would focus more on architecture and its intimate relationship with memory and less on how political powers, changing economic systems, nation construction act in one space. While these forces inevitably interplay and clash in all public open space, I intended to focus my study more on space features, the ways they are recalled, and the role they played in lives of its users. This is the main reason why a large portion of the literature review was focused on this specific connection and how it changed and transformed

through time. However, this study has been, first and foremost, organized to find and address aspects of the space that carry the greatest significance for study participants tied to their life on the square. I had to stay true to the data that I collected and answer my research questions first inside the theoretical framework that I established for this study. Nevertheless, this gap created between my original intention for this study and vast knowledge gained through the research process generated new ideas and opportunities for future perspectives and applications of this study.

The way Partisans' Square is designed, the quality of its architecture, architect's affinity to detail, diversity of spatial elements, its size, color, shape, materials, how the whole project is implemented into existing city, and how the city developed around this place through time, all of this had a crucial role in how often and in which ways this space was used. Furthermore, how the memory and narratives were constructed in relation to the square. What I found is that frequency of use of a public space, how often and in which ways specific areas and spatial elements were utilized represented the key for memory construction. We remember familiar places. Being the only place of this size, shape, and purpose in the city, with a central position in the inner city core, naturally led for all locals to engaged with it on an everyday basis and often multiple times during the day. Memories of events that happened in this space not only attached themselves to the square per se, but also memories were narrated differently in connection to different spatial elements. While the public memories organized from the top or the bottom were more focused on descriptions of the event itself and meaning of it, recollected private memories are those which provided us with rich, detailed, and vivid narratives of the specifics of the architecture. People often revealed how particular parts of the square

carried great significance for them: sitting on the yellow benches, meeting below a specific linden tree, washing hands and playing around local water fountain, meeting on the “city map,” etc. They often recalled smells that occurred in this space in a specific part of the year, colors of the greenery or flowers that bloom through different seasons, the warmth of the first spring sun that shines onto the square. While this study broadly examined how users’ memories were constituted differently based on different social, political, cultural, and economical circumstances interplay in this space, possible future inquiry can focus only on the relationship between private memories of everyday lives and architecture of open public spaces examined through application of narrative methodology. To investigate this relation, I would extend the focus not only on the themes that prevail across participant’s stories, but the nature of the language used, the shape and form of the narratives. In other words, I would approach the analysis of data in a different manner, not only to answer “what” but also “how” the stories are created and what are the underlying factor.

I found that private memories in this space were also described in a different manner tied to different politico-economical systems that existed in this place. Narratives of private life in socialist Yugoslavia in this space were portrayed through narratives of childhood, youth, and parenthood in this space, which usually involved activities of family members and friends. After introduction of capitalism in this space, structure of memories created through everyday participation completely changed. It was much harder to identify narratives that belonged to previously established categories. Moreover, stories of commercialization, consumerism, and volatile behaviors in the space were dominating narratives in the period after the decade of the 1990s. Therefore, the

differences in memory construction tied to the period of socialism and post-socialism in public space opened as another possible research direction to follow. Moreover, what specifically we should be concerned about is the obvious negative implication that this transition brought into the lives of every citizen. This space *before* was a symbol of “freedom, beauty, innocence, friendship,” and *today* the same space is described as space that “suffocates, boring space, only appearance and no substance.” While I partially provided answers why participants described the square in this manner, it would be beneficial to access deeper into all the differences found in order to understand how the introduction of capitalism changed the public life and everyday lives of citizens everywhere.

The problem of post-socialist cities was addressed by many scholars through different scholarly fields, urban geography, human geography, urban planning, etc. However, they rarely engaged in empirical, bottom-up research to address the issues which arose with the transformation of the urban areas from socialist into post-socialist phase. In her manuscript Hirt (2013) asks a question, “Was such a thing as the socialist city” (p. 29)? She provides us with possible key elements of spatial composition of socialist cities, overall spatial articulation, scale of spatial development, functional balance, new building and neighborhood types and urban aesthetics. However, none of those features addresses people’s behaviors in socialist spaces. In other words, users and their personal experiences, meanings, memories tied to those places are completely excluded from those studies. Probably the biggest obstacles to conduct bottom-up empirical research are territorial limitations and the constantly decreasing number of possible participants who possess experience of life in the public space during the era of

socialism. However, I consider essential for these stories to be collected, recorded, and disseminated among scholars and professionals in the field of urban studies, geography, sociology, anthropology, history and others who have the city as a center of their research.

Probably the most alarming theme that arose in this study tied to the period of the last fifteen years on Partisans' Square is a severe lack of political activism, or any activism, in this space. As the space became an arena for commercial use, space where you can sit to have coffee, talk, watch others, there was no one single event reported by study participants tied to some public political engagement, behavior that prevailed during the decade of the 1990s. On one side, narratives of present life in the city and on the square were portrayed in a pessimistic manner. On the other side, people completely lost their agency to act in the space. Obvious decline of the welfare state model and its transition into a neo-liberal approach of urban development only emphasized the already increased inequality between society members. In this case, the space almost completely occupied with commercial uses where commercial powers overtook the power from people to act in it. By claiming space in public, Mitchell (2012) argues, social groups themselves become public. Public city areas should facilitate diversity, equity, and democracy. Therefore, the theme of a lack of any kind of activism should be taken seriously and further explored, in this space, but also other public spaces in and out of the state.

REFERENCES

- Adamovic, A. (Ed.). (2015). *Plameni pozdravi - reprezentativni portret detinjstva u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji*. Beograd: Kiosk.
- Arthurs, J. (2010). Fascism as 'heritage' in contemporary Italy. In *Italy Today: The Sick Man of Europe* (pp. 114–127). Routledge.
- Assmann, A. (2010). Canon and archive. In *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies* (pp. 97–107). Berlin ; New York: De Gruyter.
- Assmann, A. (2011). *Cultural memory and western civilization: functions, media, archives*. Cambridge University Press.
- Assmann, J. (2008). Communicative and cultural memory. In *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (pp. 109–118). New York: Berlin.
- Assmann, J. (2010). Communicative and cultural memory. In *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies* (pp. 109–118). Berlin ; New York: De Gruyter.
- Assmann, J., & Czaplicka, J. (1995). Collective Memory and Cultural Identity. *New German Critique*, (65), 125–133.
- Atkinson, R. G. (1998). *The life story interview*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Atkinson, R. G. (2002). The life story interview. In *Handbook of Interview Research* (pp. 121–140). Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Ayala, V., & Fallshaw, D. (2017). The Fight: disability rights protestors in Bolivia on the barricades. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from

<http://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/may/05/the-fight-disability-rights-protestors-in-bolivia-on-the-barricades>

- Babic, M. (2013). *Modernism and politics in the architecture of socialist Yugoslavia, 1945-1965* (Master's thesis). Retrieved from ProQuest Digital Dissertation. (1542314)
- Backovic, V., & Spasic, I. (2014). Identitet grada: mišljenje lokalnih aktera u četiri urbane sredine. *Sociologija*, 56(2), 101–123.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1982). *The dialogic imagination: four essays*. (M. Holquist, Ed., C. Emerson, Trans.). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Barton, C. E. (2001). *Sites of memory : perspectives on architecture and race*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.
- Bastéa, E. (2004). *Memory and architecture*. University of New Mexico Press.
- Benjamin, W. (1997). *One-way street and other writings*. London: Verso Books.
- Benton, T. (1999). From the Arengario to the Lictor's axe: memories of Italian fascism. In *Material Memories: Design and Evocation* (pp. 199–218). Berg.
- Bergson, H. (2001). *Time and free will: an essay on the immediate data of consciousness*. Mineola, N.Y: Dover Publications.
- Berman, M. (1988). *All that is solid melts into air: the experience of modernity*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Bernstein, M. B. (2009). *At the desk and on the nightstand: reading as a mediating artifact in teachers' professional and personal lives* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Digital Dissertation. (3386958)

- Bieber, F. (2005). Serbia in the 1990s: the case of an ethnic semi-democracy. In P. Jarve (Ed.), *The Fate of Ethnic Democracy in Post-Communist Europe* (Vol. 3, pp. 167–189). Budapest: LGI.
- Birth, K. (2006). Past times: temporal structuring of history and memory. *Ethos*, 34(2), 192–210.
- Bodnar, J. (1993). *Remaking america: public memory, commemoration, and patriotism in the twentieth century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bogdanovic, B. (2011). *Politika upotrebe prostora u socijalistickom periodu na primeru Titovog Uzica* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation). Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta Beograd.
- Bordeleau, A. (2009). “The professor’s dream”: Cockerell’s “hypnerotomachia architectura.” *Architectural History*, 52, 117–145.
- Bordeleau, A. (2014). *Charles Robert Cockerell, architect in time: reflections around anachronistic drawings*. Burlington: Ashgate Pub Co.
- Borneman, J. (1992). *Belonging in the two Berlins: kin, state, nation*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2000). *The weight of the world: social suffering in contemporary society*. (P. P. Ferguson, Trans.). Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.
- Boyarin, J. (1994). Space, time, and the politics of memory. In *Remapping Memory: The Politics of TimeSpace* (pp. 1–38). Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press.
- Boyer, M. C. (1996). *The city of collective memory: its historical imagery and architectural entertainments*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

- Bruner, J. (1987a). *Actual minds, possible worlds*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Bruner, J. (1987b). Life as narrative. *Social Research*, 54(1), 11–32.
- Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning: four lectures on mind and culture*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Buden, B. (2015). Children of post-communism. In *Welcome to the Desert of Post-Socialism: Radical Politics After Yugoslavia* (pp. 123–139). Brooklyn, NY: Verso.
- Bulkens, M., Minca, C., & Muzaini, H. (2015). Storytelling as method in spatial planning. *European Planning Studies*, 23(11), 2310–2326.
- Burke, P. (1989). History as social memory. In *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind* (pp. 97–113). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Canter, D. V. (1977). *The psychology of place*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Casey, E. S. (2000). *Remembering: a phenomenological study*. Indiana University Press.
- Choay, F. (2001). *The invention of the historic monument*. (L. M. O’Connell, Trans.). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Christians, C. G. (2000). Ethics and politics in qualitative research. In *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 133–155). Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications.
- Ciganovic, A. (2013). Construction of the Partizan’s Square in Uzice: between the idea of contemporaneity and non-contemporaneity. *Izgradnja*, 67(11–12), 486–497.
- Confino, A. (1997). Collective memory and cultural history: problems of method. *The American Historical Review*, 102(5), 1386–1403.

- Confino, A. (2010). Memory and the history of mentalities. In *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies* (pp. 77–84). Berlin ; New York: De Gruyter.
- Connerton, P. (1989). *How societies remember*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Conway, M. A. (1997). The inventory of experience: memory and identity. In *Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives* (pp. 21–45). Mahwah, N.J: Psychology Press.
- Coser, L. A. (1992). The revival of the sociology of culture: the case of collective memory. *Sociological Forum*, 7(2), 365–373.
- Crawford, M. (2008). Blurring the boundaries - public space and private life. In *Everyday Urbanism* (pp. 342–351). The Moncelli Press.
- Cresswell, T. (2014). *Place: an introduction*. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Crinson, M. (Ed.). (2005). *Urban memory: history and amnesia in the modern city*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Cross, J. E. (2001). What is sense of place? (pp. 1–15). Presented at the 12th Headwaters Conference, Western State College, Colorado.
- Crotty, M. J. (1998). *The foundations of social research: meaning and perspective in the research process*. London ; Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Cukovic, A. (2015). Yugonostalgia: study of remnants of the former Yugoslavia in metropolitan Detroit. *Kulmya/Culture*, 5(9), 51–61.
- Cveticanin, P., Spasic, I., & Gavrilovic, D. (2014). Strategies and tactics in social space: the case of Serbia. *Social Science Information*, 53(2), 213–239.
- David, L. (2009). Secam se, dakle, postojim: indetitet Srba kao refleksija kulture secanja. In *Pamcenje i Nostalgija* (pp. 139–170).

- Davis, N. Z., & Starn, R. (1989). Introduction. *Representations*, (26), 1–6.
- Dimitrijevic, V. (2010). *Novosti is proslosti: znanje, neznanje, upotreba i zloupotreba istorije*. Beograd: Beogradski centar za ljudska prava.
- Dogandzic, A. (1990, March 30). Titov spomenik mora biti sklonjen sa trga. *Vesti*, p. 17.
- Dormans, S. E. M. (2008). *Narrating the city: urban tales from Tilburg and Almere* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from <http://repository.uhn.ru.nl/bitstream/2066/68992/1/68992.pdf>
- Duda, I. (2015). *Danas kada postajem pionir: djetinjstvo i ideologija jugoslavenskoga socijalizma*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa.
- Ekman, M. (2013). *Edifices: architecture and the spatial frameworks of memory*. Oslo: Arkitektthøgskolen.
- Engelen, E., Johal, S., Salento, A., & Williams, K. (2014, September 24). How to build a fairer city. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2014/sep/24/manifesto-fairer-grounded-city-sustainable-transport-broadband-housing>
- Erikson, E. H. (1994a). *Identity and the life cycle*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Erikson, E. H. (1994b). *Identity: youth and crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Erll, A. (2011). *Memory in culture*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Esin, C. (2008, December). *Construction of sexuality in the narratives of well-educated young women in Turkey* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from <http://roar.uel.ac.uk/3383/>

- Esin, C., Fathi, M., & Squire, C. (2013). Narrative analysis: the constructionist approach. In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis* (pp. 204–216). SAGE Publications.
- Esposito, N. (2001). From meaning to meaning: the influence of translation techniques on non-English focus group research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 11(4), 568–579.
- Finnegan, R. (1997). Storytelling the self: personal narratives and identity. In *Consumption and Everyday Life* (pp. 65–111). Thousand Oaks, London: SAGE Publications.
- Finnegan, R. (1998). *Tales of the city: a study of narrative and urban life*. Cambridge England ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fisher, T. (2004). What memory? Whose memory? In *Memory and Architecture* (pp. 283–291). University of New Mexico Press.
- Foucault, M. (1975). Film and popular memory: an interview with Michel Foucault. *Radical Philosophy*, 11(11), 24–29.
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. (C. Gordon, Ed.). New York: Vintage.
- Frates, L. L. (2002). *Memory of place, the place of memory: women's narrations of late colonial Lourenco Marques, Mozambique* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Digital Dissertation. (3059535)
- Friedmann, J. (2010). Place and place-making in cities: a global perspective. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 11(2), 149–165.
- Garrett, B. L. (2015, August 4). The privatisation of cities' public spaces is escalating. It is time to take a stand. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from

<http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/aug/04/pops-privately-owned-public-space-cities-direct-action>

- Gedi, N., & Elam, Y. (1996). Collective memory - what is it? *History and Memory*, 8(1), 30–50.
- Gee, J. P. (1991). Memory and myth: a perspective on narrative. In *Developing Narrative Structure* (pp. 1–25). Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associate, Inc.
- Geertz, C. (1977). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gensburger, S. (2016). Halbwachs' studies in collective memory: a founding text for contemporary 'memory studies'? *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 16(4), 396–413.
- Gergen, K. J., & Gergen, M. M. (1988). Narrative and the self as relationship. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (pp. 17–56). Academic Press.
- Glisic, V. (1986). *Uzicka republika*. Beograd: Nolit.
- Gojgic, L. (1996, October 11). Titove seni: kad ces doci u Uzice. *NIN*. Retrieved from <http://www.nin.co.rs/arhiva/2389/2389b.html>
- Goldhagen, S. W. (2017). *Welcome to your world: how the built environment shapes our lives*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Greenberg, J. (2011). On the road to normal: negotiating agency and state sovereignty in postsocialist Serbia. *American Anthropologist*, 113(1), 88–100.
- Guba, E. G. (1981). Criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiries. *ECTJ*, 29(2), 75.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1989). *Fourth generation evaluation*. Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications.

- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 105–117). Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Halbwachs, M. (1980). *The collective memory*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On collective memory*. (L. A. Coser, Trans.). Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.
- Hanke, S. (1999, April 29). Dinar inflation [Blog post]. Retrieved April 17, 2018, from <https://mises.org/library/dinar-inflation>
- Hartley, J. (1993). *The politics of pictures: the creation of the public in the age of the popular media*. New York: Routledge.
- Harvey, D., Herod, A., Wright, M., & Heynen, N. (2009). *Social justice and the city*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Hatherley, O. (2016, April 21). Soviet squares: how public space is disappearing in post-communist cities. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/apr/21/soviet-squares-public-space-post-communist-cities>
- Healey, P. (2002). On creating the “city” as a collective resource. *Urban Studies*, 39(10), 1777–1792.
- Hedges, C. (2017, September 18). *On contact: creative forgetfulness with Eric Foner* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IX0ar575Qq0>
- Hernandez, B., Hidalgo, M. C., & Ruiz, C. (2013). Theoretical and methodological aspects of research on place attachment. In *Place Attachment: Advances in Theory, Methods and Applications* (pp. 125–137). Routledge.

- Hirt, S. (2013). Whatever happened to the (post)socialist city? *Cities*, 32, 29–38.
- Hofman, A. (2015). Raspevano Srpsko dete? In *Plameni Pozdravi: Reprezentativni Portret Detinjstva u Socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji* (pp. 174–179). Beograd: Kiosk.
- Holquist, M. (2002). *Dialogism: Bakhtin and his world*. New York: Routledge.
- Hood, W. J., & Erickson, M. (2001). Storing memories in the yard: remaking Poplar Street, the shifting black cultural landscape. In *Sites of Memory : Perspectives on Architecture and Race* (pp. 171–190). New York: Princeton Architectural Press.
- Horvat, S., & Stiks, I. (Eds.). (2015). *Welcome to the desert of post-socialism: radical politics after Yugoslavia*. Brooklyn, NY: Verso.
- Hoskins, A. (2017). Memory of the multitude: the end of collective memory. In *Digital Memory Studies: Media Pasts in Transition* (pp. 85–110). Routledge.
- Hoskins, A., & Tulloch, J. (2016). *Risk and hyperconnectivity: media and memories of neoliberalism*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hugo, V. (2002). *The hunchback of Notre-Dame*. (C. Liu, Trans.). Philadelphia, Pa.: Modern Library.
- Hutton, P. H. (1993). *History as an art of memory*. Burlington: Vermont.
- Huyssen, A. (2011). From “present pasts: media, politics, amnesia.” In *The Collective Memory Reader* (pp. 430–436). Oxford University Press.
- Ibelings, H. (1998). *Supermodernism*. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers.
- Irwin-Zarecka, I. (2007). *Frames of remembrance: the dynamics of collective memory*. New Brunswick: Routledge.
- Ivanovic, M. (1987, May 8). Secanje na Tita. *Vesti*, p. 1.

- Jackson, J. B. (1996). *A sense of place, a sense of time*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Jackson, P., & Penrose, J. (1993). *Constructions of race, place, and nation*. Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press.
- Jansen, S. (2000). Victims, underdogs and rebels: discursive practices of resistance in Serbian protest. *Critique of Anthropology*, 20(4), 393–419.
- Jansen, S. (2005). *Antinacionalizam*. Beograd: XX Vek.
- Johnson, N. C. (2002). Mapping monuments: the shaping of public space and cultural identities. *Visual Communication*, 1(3), 293–298.
- Jorgensen, B. S., & Stedman, R. C. (2001). Sense of place as an attitude: lakeshore owners attitudes toward their properties. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 21, 233–248.
- Josselson, R., & Lieblich, A. (2002). A framework for narrative research proposals in psychology. In *Up Close and Personal: The Teaching and Learning of Narrative Research* (pp. 259–274). Washington D.C.: American Psychological Association.
- Jovanovic, V. (2014). Serbia and the symbolic (re)construction of the nation. In *Strategies of Symbolic Nation-building in South Eastern Europe* (pp. 87–114). Routledge.
- Kadijevic, A. (2009). Vidovi distanciranja od pojava tokom njihivog tumačenja u arhitektonskoj istorigrafiji. *Nasledje*, 10, 235–253.
- Kiossev, A. (2005). The dark intimacy: maps, identities, acts of identification. In *Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation* (pp. 165–190). Cambridge: The MIT Press.

- Kirn, G. (2012). Transformation of memorial sites in the post-Yugoslav context. In *Retracing Images: Visual Culture After Yugoslavia* (pp. 251–281). Brill.
- Kirn, G. (2017, March 9). Jugoslavenski spomenici ruše se jer su izvan nacionalne doktrine. Retrieved February 1, 2018, from <http://balkans.aljazeera.net/vijesti/jugoslavenski-spomenici-ruse-se-jer-su-izvan-nacionalne-doktrine>
- Kowal, S., & O’Connell, D. C. (2013). Transcription as a Crucial Step of Data Analysis. In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis* (1st edition, pp. 64–78). SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Kulic, V. (2009). *Land of the in-between : modern architecture and the state in socialist Yugoslavia, 1945-65* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Digital Dissertation. (3456932)
- Kulic, V., & Mrduljas, M. (Eds.). (2012). *Unfinished modernisations - between utopia and pragmatism*. Zagreb: Croatian Architects’ Association.
- Kuzovic, D. (2014, January 21). Mihajlo Mitrović: kada rušite spomenike, sačuvajte im postolja! Retrieved August 27, 2017, from <http://aas.org.rs/mihailo-mitrovic-intervju/>
- Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2008). *InterViews: learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Langer, L. L. (1993). *Holocaust testimonies: the ruins of memory*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Lavabre, M. C. (2000). Politics of memory and living memory: the case of post-communism. In *Memory and History Conference*. Cape Town, South Africa.

- Lefebvre, H. (1992). *The production of space*. (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans.). Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Lewicka, M. (2008). Place attachment, place identity, and place memory: restoring the forgotten city past. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 28(3), 209–231.
- Lieblich, A., Tuval-Mashiach, R., & Zilber, T. (1998). *Narrative research: reading, analysis, and interpretation*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills, Calif: SAGE Publications.
- Lippard, L. R. (1998). *The lure of the local: senses of place in a multicentered society*. New York: The New Press.
- Liu, J. H., & Hilton, D. J. (2005). How the past weighs on the present: social representations of history and their role in identity politics. *The British Journal of Social Psychology*, 44(4), 537–556.
- Liu, J. H., Paez, D., Slawuta, P., Cabecinhas, R., Techio, E., Kokdemir, D., ... Zlobina, A. (2009). Representing world history in the 21st century: the impact of 9/11, the Iraq War, and the nation-state on dynamics of collective remembering. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 40(4), 667–692.
- Low, S. M. (1992). Symbolic ties that bind. In *Place Attachment* (pp. 165–185). Springer, Boston, MA.
- Lowenthal, D. (2012). The past made present. *Historically Speaking*, 13(4), 2–6.
- Lynch, K. (1960). *The image of the city*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Lynch, K. (1976). *What time is this place?* Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

- Maier, C. S. (1993). A surfeit of memory? Reflections on history, melancholy and denial. *History and Memory*, 5(2), 136–152.
- Malson, H. (2004). Fictional(ising) identity? In *The Uses of Narrative* (pp. 150–163). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Mannheim, K. (1952). *Essays on the sociology of knowledge*. New York: Routledge & K. Paul.
- Mannheim, K. (1997). The problems of generations. In *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge* (pp. 276–320). London: Routledge.
- Manojlovic - Pintar, O. (2010). Rat i nemir - vidjenjima socijalisticke Jugoslavije, drugog svetskog rata u kome je nastala i ratova u kojima se raspala. In *Novosti iz Proslosti* (p. 83-126). Belgrade: Beogradski Centar za Ljudska Prava.
- Manzo, L. C. (2005). For better or worse. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 25(1), 67–86.
- Markovic, Z. V. (2008). *Carigradski memento*. Uzice, Serbia: Istorijski Arhiv.
- Marot, S. (2003). *Sub-urbanism and the art of memory*. London: AA Publications.
- Massey, D. B. (2005). *For space*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- McAdams, D. (1996). Personality, modernity, and the storied self: a contemporary framework for studying persons. *Psychological Inquiry*, 7(4), 295–321.
- McAdams, Dan. (2001). The psychology of life stories. *Review of General Psychology*, 5(2), 100–122.
- McAdams, Dan. (2012). Exploring psychological themes through life-narrative accounts. In *Varieties of Narrative Analysis* (pp. 15–32). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- McDowell, L. (1999). *Gender, identity and place: understanding feminist geographies*. Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press.
- Mihailovic, S. (2010). Priča o tranziciji, ili naracija o našim beskrajnim menama. In *Kako Građani Srbije Vide Tranziciju: Istraživanje Javnog Mnjenja Tranzicije* (pp. 7–28). Beograd: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- Mijic, E. (2011). Yustalgija: secanje i materijalna kultura socijalizma kao okvir za konzumiranje sadasnosti. *Etnoantropoloski Problemi*, 6(3), 763–782.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: an expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Milivojevic, D. (2013). Iz istorije nastanka Trga Partizana u Uzicu. *Izgradnja*, 67(7–8), 314–328.
- Milivojevic, D. (2014). *Izmedju iskoraka i pomirenja arhitektura Stanka Mandica*. Uzice, Srbija: Graficar.
- Miloradovic, G. (2007). Prah prahu: Staljinisticki pogrebni rituali u socijalistickoj Jugoslaviji. *Godisnjak Za Drustvenu Istoriju*, 1–3, 83–106.
- Misztal, B. (2003). *Theories of social remembering*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Mitchell, D. (2012). *The right to the city: social justice and the fight for public space*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Mitrovic, V. (2008). Arhitektura u Novom Sadu i Vojvodini posle 2000. godine. In *Forum - Arhitektura u Srbiji posle 2000: simptomi promene*. Beograd: Savez arhitekata Srbije.
- Montgomery, J. (1998). Making a city: urbanity, vitality and urban design. *Journal of Urban Design*, 3(1), 93–116.

- Morse, J. M. (1999). Myth #93: reliability and validity are not relevant to qualitative inquiry. *Qualitative Health Research*, 9(6), 717–718.
- Morse, J. M., Barrett, M., Mayan, M., Olson, K., & Spiers, J. (2008). Verification strategies for establishing reliability and validity in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 1(2), 13–22.
- Neisser, U., & Fivush, R. (Eds.). (2008). *The remembering self: construction and accuracy in the self-narrative*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Nora, P. (1989). Between memory and history: les lieux de mémoire. *Representations*, (26), 7–24.
- Nora, P. (2011). From “Reasons for the current upsurge in memory.” In *The Collective Memory Reader* (pp. 437–441). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Norberg-Schulz, C. (1979). *Genius loci: towards a phenomenology of architecture*. New York: Rizzoli.
- Norberg-Schulz, C. (2012). The phenomenon of place. In *The Urban Design Reader* (pp. 272–284). New York: Routledge.
- Oldenburg, R. (1999). *The great good place: cafes, coffee shops, bookstores, bars, hair salons, and other hangouts at the heart of a community*. New York : Berkeley: Marlowe & Company.
- Olick, J. K. (1999). Collective memory: the two cultures. *Sociological Theory*, 17(3), 333–348.

- Olick, J. K. (2007). Collective memory and nonpublic opinion: a historical note on a methodological controversy about a political problem. *Symbolic Interaction*, 30(1), 41–55.
- Olick, J. K., & Levy, D. (1997). Collective memory and cultural constraint: holocaust myth and rationality in German politics. *American Sociological Review*, 62(6), 921–936.
- Ossman, S. (1994). *Picturing Casablanca: portraits of power in a modern city*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Othman, S., Nishimura, Y., & Kubota, A. (2013). Memory association in place making: a review. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 85(C), 554–563.
- Pallasmaa, J. U. (1998). The space of time. *Oz*, 20, 54–57.
- Palmberger, M. (2016). *How generations remember*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Patterson, M. E., & Williams, D. R. (2005). Maintaining research traditions on place: diversity of thought and scientific progress. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 25(4), 361–380.
- Pavasovic-Trost, T. (2014). A personality cult transformed: the evolution of Tito's image in Serbian and Croatian textbooks, 1974–2010. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 14(1), 146–170.
- Piazzoli, E. C. (2015). Translation in cross-language qualitative research: Pitfalls and opportunities. *Translation and Translanguaging in Multilingual Contexts*, 1(1), 80–102.
- Pogacar, M. (2015). Kraj detinjstva: šta se dogodilo sa utopijom socijalističkog detinjstva i šta u tom pogledu može učiniti nostalgija? In *Plameni Pozdravi* -

- Reprezentativni Portret Detinjstva u Socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji* (pp. 157–164).
Belgrade: Kiosk.
- Polkinghorne, D. E. (2007). Validity issues in narrative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 13(4), 471–486.
- Popivoda, M. (2013). Yugoslavia - how ideology moved our collective body [Blog post].
Retrieved from <http://www.martapopivoda.info/work/yugoslavia-how-ideology-moved-our-collective-body/>
- Popovic, M. (2016). Yugonostalgia. The meta-national memory narratives of the last pioneers. In *Nostalgia: From Passive Sentimentalism to the Possibility of Articulated Resistance* (pp. 42–50). Belgrade, Serbia.
- Popovic, V. (2017, January 1). Spomenik i prvoborac. Retrieved April 14, 2018, from <http://proletter.me/portfolio/spomenik-i-prvoborac/>
- Pred, A. (1983). Structuration and place: on the becoming of sense of place and structure of feeling. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 13(1), 45–68.
- Pred, A. (1984). Place as historically contingent process: structuration and the time-geography of becoming places. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 74(2), 279–297.
- Proshansky, H. M., Fabian, A. K., & Kaminoff, R. (1983). Place-identity: physical world socialization of the self. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 3(1), 57–83.
- Punter, J. (1991). Participation in the design of urban space. *Landscape Design*, 200, 24–27.
- Rackovic, R. (1946, July 27). Sa odusevljenjem i radoscu narod je prihvatio naziv grada Titovo Uzice. *Vesti*.

- Radovic, S. (2011). Politike i kontrapolitike identiteta i prostora: slucajevi sa beogradskih ulica nakon 2000. godine. *Glasnik Etnografskog Instituta SANU*, LIX(2), 99–123.
- Raskovic, D., & Djuric, A. (1961, July 13). Trg Partizana - veliko delo. *Vesti*.
- Relph, E. (1976). *Place and placelessness*. UK: Pion.
- Ricci, M. (2017). The swinging cities of the eternal present. *City, Territory and Architecture*, 4(2), 1–7.
- Ricoeur, P. (2006). *Memory, history, forgetting*. (K. Blamey & D. Pellauer, Trans.). University Of Chicago Press.
- Riessman, C. K. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park: SAGE Publications.
- Riessman, C. K. (2007). *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Rossi, A. (1984). *The architecture of the city*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Rothberg, M. (2009). *Multidirectional memory: remembering the Holocaust in the age of decolonization*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Ruskin, J. (1989). *The seven lamps of architecture*. New York: Dover Publications.
- Saldana, J. (2012). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (2nd ed.). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Sandercock, L. (2003). Out of the closet: the importance of stories and storytelling in planning practice. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 4(1), 11–28.
- Savic, A. (2016). *Uzicki okrug 1947-1963. godine*. Uzice, Srbija: Istorijski Arhiv Uzice.
- Schwandt, T. A. (2000). Three epistemological stances for qualitative inquiry. In *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 189–213). Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications.

- Schwartz, B. (2003). *Abraham Lincoln and the forge of national memory*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.
- Sekulic, D. (2014, March 11). Don't stare so romantically: on extralegal space in Belgrade. Retrieved September 1, 2017, from <http://volumeproject.org/dont-stare-so-romantically-on-extralegal-space-in-belgrade/>
- Sezer, C., & Niksic, M. (2017). Public space and urban justice. *Built Environment*, 43(2), 165–172.
- Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information*, 22(2), 63–75.
- Simic, M. (2013). Locating cosmopolitanism: practicing popular culture in post-socialist Serbia. *Der Donauraum*, 50(3–4), 345–364.
- Slavkovic, F. (2010, March 5). Cult of Tito still going strong. Retrieved March 9, 2018, from <http://www.dw.com/en/cult-of-tito-still-going-strong/a-5527634>
- Slyomovics, S. (1998). *The object of memory: Arab and Jew narrate the Palestinian village*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Smith, C. P. (2000). Content analysis and narrative analysis. In *Handbook of Research Methods in Social and Personality Psychology* (pp. 313–335). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Soja, E. W. (1980). The socio-spatial dialectic. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 70(2), 207–225.
- Sombatpoonsiri, J., & Rubinstein, R. A. (2015). *Humor and nonviolent struggle in Serbia*. Syracuse University Press.

- Somers, M. R. (1994). The narrative constitution of identity: a relational and network approach. *Theory and Society*, 23(5), 605–649.
- Spasic, I. (2012). Jugoslavija kao mesto normalnog zivota: secanja obicnih ljudi u Srbiji. *Sociologija*, 54(4), 577–594.
- Spasic, I., & Biresev, A. (2012a). Social classifications in Serbia today between morality and politics. In *Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia* (pp. 155–175). Sven, Nis.
- Spasic, I., & Biresev, A. (2012b). The state as the great classifier. In *Social and Cultural Capital in Western Balkan Societies* (pp. 145–159). Nis: Sven, Nis.
- Squires, A. (2009). Methodological challenges in cross-language qualitative research: a research review. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 46(2), 277–287.
- Stangl, P. (2008). The vernacular and the monumental: memory and landscape in post-war Berlin. *GeoJournal*, 73(3), 245–253.
- Stojanovic, D. (2010). U ogledalu “drugih.” In *Novosti iz Proslosti* (pp. 13–31). Belgrade: Beogradski Centar za Ljudska Prava.
- Strauss, A. L. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sturken, M. (1997). *Tangled memories: the Vietnam War, the AIDS epidemic, and the politics of remembering*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sutrisno, A., Nguyen, N. T., & Tangen, D. (2014). Incorporating translation in qualitative studies: two case studies in education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 27(10), 1337–1353.

- Suvakovic, M. (2003). Impossible histories. In *Impossible Histories: Historical Avant-gardes, Neo-avant-gardes, and Post-avant-gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918-1991* (pp. 2–36). Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Thaler, W., Mrduljas, M., & Kulic, V. (2012). *Modernism in-between: the mediatory architectures of socialist Yugoslavia*. Berlin: Jovis.
- Thelen, D. (1989). Memory and American history. *The Journal of American History*, 75(4), 1117–1129.
- Trachtenberg, M. (2005). Building outside time in Alberti's "De re aedificatoria." *Res*, (48), 123–134.
- Tuan, Y.-F. (1991). Language and the making of place: a narrative-descriptive approach. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 81(4), 684–696.
- Tuan, Y.-F. (2001). *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press.
- Turudic, M. (1991, August 30). Sa Trga Partizana premesten spomenik Josipa Broza. *Vesti*, p. 3.
- Van House, N., & Churchill, E. F. (2008). Technologies of memory: key issues and critical perspectives. *Memory Studies*, 1(3), 295–310.
- Velikonja, M. (2017). *Titostalgia - a study of nostalgia for Josip Broz*. Saarbrücken: Lap Lambert Academic Publishing.
- Volcic, Z. (2007a). Scenes from the last Yugoslav generation: the long march from Yugo-utopia to nationalisms. *Cultural Dynamics*, 19(1), 67–89.
- Volcic, Z. (2007b). Yugo-nostalgia: cultural memory and media in the former Yugoslavia. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 24(1), 21–38.

- Volcic, Z. (2011). *Serbian spaces of identity*. New York, NY: Hampton Press Inc.
- Wang, F. (2016). Theory study of urban memory. In *Beijing Urban Memory* (pp. 1–10). Springer, Singapore.
- Wang, F., Li, W., Liu, Y., & Cai, H. (2016). Measurement and application of urban memory related to historic areas in Beijing. In *Urbanization and Locality* (pp. 27–54). Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg.
- Wertsch, J. V. (2002). *Voices of collective remembering*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wigley, M. (1999). The architectural cult of synchronisation. *Journal of Architecture*, 4(4), 409–435.
- Yates, F. (1968). Architecture and the art of memory. *Architectural Design*, 38, 573–578.
- Yates, F. (2014). *The art of memory*. London: Random House.
- Zelizer, B. (1995). Reading the past against the grain: the shape of memory studies. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 12(2), 214–239.
- Zeravcic, Z. (1990, February 23). Titovo Uzice ili Uzice? Kako je Uzice postalo Titovo? *Vesti*, p. 4.
- Zerubavel, E. (2004). *Time maps: collective memory and the social shape of the past*. University of Chicago Press.

APPENDIX A

McAdams Life-Story Interview Protocol

The Life Story Interview

Dan P. McAdams, Northwestern University
Revised 1995

Introductory Comments

This is an interview about the story of your life. We are asking you to play the role of storyteller about your own life -- to construct for us the story of your own past, present, and what you see as your own future. People's lives vary tremendously, and people make sense of their own lives in a tremendous variety of ways. As social scientists, our goal is to collect as many different life stories as we can in order to begin the process of making sense of how people make sense of their own lives. Therefore, we are collecting and analyzing life stories of "normal" adults from all walks of life, and we are looking for significant commonalities and significant differences in those life stories that people tell us.

In telling us a story about your own life, you do not need to tell us everything that has ever happened to you. A story is selective. It may focus on a few key events, a few key relationships, a few key themes which recur in the narrative. In telling your own life story, you should concentrate on material in your own life that you believe to be important in some fundamental way -- information about yourself and your life which says something significant about you and how you have come to be who you are. Your story should tell how you are similar to other people as well as how you are unique. Our purpose in these interviews is to catalogue people's life stories so that we may eventually arrive at some fundamental principles of life-storytelling as well as ways of categorizing and making sense of life stories constructed by healthy adults living at this time in history and in this place. We are not interested, therefore, in pathology, abnormal psychology, neurosis and psychosis. We are not trying to figure out what is wrong with you. Nor are we trying to help you figure out what is wrong with you. The interview should not be seen as a "therapy session." This interview is for research purposes only, and its sole purpose is the collection of data concerning people's life stories.

The interview is divided into a number of sections. In order to complete the interview within, say, an hour and a half or so, it is important that we not get bogged down in the early sections, especially the first one in which I will ask you to provide an overall outline of your story. The interview starts with general things and moves to the particular. Therefore, do not feel compelled to provide a lot of detail in the first section in which I ask for this outline. The detail will come later. I will guide you through the interview so that we can finish it in good time. I think that you will enjoy the interview. Most people do.

Questions?

I. Life Chapters

We would like you to begin by thinking about your life as a story. All stories have characters, scenes, plots, and so forth. There are high points and low points in the story, good times and bad times, heroes and villains, and so on. A long story may even have chapters. Think about your life story as having at least a few different chapters. What might those chapters be? I would like you to describe for me each of the main chapters of your life story. You may have as many or as few chapters as you like, but I would suggest dividing your story into at least 2 or 3 chapters and at most about 7. If you can, give each chapter a name and describe briefly the overall contents in each chapter. As a storyteller here, think of yourself as giving a plot summary for each chapter. This first part of the interview can expand forever, so I would like you to keep it relatively brief, say, within 20-25 minutes. Therefore, you don't want to tell me "the whole story" now. Just give me a sense of the story's outline -- the major chapters in your life.

[The interviewer may wish to ask for clarifications and elaborations at any point in this section, though there is a significant danger of interrupting too much. If the subject finishes in under 10 minutes, then he/she has not said enough, and the interviewer should probe for more detail. If the subject looks as if he/she is going to continue beyond half an hour, then the interviewer should try (gently) to speed things along somewhat. Yet, you don't want

the subject to feel "rushed." (It is inevitable, therefore, that some subjects will run on too long.) This is the most open-ended part of the interview. It has the most projective potential. Thus, we are quite interested in how the subject organizes the response on his or her own. Be careful not to organize it for the subject.]

II. Critical Events

Now that you have given us an outline of the chapters in your story, we would like you to concentrate on a few key events that may stand out in bold print in the story. A key event should be a specific happening, a critical incident, a significant episode in your past set in a particular time and place. It is helpful to think of such an event as constituting a specific moment in your life story which stands out for some reason. Thus, a particular conversation you may have had with your mother when you were 12-years-old or a particular decision you made one afternoon last summer might qualify as a key event in your life story. These are particular moments set in a particular time and place, complete with particular characters, actions, thoughts, and feelings. An entire summer vacation -- be it very happy or very sad or very important in some way -- or a very difficult year in high school, on the other hand, would not qualify as key events because these take place over an extended period of time. (They are more like life chapters.)

I am going to ask you about 8 specific life events. For each event, describe in detail what happened, where you were, who was involved, what you did, and what you were thinking and feeling in the event. Also, try to convey what impact this key event has had in your life story and what this event says about who you are or were as a person. Please be very specific here.

Questions?

Event #1: Peak Experience

A peak experience would be a high point in your life story -- perhaps the high point. It would be a moment or episode in the story in which you experienced extremely positive emotions, like joy, excitement, great happiness, uplifting, or even deep inner peace. Today, the episode would stand out in your memory as one of the best, highest, most wonderful scenes or moments in your life story. Please describe in some detail a peak experience, or something like it, that you have experienced some time in your past. Tell me exactly what happened, where it happened, who was involved, what you did, what you were thinking and feeling, what impact this experience may have had upon you, and what this experience says about who you were or who you are. [Interviewer should make sure that the subject addresses all of these questions, especially ones about impact and what the experience says about the person. Do not interrupt the description of the event. Rather ask for extra detail, if necessary, after the subject has finished initial description of the event.]

Event #2: Nadir Experience

A "nadir" is a low point. A nadir experience, therefore, is the opposite of a peak experience. It is a low point in your life story. Thinking back over your life, try to remember a specific experience in which you felt extremely negative emotions, such as despair, disillusionment, terror, guilt, etc. You should consider this experience to represent one of the "low points" in your life story. Even though this memory is unpleasant, I would still appreciate an attempt on your part to be as honest and detailed as you can be. Please remember to be specific. What happened? When? Who was involved? What did you do? What were you thinking and feeling? What impact has the event had on you? What does the event say about who you are or who you were?

Event #3: Turning Point

In looking back on one's life, it is often possible to identify certain key "turning points" -- episodes through which a person undergoes substantial change. Turning points can occur in many different spheres of a person's life -- in relationships with other people, in work and school, in outside interests, etc. I am especially interested in a turning point in your understanding of yourself. Please identify a particular episode in your life story that you now see as a turning point. If you feel that your life story contains no turning points, then describe a particular episode in your life that comes closer than any other to qualifying as a turning point. [Note: If subject repeats an earlier

event (e.g., peak experience, nadir) ask him or her to choose another one. Each of the 8 critical events in this section should be independent. We want 8 separate events. If the subject already mentioned an event under the section of "Life Chapters," it may be necessary to go over it again here. This kind of redundancy is inevitable.]

Event #4: Earliest Memory

Think back now to your childhood, as far back as you can go. Please choose a relatively clear memory from your earliest years and describe it in some detail. The memory need not seem especially significant in your life today. Rather what makes it significant is that it is the first or one of the first memories you have, one of the first scenes in your life story. The memory should be detailed enough to qualify as an "event." This is to say that you should choose the earliest (childhood) memory for which you are able to identify what happened, who was involved, and what you were thinking and feeling. Give us the best guess of your age at the time of the event.

Event #5: Important Childhood Scene

Now describe another memory from childhood, from later childhood, that stands out in your mind as especially important or significant. It may be a positive or negative memory. What happened? Who was involved? What did you do? What were you thinking and feeling? What impact has the event had on you? What does it say about who you are or who you were? Why is it important?

Event #6: Important Adolescent Scene

Describe a specific event from your teen-aged years that stands out as being especially important or significant.

Event #7: Important Adult Scene

Describe a specific event from your adult years (age 21 and beyond) that stands out as being especially important or significant.

Event #8: One Other Important Scene

Describe one more event, from any point in your life, that stands out in your memory as being especially important or significant.

III. Life Challenge

Looking back over the various chapters and scenes in your life story, please describe the single greatest challenge that you have faced in your life. How have you faced, handled, or dealt with this challenge? Have other people assisted you in dealing with this challenge? How has this challenge had an impact on your life story?

IV. Influences on the Life Story: Positive and Negative

Positive

Looking back over your life story, please identify the single person, group of persons, or organization/institution that has or have had the greatest positive influence on your story. Please describe this person, group, or organization and the way in which he, she, it, or they have had a positive impact on your story.

Negative

Looking back over your life story, please identify the single person, group of persons, or organization/institution that has or have had the greatest negative influence on your story. Please describe this person, group, or organization and the way in which he, she, it, or they have had a negative impact on your story.

V. Stories and the Life Story

You have been telling me about the story of your life. In so doing, you have been trying to make your life into a story for me. I would like you now to think a little bit more about stories and how some particular stories might have influenced your own life story. From an early age, we all hear and watch stories. Our parents may read us stories when we are little; we hear people tell stories about everyday events; we watch stories on television and hear them on the radio; we see movies or plays; we learn about stories in schools, churches, synagogues, on the playground, in the neighborhood, with friends, family; we tell stories to each other in everyday life; some of us even write stories. I am interested in knowing what some of your favorite stories are and how they may have influenced how you think about your own life and your life story. I am going to ask you about three kinds of stories. In each case, try to identify a story you have heard in your life that fits the description, describe the story very briefly, and tell me if and how that story has had an effect on you.

Television, Movie, Performance: Stories Watched

Think back on TV shows you have seen, movies, or other forms of entertainment or stories from the media that you have experienced. Please identify one of your favorite stories from this domain – for example, a favorite TV show or series, a favorite movie, play, etc. In a couple of sentences, tell me what the story is about. Tell me why you like the story so much. And tell me if and how the story has had an impact on your life.

Books, Magazines: Stories Read

Now think back over things you have read – stories in books, magazines, newspapers, and so on. Please identify one of your favorite stories from this domain. Again, tell me a little bit about the story, why you like it, and what impact, if any, it has had on your life.

Family Stories, Friends: Stories Heard

Growing up, many of us hear stories in our families or from our friends that stick with us, stories that we remember. Family stories include things parents tell their children about "the old days," their family heritage, family legends, and so on. Children tell each other stories on the playground, in school, on the phone, and so on. Part of what makes life fun, even in adulthood, involves friends and family telling stories about themselves and about others. Try to identify one story like this that you remember, one that has stayed with you. Again, tell me a little bit about the story, why you like it or why you remember it, and what impact, if any, it has had on your life.

VI. Alternative Futures for the Life Story

Now that you have told me a little bit about your past, I would like you to consider the future. I would like you to imagine two different futures for your life story.

Positive Future

First, please describe a positive future. That is, please describe what you would like to happen in the future for your life story, including what goals and dreams you might accomplish or realize in the future. Please try to be realistic in doing this. In other words, I would like you to give me a picture of what you would realistically like to see happen in the future chapters and scenes of your life story.

Negative Future

Now, please describe a negative future. That is, please describe a highly undesirable future for yourself, one that you fear could happen to you but that you hope does not happen. Again, try to be pretty realistic. In other words, I would like you to give me a picture of a negative future for your life story that could possibly happen but that you hope will not happen.

[Note to interviewers: Try to get as much concrete detail as possible.]

VII. Personal Ideology

Now I would like to ask a few questions about your fundamental beliefs and values and about questions of meaning and spirituality in your life. Please give some thought to each of these questions.

1. Consider for a moment the religious or spiritual dimensions of your life. Please describe in a nutshell your religious beliefs or the ways in which you approach life in a spiritual sense.
2. Please describe how your religious or spiritual life, values, or beliefs have changed over time.
3. How do you approach political and social issues? Do you have a particular political point of view? Are there particular issues or causes about which you feel strongly? Describe them.
4. What is the most important value in human living? Explain.
5. What else can you tell me that would help me understand your most fundamental beliefs and values about life and the world, the spiritual dimensions of your life, or your philosophy of life?

VIII. Life Theme

Looking back over your entire life story as a story with chapters and scenes, extending into the past as well as the imagined future, can you discern a central theme, message, or idea that runs throughout the story? What is the major theme of your life story? Explain.

IX. Other

What else should I know to understand your life story?

APPENDIX B

Adapted Life-Story Interview Protocol – English Language

Adapted Life Story Interview Protocol

Dan P. McAdams
Revised: February, 2008

Introduction

This is an interview about the story of your life *connected with Partisan's Square*. As a social scientist, I am interested in hearing your story, including parts of the past as you remember them and the future as you imagine it. The story is selective; it does not include everything that has ever happened to you. Instead, I will ask you to focus on a few key things in your life – a few key scenes, characters, and ideas. There are no right or wrong answers to my questions. Instead, your task is simply to tell me about some of the most important things that have happened in your life *in or nearby this place* and how you imagine your life developing in the future *connected with the place*. I will guide you through the interview so that we finish it all in about two hours or less. Please know that my purpose in doing this interview is not to figure out what is wrong with you or to do some kind of deep clinical analysis! Nor should you think of this interview as a “therapy session” of some kind. The interview is for research purposes only, and its main goal is simply to hear your story and *especially to understand your views on this place*. As social scientists, my colleagues and I collect people's life stories in order to understand the different ways in which people in our society and in others live their lives and the different ways in which they understand who they are *in relationship their environment*. Everything you say is voluntary, anonymous, and confidential. I think you will enjoy the interview. Do you have any questions?

A. Life Chapters of this place

Please begin by thinking about your life *in this place* as if it were a book or novel. Imagine that the book has a table of contents containing the titles of the main chapters in the story. To begin here, please describe very briefly what the main chapters in the book might be. Please give each chapter a title, tell me just a little bit about what each chapter is about, and say a word or two about how we get from one chapter to the next. As a storyteller here, what you want to do is to give me an overall plot summary of your story, going chapter by chapter. You may have as many chapters as you want, but I would suggest having between about 2 and 7 of them.

(What would be 'book' chapters or phases of this place existence)

B. Key Scenes in the Life Story connected with the place

Now that you have described the overall plot outline for your life, I would like you to focus in on a few key scenes *experienced connected with this place*. A key scene would be an event or specific incident that took place at a particular time and place. Consider a key scene to be a moment in your life story that stands out for a particular reason – perhaps because it was especially good or bad, particularly vivid, important, or memorable. For each of the eight key events we will consider, I ask that you describe in detail what happened, when exactly and where it happened, who was involved, and what you were thinking and feeling in the event. In addition, I ask that you tell me why you think this particular scene is important or significant in your life. What does the scene say about you as a person? Please be specific.

1. High point. (*Positive experiences connected with the square*)

Please describe a scene, episode, or moment in your life that stands out as an especially positive experience *connected with this place*. This might be the high point scene of your entire life, or else an especially happy, joyous, exciting, or wonderful moment in the story. Please describe this high point scene in detail. What happened, when and where *exactly*, who was involved, and what were you thinking and feeling? Also, please say a word or two about why you think this particular moment was so good and what the scene may say about who you are as a person.

2. Low point. (*Negative experiences connected with the square*)

The second scene is the opposite of the first. Thinking back over your entire life, please identify a scene that stands out as a low point, if not the low point in your life story *connected with place*. Even though this event is unpleasant, I would appreciate your providing as much detail as you can about it. What happened in the event, where *exactly* and when, who was involved, and what were you thinking and feeling? Also, please say a word or two about why you think this particular moment was so bad and what the scene may say about you or your life. [Interviewer note: If the participant balks at doing this, tell him or her that the event does not really have to be the lowest point in the story but merely a very bad experience of some kind *connected with this place*].

3. Turning point. (*Turning point of your life experiences connected with the square*)

In looking back over your life, it may be possible to identify certain key moments that stand out as turning points – episodes that marked an important change in you or your life story. Please identify a particular episode in your life story that you now see as a turning point in your life *connected with this place*. If you cannot identify a key turning point that stands out clearly, please describe some event in your life wherein you went through an important change of some kind. Again, for this event please describe what happened, where and when, who was involved, and what you were thinking and feeling. Also, please say a word or two about what you think this event says about you as a person or about your life.

4. Positive childhood memory. *(Positive childhood memory connected with the square)*

The fourth scene is an early memory – from childhood or your teen-aged years – that stands out as especially positive in some way. This would be a very positive, happy memory from your early years *connected with this place*. Please describe this good memory in detail. What happened, where *exactly* and when, who was involved, and what were you thinking and feeling? Also, what does this memory say about you or about your life?

5. Negative childhood memory. *(Negative childhood memory connected with the square)*

The fifth scene is an early memory – from childhood or your teen-aged years – that stands out as especially negative in some way. This would be a very negative, unhappy memory from your early years, perhaps entailing sadness, fear, or some other very negative emotional experience *connected with this place*. Please describe this bad memory in detail. What happened, where and when, who was involved, and what were you thinking and feeling? Also, what does this memory say about you or your life?

6. Vivid adult memory. *(Vivid adult memory connected with the square)*

Moving ahead to your adult years, please identify one scene that you have not already described in this section (in other words, do not repeat your high point, low point, or turning point scene) that stands out as especially vivid or meaningful. This would be an especially memorable, vivid, or important scene, positive or negative, from your adult years *connected with this place*. Please describe this scene in detail, tell what happened, when and where *exactly*, who was involved, and what you were thinking and feeling. Also, what does this memory say about you or your life?

7. Wisdom event. *(Wisdom experience connected with the square)*

Please describe an event in your life in which you displayed wisdom. The episode might be one in which you acted or interacted in an especially wise way or provided wise counsel or advice, made a wise decision, or otherwise behaved in a particularly wise manner. What happened, where *exactly* and when, who was involved, and what were you thinking and feeling? Also, what does this memory say about you and your life?

8. Religious, spiritual, or mystical experience. *(Religious, spiritual, or mystical experience connected with the place)*

Whether they are religious or not, many people report that they have had experiences in their lives where they felt a sense of the transcendent or sacred, a sense of God or some almighty or ultimate force, or a feeling of oneness with nature, the world, or the universe. Thinking back on your entire life, please identify an episode or moment in which you felt something like this *by just being in this place*. This might be an experience that occurred within the context of your own religious tradition, if you have one, or it may be a spiritual or mystical experience of any kind. Please describe this transcendent experience in detail. What happened, where *exactly* and when, who was involved, and what were you thinking

and feeling? Also, what does this memory say about you or your life?

Now, we're going to talk about the future.

C. Future Script of the square

1. The next chapter. *(How do you see the future of the square)*

Your life story *connected with this place* includes key chapters and scenes from your past, as you have described them, and it also includes how you see or imagine your future. Please describe what you see to be the next chapter *of this place*. What is going to come next?

2. Dreams, hopes, and plans for the future. *(What would you like for the future of the square)*

Please describe your plans, dreams, or hopes for *this place* in the future.

3. Life project. *(How can you contribute for a better place in the future)*

Do you have a project in life? A life project is something that you have been working on and plan to work on in the future chapters of your life story. The project might involve your family or your work life, or it might be a hobby, avocation, or pastime. Please describe any project that you are currently working on or plan to work on in the future *that involve this place in it*. Tell me what the project is, how you got involved in the project or will get involved in the project, how the project might develop, and why you think this project is important for you and/or for other people *in this place*.

D. Challenges

This next section considers the various challenges, struggles, and problems you have *connected with this place*.

1. Life challenge. *(What would be the challenges connected with the continuity of the square)*

2. Health. *(Do you think that this place influences your health and health of others, physical or mental both)*

3. Loss. *(Do you think that you would feel a loss if you leave this place) or (Did you ever leave the place, for how long, and did you feel loss when you left the place)*

4. Failure, regret. *(What do you consider as bad decisions connected to this place)*

F. Life Theme of this place

Looking back over your entire life story *connected with experience of this place*, with all its chapters, scenes, and challenges, and extending back into the past and ahead into the future, do you discern a central theme, message, or idea that runs throughout the story of this place? What is the major theme *of this place* in your life story? Please explain.

(How would you summarize all experiences about the place in one theme, what would be the theme of the square)

G. Reflection

Thank you for this interview. I have just one more question for you. Many of the stories you have told me are about experiences that stand out from the day-to-day. For example, we talked about a high point, a turning point, etc. Given that most people don't share their life stories in this way on a regular basis, I'm wondering if you might reflect for one last moment about what this interview, here today, has been like for you. What were your thoughts and feelings during the interview? How do you think this interview has affected you? Do you have any other comments about the interview process?

APPENDIX C

Adapted Life-Story Interview Protocol – Serbian Language

Intervju protokol o životnoj priči

Dan P. McAdams
Revidirano: Februar, 2008

Uvod

Ovo je intervju o tvojoj (vašoj) životnoj priči i kako je ona povezana sa Trgom partizana. Kao naučnik koji se bavi socijanim istraživanjem, ja sam jako zainteresovana da čujem o tvojoj (vašoj) prošlosti, kako je se ti sećas (vi sećate), ali isto tako o tvojoj budućnosti i kako je ti zamišljas (vi zamišljate). Tvoji (Vaši) odgovori biće selektivni – oni ne uključuju sve što ti se (vam se) ikada desilo u životu povezano sa ovim mestom. Pitanja su formirana oko ključnih događaja iz tvog (vašeg) života – ključnih scena, ljudi, ideja – povezanih sa ovim mestom. Nema tačnih ili netačnih odgovora na postavljena pitanja. Tvoja (Vaša) uloga je da mi ispričas (ispričate) tvoju (vašu) priču o najvažnijim događajima koji su ti (vam) se dogodili na ovom mestu, i kako ti zamišljas (vi zamišljate) da će se tvoj (vaš) život odvijati povezano sa ovim mestom u budućnosti. Ja ću te (vas) voditi kroz pitanja da bi intervju završili za dva sata ili manje. Želim da dodam da cilj mog istraživanja nije da utvrdim šta nije u radu sa tobom (vama) ili da radim neku psihološku analizu tvoje (vaše) ličnosti. Isto tako, ovaj intervju nije strukturiran kao vrsta terapije. Ovaj intervju je napravljen isključivo za potrebe mog istraživanja, i glavni cilj ovog procesa je da zabeležim tvoju (vašu) priču o ovom mestu i da probam da razumem *odnos između korisnika i prostora trga*. Kao naučnici koji se bave socijalnim istraživanjem, moje kolega i ja sakupljamo *životne priče* ljudi da bi bolje razumeli različite načine kako ljudi organizuju svoje živote, različite načine na koje vide sebe i kako razumeju ko su u odnosu na njihovo okruženje. Sve što izaberete da kažete biće na dobrovoljnoj bazi, anonimno, a dobijene informaciji biće čuvane u strogoj tajnosti. Mislim da ćete uživati u ovom intervjuu. Imate li vi dodatnih pitanja pre početka ovog procesa?

Životna poglavlja

Zamolila bi vas da započnete vašu priču o životu na ovom mestu kao da je knjiga ili pripovetka. Svaka knjiga na prvoj stranici ima 'sadržaj' koji predstavlja naslove poglavlja. Molim vas da opišete kratko koja bi bila poglavlja knjige o vašem životu na ovom mestu. Ako je moguće, dajte svakom poglavlju naslov po vašem izboru, objasnite mi ukratko o čemu je svako poglavlje, i kako su poglavlja povezana medju sobom. Ono što ja želim da čujem od vas je priča o ovom mestu, kako je vi vidite, podeljena u poglavlja. Možete da imate koliko god poglavlja želite, ali ja vam toplo preporučujem da to bude između dva i sedam.

Ključna dešavanja (scene) u životnoj priči povezanih sa ovim mestom

Posle vašeg izlaganja o poglavljima vašeg života na ovom mestu, volela bih da se fokusirate na nekoliko ključnih događaja koji su se desili vama na ovom trgu i oko Trga Partizana. Za ključne događaje ja podrazumevam specifičan događaj ili incident koji se desio na ovom mestu u određenom momentu vašeg života i u određeno vreme. To bi trebao da predstavlja moment u vašoj životnoj priči koji je vrlo specifičan i značajan za vas – možda zato što je jako prijatan ili neprijatan, ili ga se iz nekog drugog razloga jasno sećate, možda zato što je jako vazan za vas, ili bilo koji od mnogih razloga. Za svih osam ključnih događaja o kojim ćemo pričati danas, bitno je da mi ispričate što detaljnije šta se desilo, gde tačno i kada se desilo, ko je bio sve uključen u događaj, i šta ste razmišljali i kako ste se osećali za vreme i posle događaja. Takođe ćete mi objasniti zašto je baš ta scena bitna i zašto je značajna za vas. Šta ta scena govori o vama kao osobi? Molim vas, budite što detaljniji.

1. Pozitivan događaj iz vašeg života povezan sa ovim mestom

Molim vas opišite scenu, epizodu ili moment iz vašeg života koji je naročito pozitivan, a povezan je sa ovim mestom. Ovo može biti vase značajno dostignuće u životu, ili jednostavno događaj koji je doneo sreću, radost, uzbudjenje, ili lepotu u vas život. Molim vas da opišete ovu scenu u detalj. Šta se desilo, kada i gde se tačno desilo, koji su

bili učesnici u događaju, i šta ste razmišljali i kako ste se osećali za vreme i posle događaja. Takođe, zamolila bih vas da kazete par reči zasto mislite da je baš taj konkretan događaj pozitivan za vas i šta izbor baš ovog događaja kao pozitivnog govori o vama kao osobi.

2. Negativan događaj is vašeg života povezan sa ovim mestom

Druga scena treba da predstavlja događaj potpuno suprotan prvom. Gledajući ceo vaš život, molim vas da izdvojite jedan negativan događaj u vašoj životnoj priči, povezano sa ovim mestom. Iako ovaj incident treba da predstavlja nešto negativno i neprijatno, zamolila bih vas da mi ga ispričate u što više detalja moguće. Šta se desilo, kada i gde se tačno desilo, koji su bili učesnici u događaju, i šta ste razmišljali i kako ste se osećali za vreme i posle događaja? Takođe, zamolila bih vas da kažete par reči zašto vi vidite ovaj događaj kao negativan po vas i šta izbor baš ovog događaja kao negativnog govori o vama kao osobi. [Opomena za osobu koja obavlja intervju: Ako učesnik u intervjuu okleva u davanju odgovora na ovo pitanje, recite mu da događaj ne mora da bude najnegativniji događaj u njihovom životu, ali mora da predstavlja neku vrstu negativnog iskustva povezanih sa ovim mestom].

3. Događaj koji možete smatrati prekretnicom u vašem životu, a povezan je sa ovim mestom

Kada pogledate unazad na vaš život, verovatno možete da izdvojite događaje koje smatrate da su radikalno promenili vaš život na neki način – epizode koje su označene kao važna prekretnica u vašoj životnoj priči. Zamolila bih vas da indentifikujete konkretan događaj u vašoj životnoj priči koju sada vidite kao prekretnicu u vašem životu, a da ta epizoda bude vezana sa ovim mestom. Ako ne možete da indentifikujete ključni događaj koji je promenio vaš život koji se jasno izdvaja od drugih iz vašeg života, opišite mi bilo koji događaj kroz koji ste prošli i koji je promenio vaš život na neki način. Kao i u predhodnim pitanjima, objasnite mi šta se desilo, kada i gde se tačno desilo, ko su bili učesnici u događaju, i šta ste razmišljali i kako ste se osećali za vreme i posle događaja. Takođe, zamolila bih vas da mi odgovorite u par reči šta ovaj događaj govori o vama kao osobi ili o vašem životu generalno.

4. Pozitivno sećanje iz detinjstva povezano sa ovim mestom

Četvrti događaj o kome ćemo govoriti povezan je sa sećanjima iz ranog perioda vašeg života - od vašeg ranog detinjstva do tinejdžerskih dana – i odnosi se na događaj iz toga vremena koga se jasno sećate kao pozitivnog na neki način. Ovo bi trebalo da bude veoma pozitivno i sretno sećanje iz vašeg detinjstva, a vezano za ovo mesto. Molim vas da opišete ovo prijatno sećanje u detalj. Šta se desilo, gde se tačno desilo i kada, ko su bili učesnici događaja, i šta ste razmišljali i kako ste se osećali za vreme i posle događaja. Takodje, zamolila bih vas da mi kazete u par reči šta ovaj događaj govori o vama kao osobi ili o vašem životu generalno.

5. Negativno sećanje iz detinjstva povezano sa ovim mestom

Peti događaj o kome ćemo govoriti povezan je sa memorijom iz ranog perioda vašeg života - od vašeg ranog detinjstva do tinejdžerskih dana – i odnosi se na događaj iz toga vremena koga se jasno sećate kao negativnog na neki način. Ovo bi trebalo da bude veoma negativno i neprijatno sećanje iz vašeg detinjstva, možda kada ste se osećali tužno, kada ste osećali strah, ili kada ste prošli kroz bilo kakvo emotivno negativno stanje, a da je bilo vezano za ovo mesto. Molim vas da opišete ovo sećanje sto detaljnije. Šta se desilo, gde se tačno desilo i kada, ko su bili učesnici događaja, i šta ste razmišljali i kako ste se osećali za vreme i posle događaja? Takodje, zamolila bih vas da mi odgovorite u par reči šta ovaj događaj govori o vama kao osobi ili o vašem životu generalno.

6. Izuzetno jako sećanje iz odraslog perioda vašeg života povezano sa ovim mestom

Sada bih vas zamolila da identifikujete jednu scenu iz odraslog perioda vašeg života, o kojoj već niste govorili u ovom delu razgovora (drugim rečima, nemojte da ponavljate pozitivan, negativan događaj niti prekretnicu iz vašeg života), a koja se izdvaja kao narocito upečatljiva i značajna. Ovo bi trebalo da bude važan događaj koga se naročito jasno sećate, negativan ili pozitivan, iz odraslog perioda vašeg života, a povezan sa ovim mestom. Molim vas da opišete scenu u detalj, recite mi šta se desilo, kada i gde se tačno desilo, ko su učesnici u događaju, i kako ste se vi osećali i šta ste razmišljali tada. Takodje, šta mislite da ovo sećanje govori o vama kao osobi?

7. Događaj mudrosti (prosvetljenja)

Zamolila bih vas da sada opišete događaj iz vašeg života koji za vas predstavlja mudrost. To može da bude epizoda u kojoj ste se ponašali ili saradivali sa drugima na posebno

mudar način, ili ste nekome dali pametan savet ili informaciju, kada ste doneli pametnu odluku, ili ako ste se prosto ponašali u takom maniru. Molim vas da opišete scenu u detalj, recite mi šta se desilo, kada i gde tačno se desilo, ko su bili učesnici u događaju, i kako ste se vi osećali i šta ste razmišljali tada. Takođe, šta mislite da ovo sećanje govori o vama kao osobi?

8. Religiozno, spirutualno (duhovno) ili mistično iskustvo povezano sa ovim mestom.

Bez obzira da li su religiozni ili ne, mnogi ljudi tokom njihovog života dožive različita iskustva kroz koje osećate transcendentno i produhovljeno, gde osećate Boga ili neku drugu uzvišenu silu, dobiju osećaj da su jedno sa prirodom, sa svetom, i univerzumom. Kada razmišljate o vašem životu do sada, molim vas da identifikujete epizodu ili momenat kada ste se tako osetili, a da bude povezano sa ovim mestom. Ovo može da bude događaj koji se desio povezano sa vašim religioznim ritualima, ako ste religiozni, ili može da bude spirutualno i mistično iskustvo bilo koje vrste. Molim vas da opišete ovo iskustvo u detalje. Šta se desilo, gde se tačno desilo i kada, ko su bili učesnici u događaju, i šta ste razmišljali i kako ste se osećali za vreme i posle događaja? Takođe, šta mislite da ovo sećanje govori o vama kao osobi?

Sada ćemo da pričamo malo o budućnosti.

Budućnost ovog mesta i vašeg života života na njemu

1. Sledeće poglavlje vaše životne priče (ili kako vidite budućnost ovog trga)

Vaša životna priča povezana sa životom na ovom mestu uključuje ključna poglavlja i događaje iz vaše prošlosti, kao što ste ih do sada opisali, ali takođe podrazumeva vašu budućnost, kako je vi vidite i zamišljate. Molim vas da mi opišete kako vi vidite sledeće poglavlje ovog mesta i vašeg života na njemu. Šta mislite da će sledeće da se desi povezano sa ovim mestom?

2. Snovi, nadanja, i planovi za budućnost (ili čemu se nadate i šta očekujete u budućnosti povezano sa ovim mestom)

Molim vas da opišete šta zamišljate, čemu se nadate, i šta očekujete za ovo mesto u budućnosti.

3. Životni projekat (ili kako mislite da vi možete da doprinesete poboljšanju ovog mesta u budućnosti)

Da li vi imate vaš životni projekat? Životni projekat je nešto na na čemu vi radite i planirate da radite u budućim poglavljima vašeg života (budućnosti). Projekat možda uključuje vašu familiju ili vaš posao, i može predstavljati hobi, vaše zanimanje, ili neku drugu aktivnost. Molim vas da objasnite u detalje bilo koji projekat na kome radite trenutno ili planirate da radite na njemu u budućnosti a koji uključuje ili može da uključi neku vrstu aktivnosti na ovom mestu. Recite mi o čemu je projekat, pod kojim uslovima ste postali ili ćete postati deo projekta, kako mislite da će se projekat odvijati, i zasto mislite da je ovaj projekat vazan za vas i/ili za druge ljude koji borave na ovom mestu?

Izazovi

Sledeći deo razgovora vodiće se oko tema izazova, trzavica i problema koje imate, a da su povezana sa ovim mestom.

1. Izazovi (Koji bi bili izazovi povezani sa očuvanjem trga?)
2. Zdravlje (Da li mislite da ovo mesto utiče na vaše zdravlje i zdravlje drugih, fizičko i mentalno?)
3. Gubitak (Da li mislite da bi osećali bilo kakav gubitak kada bi napustili ovo mesto?) ili (Da li ste ikada napustali ovo mesto, na koliko dugo, i da li ste osećali gubitak kada ste bili odsutni?)
4. Gubitak, žaljanje (Šta smatrate da je bila pogrešna odluka u prošlosti vezana za ovo mesto?)

Životna tema ovog mesta

Kada gledate unazad na ceo vaš život povezano sa iskustvima proživljenim na ovom mestu, sa svim poglavljima, događajima, izazovima, gledajući nazad u prošlost i napred u budućnost, da li možete da izdvojite centralnu temu, poruku, ili ideju koja se provlači kroz čitavu životnu priču ovog mesta? Koja bi mogla biti glavna tema ovog mesta gledano iz ugla vaše životne priče? Molim vas objasnite.
(Kako bi ste sumirali sva iskustva koja su se desila na ovom mestu u jednu temu, koja bi bila glavna tema ovog trga?)

Vase mišljenje o ovom intervjuu

Hvala vam sto ste odlučili da učestvujete u ovom intervjuu. Imam još samo jedno pitanje za vas. Mnoge priče o kojima ste mi već pričali u toku ovog razgovora su u vezi svakodnevnih iskustava. Na primer, pričali smo o pozitivnom iskustvu, i događaju koje je bio prekretnica u vašem životu i tako dalje. Uzimajući u obzir da većina ljudi ne deli na ovaj način njihove životne priče i iskustva, možete li da mi date vaše mišljenje o tome kakvo je iskustvo ovaj intervju, ovde i danas, predstavljao za vas? O čemu ste razmišljali i kako ste se osećali u toku ovog intervjua? Sta mislite kako je ovaj razgovor uticao ili će uticati na vas? Da li imate bilo koji drugi komentar u vezi ovog intervjua?

VITA

Sofija Kaljevic

EDUCATION:

Ph.D. in Human and Community Development
School of Design and Community Development

West Virginia University
2012-2018

Dissertation Title: *Exploring Memory of Place and Place-Identity Through Narrative Inquiry: A Study of Partisans' Square in Uzice, Serbia*

M.Arch in Architecture and Urban Planning

Faculty of Technical Sciences

University of Novi Sad
1998-2005

Master Thesis Project Title: *Museum of Contemporary Art in Uzice, Serbia*

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Freelance Architect and Landscape Architect

Belgrade, Serbia
2011

Leading Architect and Landscape Designer, MIRAX GROUP

Budva, Montenegro
2009-2010

Architect, ATDesign and Architecture

Belgrade, Serbia
2007-2009

Junior Architect, PROFIL DESIGN

Belgrade, Serbia
2006-2007

Junior Architect, KUKIC DESIGN

Novi Sad, Serbia
2005-2006

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

Instructor/Lecture and Studio Work
LARC250 Theory of Landscape Architecture

West Virginia University
Fall 2016, 2017

Instructor/Lecture and Studio Work
ID155 Graphics I

West Virginia University
Fall 2015

Teaching Assistant/Lecturer
ID260 History of Interior Design

West Virginia University
Spring 2015, 2014

Teaching Assistant/Lecturer
ID200 Interior Materials/Structures

West Virginia University
Fall 2014

Assistant Instructor/Studio work
ID375 Residential Interior Design

West Virginia University
Spring 2014

Assistant Instructor/Studio work
ID235 Graphics II

West Virginia University
Spring 2012

Assistant Instructor/Studio work
ID225 Space Planning

West Virginia University
Spring 2012