The Socialist Modernization of Prishtina: Interrogating Types of Urban and Architectural Contributions to the City

Florina Jerliu – Vlora Navakazi[*]

This study introduces the contextual history in which socialist modernization was accomplished in Prishtina, the capital city of Kosovo. It explores the changing image of the city through interpreting the temporal and spatial forms of urban and architectural contributions that occurred between late 1940s and 1980s. Our analysis classifies six types of such contribution, comparable to Hamilton's model of the socialist city, which prove that the intentions of the modernist socialist urbanism and architecture in Prishtina were similar to other socialist cities. However, the political and cultural background of Prishtina was different from other ex-Yugoslavian cities, and we try to show what impact it had in the shaping of its urban and socialist features. Analysis identified two major undertakings to support this argument: firstly, the destruction of traditional architecture with high symbolic value, with intention to erase the cultural construct of the city through, allegedly, the *liquidation of primitive culture* and the *backwardness* of the city; and secondly, and the fragmentary nature of urban development which made sure that such *backwardness* would frame the urban identity of the city in the modern context.

Keywords: Socialist Modernization. Urban Destruction. Prishtina. Modern Urbanism. Landmarks.

Introduction

It is widely recognized that modernist architecture is not homogenous in the sense of perceived architectural and ideological rationality and functionality. Various agendas have been pursued and different approaches and solutions produced,[1] each depending on the vision of prosperity that countries worldwide embraced in the aftermath of the Second World War. It is also recognized that modernist architecture emerged under very different regimes and conditions which, as Heuvel notes, were "sometimes not quite as progressive as propagated" and were "indeed at times outright repressive".[2]

In socialist Yugoslavia,[3] modernist architecture and urbanism were critical in the construction of socialism and as means for differentiating new developments from the capitalist form of urbanization. Negative references to unresolved contradictions between the individual and society, the city and the villages, urban centres and their peripheries – which Yugoslav urbanists of the times attributed to capitalist societies – were used to assign socialist urbanism the role of terminating the "spontaneous development" of settlements and, by that, diminishing the above-mentioned contradictions, which would lead to the aspired abolition of the old city division.[4] In this endeavour, modernist

---

* As the Assistant Professors, both authors are affiliated with the University of Prishtina. Vlora Navakazi is the corresponding author of this article.

1 CASCIATO, Maristella. Modern Architecture is Durable : Using Change to Preserve. In: HEUVEL, Dirk van den et al. *Proc. of the 10th Int. DOCOMOMO Conf. : The Challenge of Change: Dealing with the Legacy of the Modern Movement.* Netherlands : IOS Press, 2008, pp. xiii-xiv.

2 HEUVEL, Dirk van den. Buildings and Ideologies. In: HEUVEL, Dirk van den et al. *Proc. of the 10th Int. DOCOMOMO Conf. : The Challenge of Change : Dealing with the Legacy of the Modern Movement.* Netherlands : IOS Press, 2008, p. 35.

3 This article often refers to countries, such as Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, that no longer exist. These names are used when referring to the historical context in which they were still geopolitical entities.

4 MITROVIC, Mihajlo. *Gradovi i Naselja u Srbiji* [Cities and Villages in Serbia]. Beograd : Urbanistički Zavod Narodne Republike Srbije, 1953, p. 11-13.

concepts in socialist Yugoslavia produced various urban regeneration approaches in which former Ottoman provinces were given specific attention in terms of ideological modernization, as noted by A. Shukriu: Ever since the first five-year plan of economic development of the People's Republic of Serbia (1951) the principle was forced "to make efforts and be determined to entirely liquidate the backwardness of our Republic, especially in the province of Kosovo and Metohija and Sandzak".[5]

The transformation of Ottoman cities into modern cities was a widespread phenomenon in Southeast Europe, including Yugoslavia. Conley and Makas note that this approach was more about "revenge" against the existing urban customs and forms of the Ottoman city, and that modernization and the construction of a new national identity was synonymous with the notion of Europeanization.[6] *De-Ottomanization* of Prishtina, which used to be an important regional centre within the Ottoman Empire and was once the centre of the Kosovo Vilayet (between 1878 and 1888), meant not only becoming European and modern, but also Yugoslavian, an identity which was contested by Kosovo's Albanian population in the aftermath of the Second World War.[7] The development approach that stemmed from the goal to "liquidate backwardness" in Prishtina aimed to forge a new societal and political structure that would suppress Albanian nationalism (which was considered "the most hostile element"[8] by the new Yugoslav regime) and to maintain "the constitutionally inferior status"[9] of Kosovo within the Republic of Serbia, within which country Albanians were recognized as a national minority (not a constituent national group); in Kosovo they already formed the majority of the population.[10]

The goal of the socialist regime, deriving from the economic mid-term plan, was further disseminated through the city monograph and later in urban plans and reports, making sure that new policies were "publicly put to their most decisive tests".[11] In this context, new urbanism emerged at the expense of built heritage and regardless of the relevance and distinctiveness of traditional values and the historic dimensions of the city which evolved during the Ottoman era. As a result, between 1947 and throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Prishtina lost its symbolic historic core, including the old Bazaar (Albanian: *Çarshia e Vjetër*) as well as the surrounding historic environment. A similar fate befell Novi Pazar's Bazaar (Bosnian: *Tijesna čaršija)* in Sandzak, which was also destroyed in 1947.

In principle, the concept of building the new modernist legacy in socialist Yugoslavia did not compromise historic centres throughout the country. Urban development schemes in ex-federal capitals introduced physical and functional extensions of existing

5   SHUKRIU, A. Zhvillimi Ekonomik [Economic Development]. In: *Kosovo and Metohija 1943 – 1963*. Belgrade : Beogradski Graficki zavod, 1963, p. 11.

6   DAMLJANOVIĆ CONLEY, Tanja – GUNZBURGER MAKAŠ, Emily. Shaping Central and Southeastern European Capital Cities in the Age of Nationalism. In: GUNZBURGER MAKAŠ, Emily – DAMLJANOVIĆ CONLEY, Tanja (Eds.). *Capital Cities in the Aftermath of Empires : Planning in Central and Southeastern Europe*. London; New York : Routledge, 2009, p. 14.

7   See: MALCOLM, Noel. *Kosovo : A short History*. London : Macmillan Publishers, 1998, pp. 316-317.

8   GUNZBURGER MAKAŠ, E. – DAMLJANOVIĆ CONLEY, T. (Eds.). *Capital...*, p. 148.

9   VICKERS, Miranda. *Between Serb and Albanian : A history of Kosovo*. New York : Columbia University Press, 1998, p. 147.

10   See: PULA, Besnik. The Emergence of the Kosovo "Parallel State", 1988 – 1992. In: *Nationalities Papers*, 2004, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 797-826. Also: MALCOLM, N. *Kosovo...*, pp. 327-328.

11   FISHER, Jack C. Planning the City of Socialist Man. In: *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 1962, vol. 28, no. 4, s. 251-265. DOI: 10. 1080/01944366208979451

urban centres – for example, in Novi Beograd, Novi Zagreb, and Novo Sarajevo – or large-scale additions to formerly existing settlements, such as Podgorica (Titograd) and Velenje.[12] The latter approach applied partially in the case of Prishtina as well, but the prevailing approach consisted of "general radical reconstruction", a term coined by modern urbanists to describe interventions that led to the destruction of the traditional city core from the Ottoman period. In principle, this approach was based on socialist theory, which, according to Fisher, was to be made visible in spatial terms. Similar examples outside Yugoslavia include Nowa Huta and Nowe Tychy in Poland, Sztalinvaros in Hungary, Dimitrovgrad and resort cities along the Black Sea in Bulgaria, and Havirov and Nová Dubnica in Czechoslovakia.[13]

The various forms of urbanization and architecture in socialist cities in the former Yugoslavia have been discussed broadly by many scholars,[14] but very few studies exist on Prishtina and its urban history in the context of Yugoslav socialist modernization.[15] One reason can be found in the fact that this period is often discussed through the example of the capital cities of former Yugoslav republics, while Prishtina, as the centre of the former province of Kosovo, did not provide an exemplary project of mass urbanization and landmark architecture (apart from one or two fine examples, the most notable among which is the National Library of Kosovo).[16] Another reason may be associated with the fact that Prishtina – and Kosovo in general – are usually discussed through the lens of the post-socialist political history of the former Yugoslavia, in which case architectural religious monuments are mainly mentioned in the framework of ethnic conflict and "contested heritage".[17]

Through the use of official documents, monographs and archival reports of the period, including old photographs and observations on the site, we explore the way in which Prishtina transformed from an Ottoman to a modern socialist city. Although limited in numbers, official documents provide sufficient information on the pace of urbanization through the massive destruction of the inner-city area between the late

12   FRENCH, Richard Anthony – HAMILTON, Frederick Edwin Ian (Eds.). *The Socialist City : Spatial Structure and Urban Policy*. Chichester; New York : Wiley, 1979, p. 183.

13   FISHER, J. C. *Planning...*, s. 251-265. DOI: 10. 1080/01944366208979451

14   See: THALER, Wolfgang – MRDULJAS, Maroje – KULIĆ, Vladimir. *Modernism In-Between : The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist Yugoslavia*. Berlin : Jovis, 2012, 272 p. STIERLI, Martino – KULIĆ, Vladimir et al. *Toward a Concrete Utopia : Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948 – 1980*, 2018. LE NORMAND, Brigitte. *Designing Tito's Capital : Urban Planning, Modernism, and Socialism*. Pittsburgh : University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014, 320 p. TSENKOVA, Sasha. *Housing Policy Reforms in Post-Socialist Europe : Lost in Transition*. Heilderberg : Physica-Verlag, 2009, 262 p; etc. On recent literature about socialist Yugoslavia, see: MEDER, Iris. New Literature on the Architecture of Socialist Modernity in Yugoslavia. In: *Südosteuropa*, 2016, vol. 64, no. 3, pp. 396-418.

15   See: HERSCHER, Andrew. Modernity, Heritage and Counter-Heritage. In: *Future Anterior* [online], 2006 (Winter), vol. 3, no. 2. [cit. 5. 10. 2018]. Available on the Internet: <https://courseworks2.columbia.edu/courses/10532/files/579068/preview?verifier>. SYLEJMANI, Sherafedin. *Prishtina ime* [My Prishtina]. Prishtina : Java Multimedia Production, 2010, 132 p. HOXHA, Eliza. *Qyteti dhe Dashuria : Ditar Urban* [City and Love : Urban Diary]. Prishtina : Center for Humanistic Studies "Gani Bobi", 2012. GJINOLLI, Ilir – KABASHI, Lulzim (Eds.). *Kosovo modern : An architectural primer*. Kosovo : National Gallery of Kosovo, 2015.

16   See: KULIĆ, Vladimir. "East? West? Or Both?" Foreign perceptions of architecture in Socialist Yugoslavia. In: *The Journal of Architecture*, 2009, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 129-147.

17   On the discourse, see: GRAHAM Brian – HOWARD, Peter. The Contestation of Heritage. In: GRAHAM Brian – HOWARD, Peter (Eds.). *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Abingdon : Routledge, 2008, pp. 19-72. On contested heritage in the former Yugoslavia, see: NAEF, Patrick – PLONER, Josef. Tourism, conflict and contested heritage in former Yugoslavia. In: *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 2016, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 181-188. DOI:10. 1080/14766825. 2016.1180802

1940s and the 1970s, then between the 1970s and 1980s through new development.[18] In general, documents indicate that the planned destruction of existing structures to make space for new modernist buildings was not based on genuine urban plans for the city, but on fragmented interventions conducted in the spirit of a political vision aiming at the termination of the so-called "backwardness" of the city, as the text in the quotation above states, and which in fact was conducted through targeting the most symbolic parts of the pre-modern city.

The initial phase of destruction was documented through an official report on urban plans and new construction between 1946 and 1951 in socialist Yugoslavia's Serbia, published by the Institute for Urban Planning in Belgrade in 1953. The report, entitled "Cities and Settlements in Serbia" (*Gradovi i Naselja u Srbiji*) documents urban development approaches in certain cities during the first postwar decade, including the construction of the socialist Prishtina on the foundations of its Ottoman core. Maps and drawings provided in this report show the urban structures of the majority of cities in Serbia before and after the planned development, coupled with explanations and justifications of the approaches applied. In the Prishtina section, the report informs us of the perspectives of the Regulation Plan (which was being finalized at that time, in 1953) validated through a narrative that contested the value of the city's architectural heritage from the Ottoman period, which state urbanists defined as being too remote and, therefore, deserving of "general radical reconstruction".[19] This approach, as mentioned above, was only focused on symbolic parts of the city, thus leaving the immediate surroundings of the new constructions untreated and underserviced.

As Le Normand notes in her book about Belgrade, analysis of the variations and consistencies in the modernism of the former Yugoslavia should be "the work of many authors", since it is impossible to assume that the story of capital cities was replicated in other smaller cities.[20] Drawing on this call to research, the aim of this article is to present a timeline of the socialist modernization of Prishtina. While periods and approaches in the development of the city correspond to the common model and development timeframes of other socialist cities in Southeast Europe already discussed broadly by numerous scholars, the socialist attributes of the capital city are only vaguely identified in the case of Prishtina. Being the capital city of the province of Kosovo, within the Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia, Prishtina had a contingent position as both a provincial and a capital centre. Its provincial character was manifested through means of urbanism: while modern housing quarters showcased the regime's approach to improving living standards in Prishtina on equal terms with other Yugoslav cities, these residences were developed as "model projects" with self-reliant infrastructure, suggesting a lack of an overall vision for city's future. Also, while these constructions were built for the new working class, the question of representation of national minorities[21] remained highly politicized in terms of granting privileges to the de facto

---

18 Two main archival documents provide statistical information about urban and architectural projects in Prishtina during the period under discussion: Pecanin S. Spisak Detaljnih Planova na Teritoriji Grada Pristine [List of Detailed Plans on the Territory of the City of Pristina] and Jovanovic B. Urbane aktivnosti u Pristini – Izvestaj, June 1965. [Urban activities in Pristina – Report, June 1965]. Retrieved from the Municipal Archive of Prishtina in May 2011.

19 See section on Prishtina in: MITROVIC, M. *Gradovi...*, pp. 165-166.

20 LE NORMAND, B. *Designing...*, p. 24.

21 See: HEPPNER, Harald. Capital city as national vision at the Serbs, Bulgarians and Romanians. In: DOYTCHINOV, Grigor – ĐUKIĆ, Aleksandra – CĂTĂLINA, Ioniţă (Eds.). *Planning Capital Cities : Belgrade, Bucharest,*

versus de jure minorities in Kosovo.[22] The character of a capital centre, on the other hand, is readable in Prishtina's modernist architectural landmarks, which showcase the common visionary tendencies of this period in Yugoslavian architecture, as well as in the international scene.

Our analysis identifies six types of modernist contribution to the city, comparable to Hamilton's model of the *Typical East European socialist city*.[23] The first four types materialized simultaneously between the mid-1940s and the 1970s, in the form of radical reconstruction: 1) The historic core: destruction of the Old Bazaar to create space for new buildings for the central administration; 2) The inner-city: setting the scene of the modern through sporadic construction of new apartment blocks inside traditional quarters; 3) The modern city centre project: a massive renewal which changed the image of the city; and 4) Disruption of traditional street-fronts through the random infusion of collective apartment blocks, creating a panorama which echoed simultaneously the progressiveness and the backwardness of the city. The first type corresponds with Hamilton's first type, (on the historic core); the second combines his second type (on inner-city areas) and third type (on zones of transition or reconstruction); while the third and fourth types identified in case of Prishtina are partial variations on Hamilton's fourth type (on socialist housing of the 1950s). Two other contributions materialized, mainly between the 1970s and the late 1980s, in the form of new development: 5) New urban quarters created in outskirts of the existing city, in nationalized agricultural lands, corresponding in variant to Hamilton's fifth type (on residential districts of the 1960s and 1970s), and 6) Landmarks, distinctive for their visionary architecture and potent transmission of state power.

In terms of spatial production, three of the above-mentioned types contain spatial features identified by Hirt and Stanislov: a high-density urban fabric dominated by the city centre, where the majority of government departments, offices and retail buildings are concentrated; while the fifth type – namely, new urban quarters – corresponds with the authors' grouping of a core residential zone consisting of mono-functional housing and industrial zones.[24]

The destruction of the Old Bazaar (1946 – 1953)

Ottoman Prishtina was a town with a compact urban structure and an identifiable nucleus in the form of the Old Bazaar, which served as the town's principal marketplace and was frequented on a daily basis. Neighbourhoods were evenly distributed around

---

Sofia. Graz : Verlag der Technischen Universität Graz, 2015, pp. 10-18.

22   See Malcolm's account on the second-class position of Albanians in: MALCOLM, N. *Kosovo...*, p. 314.

23   Hamilton's model consists of eight zones: (1) the historic medieval or renaissance core; (2) inner commercial, housing, and industrial areas from the capitalist period; (3) a zone of socialist transition or renewal, where modern construction is partially and progressively replacing inherited urban or relict-village features; (4) socialist housing of the 1950s; (5) integrated socialist neighbourhoods and residential districts of the 1960s and 1970s; (6) an open or planned "isolation belt"; (7) industrial or related zones; and (8) open countryside, forest or hills, including touristic complexes. HAMILTON, Frederick Edwin Ian. Spatial structure in East European Cities. In: FRENCH, Richard Anthony – HAMILTON, Frederick Edwin Ian (Eds.). *The Socialist city : spatial structure and urban policy*. Chichester; New York : Wiley, 1979, p. 227. Scholars have used French and Hamilton's spatial model to analyze and narrate the production of the socialist city, its commonalities and variations. See the consistency of Sofia's development with Hamilton's model in: HIRT, Sonia. *Iron curtains : Gates, suburbs and Privatization of Space in the Post-Socialist City*. Chichester : John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 2012, p. 87.

24   HIRT, Sonia – STANISLOV, Kiril. *Twenty Years of Transition : The Evolution of Urban Planning in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union, 1989 – 2009*. Nairobi : UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 23.

bazaar and, as in other Ottoman cities, they maintained a superb distinction between the public and private realms.

Throughout the late 1940s and 50s, the Prishtina's Bazaar was the focus of modernist interventions. Bazaar shops were demolished through "voluntary" labour imposed by the state upon the owners, channelled through "Popular Front" volunteers.[25] Although the destruction of bazaars, mosques, and other structures from the Ottoman period occurred in many cities in the region, this was not the case with cities like Sarajevo and Tirana, which had a large local Muslim population.[26] Instead, city planning would be directed towards the creation of a new city centre, with the intention of excluding the old bazaar from the inner-city area, as was the case with Skopje. After the earthquake of 1963, Skopje's bazaar once again became an integral part of the city's central area, demonstrating new modern intentions and greater sensitivity towards historical heritage.[27] While the bazaars of Gjakova and Peja (both being secondary centres in Kosovo) were preserved for the same reasons and later planned for with the same intention as Skopje's, the bazaar in Prishtina was destroyed, arguably because of its political significance as a site of tension and the bastion of the Albanian complotters.[28] Its space was to be used for the new Brotherhood and Unity Square, with two state institutions on either side of the square: namely, the Municipal Assembly Building and the building of the Regional People's Committee for Kosovo (today the Parliament of Kosovo) (Fig. 1).

Makas and Conly note that the symbolic meaning of urban form was considered "a potential generator of collective imagination and a canvas for national representation".[29] In the case of Prishtina, this new state administration complex, built in the location of the pre-socialist socio-economic and political core, was to set the scene for the new national representation of Kosovo in Yugoslavia. The symbolic meaning of the complex was crowned with a monument to "Brotherhood and Unity" – a slogan that promoted the equal rights of the Yugoslav people. Although brotherhood and unity between peoples was the official discourse in Yugoslavia, Albanians were openly reminded about their inferior ethnic identity.[30] Thus, the monument was perceived as controversial: it raised hopes for a better future for new generations, while at the same time it triggered anxiety over losing an important aspect and the memory of city's identity. Through this intervention, the state became the official arbitrator of public commemoration and of national heritage constructed on the basis of the new national memory that derived from the state.[31]

25 See: HERSCHER, Andrew. Is it true that Albanians are responsible for an orchestrated campaign to destroy Kosova's cultural heritage in modern times? In: DI LELLIO, Anna (Ed.). *The Case for Kosova : Passage to Independence*. London; New York : Anthem Press, 2006, pp. 37-42.

26 DAMLJANOVIĆ CONLEY, T. – GUNZBURGER MAKAŠ, E. *Shaping...*, p. 9.

27 KRSTIKJ, Aleksandra – KOURA, Hisako. *Transformation of the position of historic center in modernization – Case study : Skopje's Old Bazaar, R. Macedonia. Proceedings of the 20th International Conference on Urban Form.* Brisbane : ISUF, 2013, pp. 39-51.

28 On similar ethno-religious prejudices in perceptions of the Old Bazaar in Skopje, see: DIMOVA, Rozita. Elusive centres of a Balkan city : Skopje between undesirable and reluctant heritage. In: *International Journal of Heritage Studies* [online]. 2018. [cit. 28. 6. 2018]. Available on the Internet: <https://doi.org/10. 1080/13527258. 2018.1482473>

29 DAMLJANOVIĆ CONLEY, T. – GUNZBURGER MAKAŠ, E. *Shaping...*, p. 10.

30 See note 18 in LE NORMAND, B. *Designing...*, p. 258. Also see: MALCOLM, N. *Kosovo...*, p. 314.

31 McDOWELL, Sara. Heritage, Memory and Identity. In: GRAHAM Brian – HOWARD, Peter (Eds.). *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Abingdon : Routledge, 2008, p. 40.
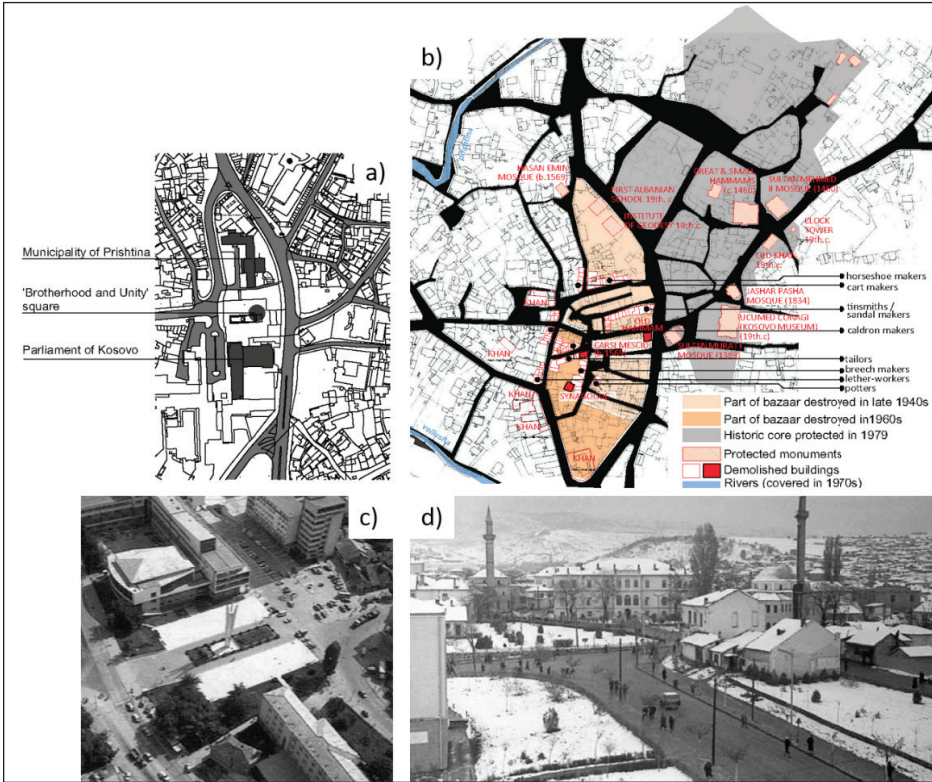
Fig. 1: Former Bazaar in Prishtina: a) New socialist state core; source: geodesic map 1986; b) Old
Bazaar in c.1937, source: geodesic survey map and location of crafts and religious buildings af-
ter F. Doli. (2001). Traditional popular architecture of Kosova. pp. 112 – modified by the author;
c) Aerial Photo of the 'Brotherhood and Unity' square, and d) Photo showing the Divan Yoll pro-
menade and part of the Bazaar before destruction. Photo source: Prishtina Municipality digital
photo archive: <https://kk-arkiva.rks-gov.net/prishtina/Galeria-(1)/Prishtina-e-vjeter.aspx>
(accessed October 20, 2018)

Concurrently, over 40 public drinking fountains, which distinguished the public
space in Ottoman Prishtina, were demolished over time.[32] The only public drinking
fountain that has survived is now protected by law, and is located near the Bazaar
Mosque. None of the traditional housing ensembles in the city centre enjoyed state
protection; hence, architectural structures which, at the time of designating the
protected area, were in bad shape soon decayed. This situation progressed from 1975
onwards, when the allocation of state resources moved to more productive sectors and
the production of housing was extended to the private sector. In the years to follow,

---

32   SYLEJMANI, Sh. *Prishtina...*, p. 80.

many buildings were allowed to undergo physical alternations due to a long-term lack of maintenance, or to improve living conditions within.[33]

The emergence of modernity (1947/8)

The beginning of modernist urbanization in Prishtina, as in other former Yugoslavian cities, was marked by the construction of collective housing blocks. The socialist imperative to "supply flats for everyone" was translated into housing provision, which was relatively successful despite the fact that provision did not match the level of population growth in the aftermath of the Second World War.[34] The housing sector, and urban development in general, was owned by the state, given that the state had nationalized urban land, real estate and the means of production.[35]

As early as 1947, a three-floor apartment block typology was introduced within the traditional residential quarters of Prishtina. The "phoenix rising" implications of this new architecture – a notion used by Zarecor when discussing the housing and early socialist modernity in Czechoslovakia[36] – made its appearance exemplary only as a model development, a narrative which spoke of a future large-scale redevelopment of traditional residences into compact modern neighbourhoods, which in fact was never realized. The neglected spaces behind and between these modern edifices produced a mismatch of spatial qualities that changed the perception and the image of the city's present and its "splendid" future in a matter of years (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2: Modernist housing in Prishtina introduced inside traditional quarters.
Photo source: Facebook community page "Prishtina e Vjetër" in: <https://web.facebook.com/PrishtinaOLD/> (posted/accessed June 21, 2016)

---

33 TSENKOVA, S. *Housing...*, p. 30.

34 TSENKOVA, S. *Housing...*, p. 31.

35 HIRT, Sonia. Whatever happened to the (post)socialist city? In: *Cities*, 2013, vol. 32, pp. 29-38.

36 ZARECOR, Kimberly Elman. *Manufacturing a socialist modernity : Housing in Czechoslovakia, 1945 – 1960.* Pittsburgh : University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011, pp. 13-16.

The reason for limiting such interventions to "model developments" in specific locations can partially be found in the fact that these buildings had replaced the confiscated houses of those whom the regime had declared collaborators and enemies of the country.[37] In the case of Prishtina, confiscation (1944) and later nationalization (1946) of lands and houses, which allowed for their redistribution to state officials,[38] had affected mainly the Albanian population which, as Miranda Vickers notes, was considered "politically unreliable"[39] and hence subject to systematic persecution and discrimination.[40] Householders were prosecuted or killed and their families were driven out of their homes. This kind of state intervention was a widespread phenomenon in the Eastern Block. Ivan Szelenyi explains that the arbitrary removal of selected members of the former ruling class enabled socialist regimes to obtain a certain amount of housing stock deemed to address the egalitarian principles and the housing shortage problem during the first postwar phase.[41] Accordingly, vacant housing properties would then be redistributed to the leading functionaries of the new socialist state. He further argues that the social meaning of the housing problem is viewed by minorities as a problem of social inequality,[42] which, in the case of Kosovo (and thus Prishtina), with Albanians being de jure a minority in Yugoslavia and de facto a majority in Kosovo, might well have been both engineered and perceived as political.[43]

Nevertheless, the major reason that these new housing constructions halted after the erection of these model inner-city apartment blocks was that the regime, as in other parts of Yugoslavia, was prioritizing infrastructure and industry, despite the proclaimed prioritization of housing provision. As a consequence, the improvement of living standard through new housing construction was largely postponed to a later date.[44]

The new city centre (1947/8 to 1953/4)

The destruction of the Bazaar went hand-in-hand with the construction of new public buildings and apartment blocks in the inner city, which started as early as 1947. Actions taken during this period were referred to by modernist planners as "urban activities" which, according to them, were "operative works necessary for preparing a study on the development of Prishtina City".[45] The detailed urban plan for the city centre was adopted in 1967, about two decades after the actual urban renewal begun.[46]

---

37 LE NORMAND, B. *Designing...*, p. 30.

38 LE NORMAND, B. *Designing...*, p. 30.

39 VICKERS, M. *Between...*, p. 141.

40 VICKERS, Miranda. *The Albanians : A Modern History.* Third Edition. New York : I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2001, p. 174.

41 SZELENYI, Ivan. *Urban Inequalities under State Socialism.* Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1983, p. 29.

42 SZELENYI, I. *Urban...*, p. 20.

43 A recently published list of 381 Prishtina citizens deemed to be enemies and killed by partisans after WWII opened a discussion about the politically motivated termination of the former elite in Prishtina. See: Ekskluzive: Lista e të vrarëve nga komunistët në Prishtinë, që më dekada ishte top-sekret [Exclusive: List of the killed by communists in Pristina, which for decades was top-secret]. [online]. [cit. 27. 10. 2018]. Available on the Internet: <https://telegrafi.com/ekskluzive-lista-e-te-vrareve-nga-komunistet-ne-prishtine-qe-me-dekada-ishte-top-sekret/>

44 LE NORMAND, B. *Designing...*, pp. 38, 73.

45 JOVANOVIC, B. Urbane aktivnosti u Pristini – Izvestaj, June 1965, Archival document.

46 PECANIN, S. Spisak Detaljnih Planova na Teritoriji Grada Pristine, Archival document.

In the following decades (the 1950s and 60s), a major undertaking took place along Lokaq Street: the former north-south axis of the town that stretched southwards from the Old Bazaar, historically known for craft fairs and commerce. This street, which as early as 1947 was named after Marshal Tito (today it is known as Mother Teresa Boulevard) was redeveloped into the city's main artery, along which new state edifices were built. Apart from institutions, apartment housing blocks were built in the surrounding area (Fig. 3.a).

The city centre project required major demolition beside that of the Old Bazaar. A Catholic church and a 16th-century mosque, along with cemeteries located on the eastern side of the street, were destroyed to create space for the Hotel Bozhur (today Hotel Swiss Diamond) and the former Gërmia shopping mall; the River Prishtina (Serbian: *Prištevka*) was also buried in this very location. The western side of the boulevard, which contained two historical layers from the past – Ottoman style two-story houses with a commercial ground floor and early 20th-century edifices erected under the western influence – suffered the same fate (Fig. 3.b).
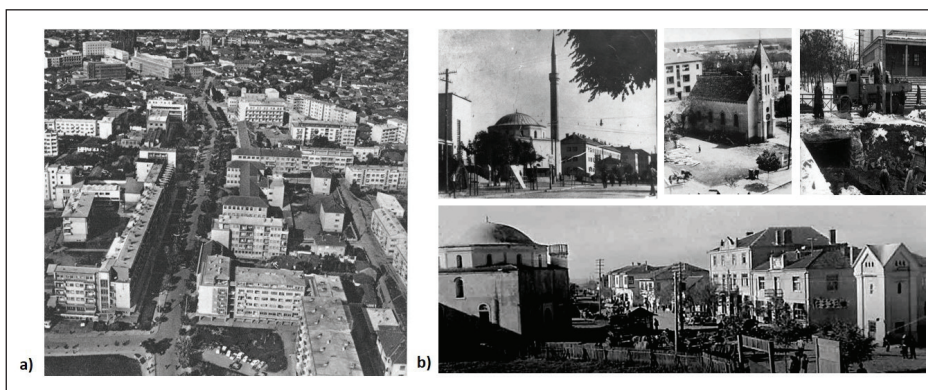

Fig. 3: Modern city centre of Prishtina, built on the foundations of its historic centre: a) Marshal Tito Street and its surrounds (photo source: Mekuli E. and Cukic D. eds. The Prishtina Monograph, 1965); b) Urban architectural structures destroyed during the 1950s and 60s to make space for Marshal Tito Street. Top row, from the left: Lokac Mosque; the Catholic church, the River Prishtina. Bottom: view of the boulevard with Lukac mosque on the left and 20th-century architecture on the right. (Photo source: Facebook community page "Prishtina e Vjetër": <https://web.facebook.com/PrishtinaOLD/> (accessed January 24, 2017)

The redevelopment of the north-south axis into Marshal Tito Street was a project that settled the new national iconography of socialist Prishtina. Its monumental and regularized fronts were designed to resemble the architecture of other European capitals, and used imported features found in other cities of Central and Southeastern Europe.[47] In the years to follow, the significance of the street rose, as it was the route along which the Marshal himself would parade when visiting or transiting Prishtina on his way to Skopje. The impression that would emerge out of the restructured vistas

---

47   See: GUNZBURGER MAKAŠ, E. – DAMLJANOVIĆ CONLEY, T. (Eds.). *Capital...*, pp. 11-12.

substantiated the alleged official efforts for the modernization of the capital of Kosovo to take place on equal terms with that of other Yugoslav cities.

Disruption of traditional street-fronts (1960s)

One aspect of urban regeneration that had a critical impact on the urban and social fragmentation of the historic city during the 1960s was the disruption of the perimetric area of the traditional quarter, through widening the streets and building apartment blocks in a random manner. One clear example of this is the former promenade Divan Yoll, which used to define the southern side of the traditional quarter of Tophane. During the 1960s, the street was named after the Yugoslav Army (JNA), and along it the JNA Cinema, as well as few housing blocks, were randomly infused. As with the first apartments blocks from 1947 discussed above, the urban quality of the areas between and behind new buildings clashed, and the overall image of the once compact quarter of Tophane suffered.

As was the case in other socialist cities, the new residential buildings were isolated units built by the state for the higher social strata, such as skilled workers and technicians, bureaucrats, and intellectuals.[48] Their proximity to the state institutions (see Fig. 4) suggests that these buildings were built with the intention to supply flats for those employed in state institutions, more than as a solution to upgrading existing urban neighbourhoods in response to the fast-growing population of the city – an approach which is otherwise typically pursued in the socialist city, as documented by Hirt through the case of Sofia.[49] By maintaining such diversity in the city centre, the official narrative on socialist Prishtina was two-faced; on the one hand, it informed about potentials of modern streets and architecture, while on the other hand, it disseminated the label of so-called *remote urban culture* upon what was left of the underdeveloped Ottoman-type neighbourhood. Many similar vistas in the city have been inherited from the socialist past, suggesting that the socialist regime's lack of interest in upgrading these urban contexts was not only conditioned by changes in housing policy in years to come, but was also intentional in the sense that upgrading the living (and working) standards of the majority of Albanian citizens in Prishtina was not a priority.[50]

---

48   See: SZELENYI, I. *Urban...*, pp. 52-54.

49   HIRT, S. *Iron...*, p. 84.

50   Malcolm notes that during 1950 and '60s, a strong ethnic imbalance existed in Kosovo: Serbs and Montenegrins accounted for 68% of administrative and leading positions and also made up about 50% of the workers. He also notes that most investment in Kosovo was concentrated in "primary" industries (mining, basic chemical plants and power stations, which supplied materials or energy for use elsewhere in Yugoslavia) which were capital-intensive but not labour-intensive, and which were unfortunate for the fast-growing population in Kosovo. See MALCOLM, N. *Kosovo...*, p. 323.
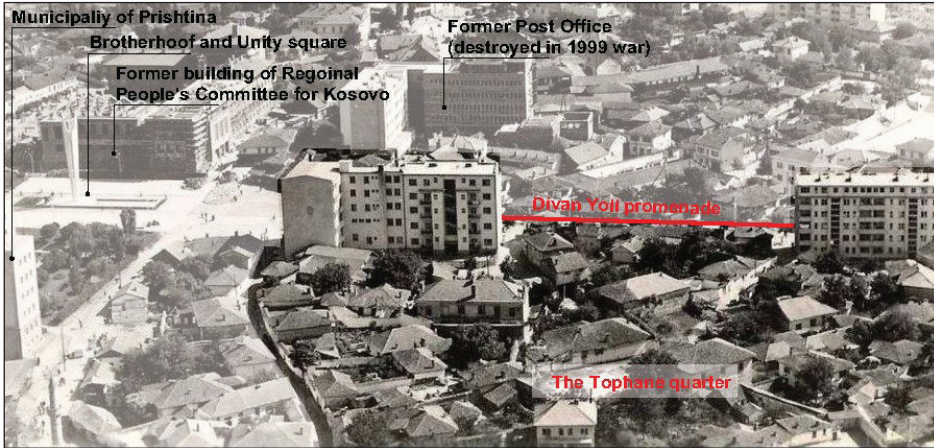
Fig. 4: Former Divan Yoll promenade: Disruption of traditional quarters' perimeter.
Source of picture: Facebook community page "Prishtina e Vjetër": <https://web.facebook.com/PrishtinaOLD/> (posted and accessed December 7, 2017)

This "piecemeal" approach to city development was a problem commonly encountered elsewhere in Yugoslavia during the 1960s, as a result of a lack of conformity in the implementation of urban plans following the adoption of the Urban and Regional Planning Law in 1961. Le Normand tells of how "several detailed site plans for parts of New Belgrade were adopted prior to the creation of the regulation plan".[51] While this was a typical approach pursued in Prishtina during 1960s, later development plans moved the overall focus from Tophane and the inner city to the new modern neighbourhoods, leaving the traditional area with a slightly worn-out look.[52] Due to the maintenance of such vistas in the heart of the city in the decades to follow, the perception is that the regime showcased the "persistence" of *backwardness* in Prishtina and framed the city's socio-spatial identity in the modern Yugoslav context.[53]

New neighbourhoods (1970 – 80s)

The dynamic of urban transition was overwhelming during the 1970s. In a matter of years, Prishtina had gained the appearance of a socialist city being modernized under the umbrella of the national identity of socialist Yugoslavia. In the space of ten years, the population of Prishtina nearly doubled: from 69,514 registered inhabitants in 1971 to 108,083 in 1981.[54] Population growth raised the demand for housing stock. Between late 1970s and late 1980s, the city expanded southwards, with four new neighbourhoods of collective housing created using the mass prefabricated techniques

---

51 LE NORMAND, B. *Designing...*, p. 118.

52 See: HIRT, S. *Iron...*, p. 87.

53 Hirt notes when narrating Sofia that: "selected downtown neighbourhoods which were occupied by socialist elites retained an aura of prestige and desirability". See: HIRT, S. *Iron...*, p. 87. The case of Prishtina differs in the sense that after the fragmented transformations, areas like Tophane did not retain nor create the anticipated image of a good place to live.

54 Municipality of Prishtina (1988). Urban Plan of Prishtina, 2000, p. 5.

which, since the 1960s, had been predominant in urban housing construction in socialist countries.[55]

Individual residential quarters were also built on three of Prishtina's hills: the Taukbashqe housing quarter (adjacent to Taukbashqe Park in the east), Aktashi 3 (southeast of the modern neighbourhood of Sunny Hill), and Dragodan (on the hill to the west of the city, today known as Arbëria). These new neighbourhoods were comprised of family houses designed according to standard blueprints, which aimed to offer standardized living conditions in terms of design and comfort. As in other socialist cities, houses were occupied by the rich and higher-income groups of workers.[56] The rest of the city, and especially the entire northern part of Prishtina, remained underdeveloped and hidden behind new modern blocks.

Neighbourhoods of collective housing are surely the most visible contribution of the period. They were built in relatively vacant lands that were nationalized by the state and planned as state-owned collective housing, which was the main subsidized form of housing tenure under socialism, as was typically the case in other socialist countries in Southeast Europe.[57] Four such neighbourhoods were created in the southern part of the city: Sunny Hill, Ulpiana, Dardania, and Lakrishte (Fig 6). As above (and as was typical in socialist Central and Southeastern European cities), people with higher qualifications and incomes obtained a large share of the housing in these new apartment buildings.[58] The residential blocks tended to cluster workers employed in state organizations and industries,[59] and were therefore functionally linked with the city centre through the construction of a new east-west axis (today E. Maloku Street).
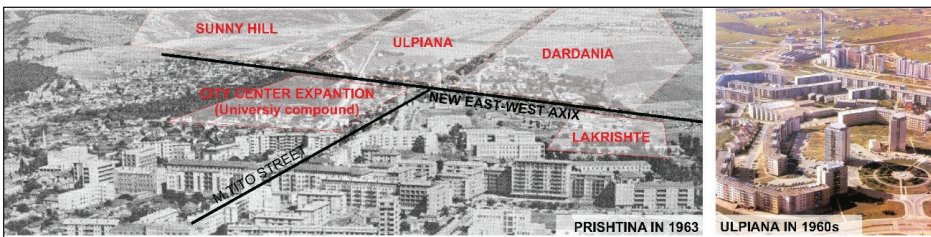

Fig. 5: Modernist quarters in Prishtina. From the left: New neighbourhoods created in the southern part of the city, picture taken in 1963; Ulpiana neighbourhood, picture taken in 1980s. Source: Facebook community page "Prishtina e Vjetër": <https://web.facebook.com/PrishtinaOLD/> (accessed December 7, 2017) June 26, 2016

55 SMITH, David M. The Socialist City. In: ANDRUSZ, Gregory – HARLOE, Michael – SZELENYI, Ivan (Eds.). *Cities After Socialism : Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post Socialist Societies* [online]. 2008, pp. 70-99. doi. org/10. 1002/9780470712733.ch3

56 See: SZELENYI, I. *Urban...*, pp.10, 63.

57 MARCIŃCZAK, Szymon – GENTILE, Michael – RUFAT, Samuel – CHELCEA, Liviu. Urban Geographies of Hesitant Transition : Tracing Socioeconomic Segregation in Post Ceauşescu Bucharest. In: *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2014, vol. 38, no. 4, pp. 1399-1417.

58 SZELENYI, I. *Urban...*, pp. 56, 63.

59 MARCIŃCZAK, Sz. – GENTILE, M. – RUFAT, S. – CHELCEA, L. *Urban...*, pp. 1399-1417.

In theory, as Hirt notes, new housing quarters were planned as self-sufficient neighbourhoods and were supposed to provide the new residents with a full range of services.[60] In practice, services were simply left out, due to the prioritization of residential construction over commercial, social, cultural, or other facilities.[61] While this was certainly the case in Prishtina, evidence on the ground also shows neglect towards basic street infrastructure. Although developed adjacent to each other, the modern neighbourhoods failed to connect in spatial terms: a street network and transport system that would interlink the neighbourhoods through district roads was not realized, although it had been planned since 1953, while the eastern segment of the new axis (E. Qabej Street – the extension of E. Maloku Street) terminated as a dead-end that provided access to only one neighbourhood (Sunny Hill). Our observation, shaped in the context of the street demonstrations of the 1990s,[62] suggests that that the logic behind dead-end streets in Prishtina and the keeping of main arteries disconnected was intentional, in the sense that the regime wanted to have control over civic and political activity in the city.

Landmarks (1970 – 80s)

The most remarkable contribution of the socialist period in Prishtina is the architecture of public buildings, which transmits the highly progressive goals of modernist architecture in the socialist Yugoslavia and beyond.[63] As acknowledged by scholars, the communist regime constructed public buildings that were elegant and complex, and also quite potent in conveying the desired image of a *socially, economically and politically progressive state.*[64] The avant-garde architecture in Yugoslavia is also interpreted as a direct portrayal of the avant-garde status of Yugoslav socialism.[65] Today, public buildings from the socialist period in Prishtina represent the main architectural landmarks of the city. They are positioned along the main streets that define the modern centre, with a few located in open spaces, with the intention of creating exemplary urban blocks that transmit contemporary approaches in design and building technology. Some of most notable buildings (such as the Youth and Sport Centre, the National Library, the former Printing House, and the Central Bank of Kosovo) have shaped Prishtina's character as the capital city of Kosovo. The architecture of these modern landmarks is quite diverse in terms of mass, form and aesthetic excellence, as commonly observed in other Yugoslav cities. Nevertheless, we argue that popular perception, rather than the intentions behind the landmarks, is the main driver of the peculiar narrative on socialist Prishtina. In some of the more complex buildings, like the Youth and Sports Centre and the National Library, symbolic meanings were publicly

60 HIRT, S. *Iron...*, p. 86.

61 LE NORMAND, B. *Designing...*, p. 132.

62 See: BIEBER, Florian – DASKALOVSKI, Zidas. (Eds.). *Understanding the war in Kosovo.* London : Frank Cass Publishers, 2003, p. 322.

63 Recent major engagement to document the modern character of architecture in the socialist Yugoslavia through an international exhibition is undertaken by MOMA: "Toward a Concrete Utopia : Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948 – 1980" introduces the exceptional work of socialist Yugoslavia's leading architects to an international audience. See: *Toward a Concrete Utopia : Architecture in Yugoslavia* [online]. [cit. 20. 7. 2018]. Available on the Internet: <www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/3931>

64 HIRT, S. *Iron...*, p. 178. LE NORMAND, B. *Designing...*, p. 38.

65 See: KULIĆ, Vladimir. An Avant-Garde Architecture for an Avant-Garde Socialism : Yugoslavia at EXPO '58. In: *Journal of Contemporary History*, 2012, vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 161-184.

communicated and reinterpreted among the general public, while for others lacking in such formal interpretation, their meanings can be derived from political presumptions.

In narrating the Yugoslav pavilion for the Expo 1958 in Brussels, Kulić notes how political messages, rather than architectural features or other qualities of the building, were interwoven into its design and, by extension, the positive as well as negative public perceptions of the pavilion.[66] For example, the ground floor of the pavilion was completely open and had no doors, suggesting "Yugoslavia's open borders and its emergent international policy of 'peaceful active coexistence'".[67] Similar tendencies towards such ideological formulations are found in Prishtina, illustrating how political notions predetermined both public perceptions and the overall political tension that existed in Kosovo prior to the war of 1998/99. For example, the ideology of "brotherhood and unity" is communicated through the massive and elaborate Sports and Youth Palace. Formerly called "Boro and Ramiz" and often referred only as "Bororamiz", a message of Slovenian economic superiority can be perceived through its daring eight-meter console, supporting a four-storey segment of the former Ljubljanska Bank. In another example, the cultural power and imposition of the Serbian "folk Estrada" is personified by the beautiful "semi-nude" façade of the Kosovo Energetic Corporation (KEK) building, formerly known as "Lepa Brena".

Fig. 6: Landmarks of modern architecture in Prishtina: (a) Sports and Youth Centre; (b) Former Bank of Ljubljana; (c) KEK Building (source: author)

The Sports and Youth Palace (Fig. 6a) was built in phases between 1975 and 1981 as a symbol of a new political era in Kosovo following the adoption of the Constitution of 1974, which granted Kosovo high-level autonomous status within Yugoslavia.[68] It was named after two partisans declared "people's heroes" – the Serbian Boro Vukmirović and the Albanian Ramiz Sadiku – with the intention of fostering the idea of "brotherhood and unity" between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo. One popular interpretation of the late-1970s of the building's roof, which is composed of two sets of beams rising sharply at the roof top, was that it represented these two Yugoslavian heroes rising to glory in brotherhood and unity. As Kulić notes in his enlightening research on the evolving cycle of the aforementioned Expo pavilion and its meaning, when such a frame of mind exists, other qualities of the building are not noticed or interpreted. What people in the 1980s knew little about is that certain formal stylistic features of the building are similar to those of Metabolist architecture and the idea of megastructures, which

---

66   KULIĆ, V. *An Avant-Garde...*, pp. 161-184.

67   KULIĆ, V. *An Avant-Garde...*, pp. 161-184.

68   MALCOLM, N. *Kosovo...*, pp. 315, 324-325.

became popular in 1970s and was familiar to Yugoslav architects particularly through works such as Kenzo Tange's masterplan for Skopje.[69] One such megastructure, planned for Dar Es Salaam by another leading Metabolist architect, Kisho Kurokawa,[70] might well have served as a source of inspiration to the architect of the Sports and Youth Centre in Prishtina.

This aspect of landmark architecture, including architectural language, ideals and style, is almost absent in the interpretation of the modernist architecture of Prishtina. In contrast to the Sports and Youth Centre and some other public buildings built in 1970s, those from a decade later lack any overall interpretation, be it architectural or based on formal ideology. Generally speaking, all modern landmarks in Prishtina are appreciated in terms of aesthetics and innovation in construction technology, but the public perception is mainly shaped around the perceived interest of former federal republics in investing in Kosovo, with the exception of the "Boro and Ramiz" Palace, which was partially financed by Kosovars themselves through "self-contributions".[71]

While certain landmarks were either named and later nicknamed based on firstly imposed and later perceived ideology, the Ljubljanska Banka, built in the mid-1980s[72] (Fig. 6b) is acknowledged as a "friendly" modern building. It was the dimension of Slovenian economic wealth against which the building gained most appreciation as a welcome investment in Kosovo. Slovenia had also financed Kosovo with a considerable amount of money in the context of economic initiatives that prioritized investments in less developed regions, with the intention of bringing about the anticipated equality among the republics.[73] Hence, Slovenia was perceived by Kosovars more as European than Yugoslavian; also, because it was the first among republics to question the Serbian version of "Yugoslavism".[74] These aspects of the political economy prevailed in the

---

69   In 1965, Japanese architect Kenzo Tange was selected as the winner of an international competition to redesign and rebuild the city centre of Skopje after the earthquake of 1963 that destroyed more than half of the city.

70   Compare photo of New Tanu National Headquarters, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, designed by Kisho Kurokawa: KUROKAWA, Kisho. New Tanu National Headquarters, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, 1972 [online]. [cit. 15. 07. 2018]. Available on the Internet: <http://archiveofaffinities.tumblr.com/post/4265467730/kisho-kurokawa-new-tanu-national-headquarters>

71   Self-contribution was a form of financing in which a portion of individuals' salaries was allocated for investing in the self-management of infrastructure; 30% of finances for the construction of the Sports and Youth Palace came from "self-contribution", with the remaining 70% raised through bank loans. See: *Historiku i Pallatit të Rinisë* [History of the Youth Palace] [online]. [cit. 15. 7. 2018]. Available on the Internet: <http://www.pallatirinise.com/indexcde7.html?option=com_content&view=article&id=1&Itemid=68>

72   By 1981, Ljubljanska Banka had established eight associated banks outside Slovenia, one of which was the "Basic Bank Prishtina". On the background, see: UDOVIČ, Boštjan. The Problem of Hard-currency Savings in Ljubljanska Banka d. d., Ljubljana : Between Politics and (International) Law. In: *Studia Historica Slovenica*, 2011, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 185-213. Apart from the fact that Ljubljanska Banka was established in 1900 and was re-established in 1972, there is no information or study describing the background of its role and assets in Kosovo, including the building in Prishtina.

73   On aspects of the investment policy in the former Yugoslavia, see: FRUCHT, Richard. *Eastern Europe : An introduction to the people, lands, and culture*. Santa Barbara : ABC-CLIO, 2005, p. 492.

74   The Serbian version of "Yugoslavism", as perceived by Kosovo Albanians, takes reference from Dobrica Cosic, a Serbian writer, who supported the Yugoslav Federation at the verge of its breakdown. In 1992, he argued that Yugoslavism, the foundation of which was to be a free citizen where everyone in the Yugoslav nation had equal rights (Yugoslavism of the Federation) could be sustained "as long as it enables the realization of the historical goal of the Serb nation - the unification of all Serbs into one state". See more in: PAVKOVIĆ, Aleksandar. From Yugoslavism to Serbism : the Serb national idea 1986 – 1996. In: *Nations and Nationalism*, 1998, vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 511-528.

narrative on Slovenian investments in Kosovo, including the Ljubljanska Banka – both as an investment opportunity and as a building.

The headquarters of the Kosovo Energetic Corporation (KEK building; Fig. 6c) represents the opposite case. Symbolic representations attached to the building are directly linked to the context of the late 1980s. The building was nicknamed "Lepa Brena", after the most popular pop-folk singer of the decade. The exact reason why the KEK building was named after her is unknown, but there are a few possible reasons that speak of a sarcastic attitude among Albanians in the context of ethnic tensions in Kosovo. They relate to the imposition of Serbian "folk Estrada" through television, which broadcast controlled content following the suppression of the Kosovo broadcaster, as well as Serbia's interest in Kosovo's electric power production and lignite reserves (the fifth largest reserve in the world). In 1989, a time associated with rising ethnic nationalism in ex-Yugoslavia, and precisely the year when Serbia abolished Kosovo's autonomy, Lepa Brena released the song "Jugoslovenka" which promoted Yugoslav identity.[75] Despite the fact that she declared herself as a true Yugoslav and was portrayed as such, the patriotic content of her songs directly referred to Serbia (Sumadia),[76] making Lepa Brena – and the KEK building – symbols of Serbian nationalism in the eyes of Kosovo Albanians. Besides that, she was attractive on stage, a dimension that was also attributed to the architecture of the KEK building, while KEK itself symbolized the mining sector in Kosovo, another side of "attractiveness" often mentioned as one of causes of the Kosovo conflict.

Conclusion

This paper aimed to contribute to empirical studies on urban development approaches in the building of modern cities in socialist Yugoslavia through the example of Prishtina, the capital city of Kosovo. It argues that the theoretical model of the socialist city was pursued in Prishtina, offering evidence that the intentions of modern urbanism and architecture in the city were similar to those in other cities with a socialist past. However, the political, cultural, and ideological contexts influencing the re-making of socialist Prishtina are slightly specific. The regime engaged in the selective destruction of architectural inheritance from the Ottoman era, based on the justification that it represented *primitive culture* and the *backwardness* of the city and its people. The act of destroying existing structures in the city was not exclusive to Prishtina, but the targeting of symbolic places that had shaped the city's identity in pre-modern times indicates that the regime intended to erase the cultural constructs of the city.

The second aspect of modernization – new developments – was more specific. As in other socialist cities, urbanization and new architecture in Prishtina was realized in fragments, thus visually competing with the pre-socialist pattern of the city. The specificity consists of the fact that the new developments were rather symbolic when compared to the mass construction carried out in other socialist capital cities. This approach ensured that Prishtina maintained a provincial character where the unfinished urban projects would transmit the so-called *backwardness* of the city, framing Prishtina's urban identity in the modern context. Today, many vistas showing the

---

75   MALCOLM, N. *Kosovo...*, p. 344.

76   The songs Mile voli disko ("Mile likes disco") and Čačak were often recognized as nationalistic. See: HOFMAN, Ana. Lepa Brena : Repolitization of Musical Memories on Yugoslavia. In: *Glasnik Etnografskog Instituta SANU*, 2011, vol. 60, no. 1, pp. 21-32.

mismatch of spatial qualities document the unfinished mode of socialist urbanization in Prishtina. This article mainly tries to argue that the variation in development types in the case of Prishtina suggests that the production of the city's image through fragmented urban interventions rather than genuine urban development was either politically and ethnically motivated, or was simply a result of Serbia's – and, thus, the Yugoslav regime's – neglect towards modernizing the capital of Kosovo. It is only through its architectural landmarks that the attributes of the capital city are shaped: a legacy which remains the most prolific part of the socialist modernization of Prishtina, despite the perceived intentions behind the city's modernist re-creation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Municipality of Prishtina (1988). Urban Plan of Prishtina 2000.
Municipality of Prishtina Archive: Spisak Detaljnih Planova na Teritoriji Grada Pristine [List of Detailed Plans on the Territory of the City of Pristina], by Pecanin, S.: Archival document retrieved in May 2011.
Municipality of Prishtina Archive: Urbane aktivnosti u Pristini – Izvestaj, June 1965 [Urban activities in Pristina – Report, June 1965], by Jovanovic, B. Archival document retrieved in May 2011.
Municipality of Prishtina Digital Archive. (accessed October 27, 2018) https://kk-arkiva.rks-gov.net/prishtina/Galeria-(1)/Prishtina-e-vjeter.aspx

BIEBER, Florian – DASKALOVSKI, Zidas. (Eds.). *Understanding the war in Kosovo*. London : Frank Cass Publishers, 2003, 368 p.
CASCIATO, Maristella. Modern Architecture is Durable : Using Change to Preserve. In: HEUVEL, Dirk van den et al. *Proc. of the 10th Int. DOCOMOMO Conf. : The Challenge of Change: Dealing with the Legacy of the Modern Movement.* Netherlands : IOS Press, 2008, pp. xiii-xiv.
DAMLJANOVIĆ CONLEY, Tanja – GUNZBURGER MAKAŠ, Emily. Shaping Central and Southeastern European Capital Cities in the Age of Nationalism. In: GUNZBURGER MAKAŠ, Emily – DAMLJANOVIĆ CONLEY, Tanja (Eds.). *Capital Cities in the Aftermath of Empires : Planning in Central and Southeastern Europe*. London; New York : Routledge, 2009, pp. 1-27.
DIMOVA, Rozita. Elusive centres of a Balkan city : Skopje between undesirable and reluctant heritage. In: *International Journal of Heritage Studies* [online]. 2018. [cit. 28. 6. 2018]. Available on the Internet: <https://doi.org/10. 1080/13527258. 2018.1482473>
DOLI, Flamur. *Traditional popular architecture of Kosovo*. Prishtina : Catalog of Heritage Exhibition, 2001, 139 p.
Ekskluzive: Lista e të vrarëve nga komunistët në Prishtinë, që më dekada ishte top-sekret [Exclusive: List of the killed by communists in Pristina, which for decades was top-secret]. [online]. [cit. 27. 10. 2018]. Available on the Internet: <https://telegrafi.com/ekskluzive-lista-e-te-vrareve-nga-komunistet-ne-prishtine-qe-me-dekada-ishte-top-sekret/>
FISHER, Jack C. Planning the City of Socialist Man. In: *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 1962. vol. 28, no. 4, s. 251-265. DOI: 10. 1080/01944366208979451
FRENCH, Richard Anthony – HAMILTON, Frederick Edwin Ian (Eds.). *The Socialist City : Spatial Structure and Urban Policy*. Chichester; New York : Wiley, 1979, 541 p.
FRUCHT, Richard. *Eastern Europe : An introduction to the people, lands, and culture*. Santa Barbara : ABC-CLIO, 2005, 928 p.

GJINOLLI, Ilir – KABASHI, Lulzim (Eds.). *Kosovo modern : An architectural primer*. Kosovo : National Gallery of Kosovo, 2015.

GRAHAM Brian – HOWARD, Peter. The Contestation of Heritage. In: GRAHAM Brian – HOWARD, Peter (Eds.). *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Abingdon : Routledge, 2008, pp. 19-72.

GUNZBURGER MAKAŠ, Emily – DAMLJANOVIĆ CONLEY, Tanja (Eds.). *Capital Cities in the Aftermath of Empires : Planning in Central and Southeastern Europe*. London; New York : Routledge, 2009, 296 p.

HAMILTON, Frederick Edwin Ian. Spatial structure in East European Cities. In: FRENCH, Richard Anthony – HAMILTON, Frederick Edwin Ian (Eds.). *The Socialist city : Spatial structure and urban policy*. Chichester; New York : Wiley, 1979, pp. 195-262.

HEPPNER, Harald. Capital city as national vision at the Serbs, Bulgarians and Romanians. In: DOYTCHINOV, Grigor – ĐUKIĆ, Aleksandra – CĂTĂLINA, Ionită (Eds.). *Planning Capital Cities : Belgrade, Bucharest, Sofia*. Graz : Verlag der Technischen Universität Graz, 2015, pp. 10-18.

HERSCHER, Andrew. Is it true that Albanians are responsible for an orchestrated campaign to destroy Kosova's cultural heritage in modern times? In: DI LELLIO, Anna (Ed.). *The Case for Kosova : Passage to Independence*. London; New York : Anthem Press, 2006, p. 37-42.

HERSCHER, Andrew. Modernity, Heritage and Counter-Heritage. In: *Future Anterior* [online], 2006 (Winter), vol. III, no. 2. [cit. 5. 10. 2018]. Available on the Internet: <https://courseworks2.columbia.edu/courses/10532/files/579068/preview?verifier>

HEUVEL, Dirk van den. Buildings and Ideologies. In: HEUVEL, Dirk van den et al. *Proc. of the 10th Int. DOCOMOMO Conf. : The Challenge of Change : Dealing with the Legacy of the Modern Movement*. Netherlands : IOS Press, 2008, p. 35.

HIRT, Sonia. *Iron curtains : Gates, suburbs and Privatization of Space in the Post-Socialist City*. Chichester : John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 2012, 239 p.

HIRT, Sonia. Whatever happened to the (post)socialist city? In: *Cities*, 2013, vol. 32, pp. 29-38.

HIRT, Sonia – STANILOV, Kiril. *Twenty Years of Transition : The Evolution of Urban Planning in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union, 1989 – 2009*. Nairobi : UN-Habitat, 2009, 146 p.

Historiku i Pallatit të Rinisë [History of the Youth Palace] [online]. [cit. 15. 7. 2018]. Available on the Internet: <http://www.pallatirinise.com/indexcde7.html?option=com_content&view=article&id=1&Itemid=68>

HOFMAN, Ana. Lepa Brena : Repolitization of Musical Memories on Yugoslavia. In: *Glasnik Etnografskog Instituta SANU*, 2011, vol. 60, no.1, pp. 21-32.

HOXHA, Eliza. *Qyteti dhe Dashuria : Ditar Urban* [City and Love : Urban Diary]. Prishtina : Center for Humanistic Studies "Gani Bobi", 2012, 306 p.

KRSTIKJ, Aleksandra – KOURA, Hisako. *Transformation of the position of historic center in modernization – Case study : Skopje's Old Bazaar, R. Macedonia*. Proceedings of the 20th International Conference on Urban Form. Brisbane : ISUF, 2013, pp. 39-51.

KULIĆ, Vladimir. "East? West? Or Both?" Foreign perceptions of architecture in Socialist Yugoslavia. In: *The Journal of Architecture*, 2009, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 129-147.

KULIĆ, Vladimir. An Avant-Garde Architecture for an Avant-Garde Socialism : Yugoslavia at EXPO '58. In: *Journal of Contemporary History*, 2012, vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 161-184.

KUROKAWA, Kisho. New Tanu National Headquarters, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, 1972 [online]. [cit. 15. 07. 2018]. Available on the Internet: <http://archiveofaffinities.tumblr.com/post/4265467730/kisho-kurokawa-new-tanu-national-headquarters>

LE NORMAND, Brigitte. *Designing Tito's Capital : Urban Planning, Modernism, and Socialism*. Pittsburgh : University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014, 320 p.

MALCOLM, Noel. *Kosovo : A short History*. London : Macmillan Publishers, 1998, 492 p.

MARCIŃCZAK, Szymon – GENTILE, Michael – RUFAT, Samuel – CHELCEA, Liviu. Urban Geographies of Hesitant Transition : Tracing Socioeconomic Segregation in Post Ceauşescu Bucharest. In: *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2014, vol. 38, no. 4, pp. 1399-1417.

McDOWELL, Sara. Heritage, Memory and Identity. In: GRAHAM Brian – HOWARD, Peter (Eds.). *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Abingdon : Routledge, 2008, pp. 37-53.

MEDER, Iris. New Literature on the Architecture of Socialist Modernity in Yugoslavia. In: *Südosteuropa*, 2016, vol. 64, no. 3, pp. 396-418.

MITROVIC, Mihajlo. *Gradovi i Naselja u Srbiji* [Cities and Villages in Serbia]. Beograd : Urbanistički Zavod Narodne Republike Srbije, 1953, 253 p.

NAEF, Patrick – PLONER, Josef. Tourism, conflict and contested heritage in former Yugoslavia. In: *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 2016, vol.14, no. 3, pp. 181-188. DOI:10. 1080/14766825. 2016.1180802

PAVKOVIĆ, Aleksandar. From Yugoslavism to Serbism : the Serb national idea 1986 – 1996. In: *Nations and Nationalism*, 1998, vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 511-528.

PULA, Besnik. The Emergence of the Kosovo "Parallel State", 1988 – 1992. In: *Nationalities Papers*, 2004, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 797-826.

SHUKRIU, A. Zhvillimi Ekonomik [Economic Development]. In: *Kosovo and Metohija 1943 – 1963*. Beogradski Graficki zavod : Belgrade, 1963.

SMITH, David M. The Socialist City. In: ANDRUSZ, Gregory – HARLOE, Michael – SZELENYI, Ivan (Eds.). *Cities After Socialism : Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post Socialist Societies* [online]. 2008, pp. 70-99. doi.org/10. 1002/9780470712733.ch3

STIERLI, Martino – KULIĆ, Vladimir et al. *Toward a Concrete Utopia : Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948 – 1980*. Exhibition [online]. 2018. [cit. 20. 7. 2018]. Available on the Internet: <www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/3931>

SYLEJMANI, Sherafedin. *Prishtina ime* [My Prishtina]. Prishtina : Java Multimedia Production, 2010, 132 p.

SZELENYI, Ivan. *Urban Inequalities under State Socialism*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1983, 158 p.

THALER, Wolfgang – MRDULJAS, Maroje – KULIĆ, Vladimir. *Modernism In-Between : The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist Yugoslavia*. Berlin : Jovis, 2012, 272 p.

TSENKOVA, Sasha. *Housing Policy Reforms in Post-Socialist Europe : Lost in Transition*. Heilderbeg : Physica-Verlag, 2009, 262 p.

UDOVIČ, Boštjan. The Problem of Hard-currency Savings in Ljubljanska Banka d. d., Ljubljana : Between Politics and (International) Law. In: *Studia Historica Slovenica*, 2011, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 185-213.

VICKERS, Miranda. *Between Serb and Albanian : A history of Kosovo*. New York : Columbia University Press, 1998, 280 p.

VICKERS, Miranda. *The Albanians : A Modern History*. Third Edition. New York : I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2001, 304 p.

ZARECOR, Kimberly Elman. *Manufacturing a socialist modernity : Housing in Czechoslovakia, 1945 – 1960*. Pittsburgh : University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011, 383 p.