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MAN AND SPACE OF EXCHANGE - STRATEGIES AND TACTICS FOR DESIGNING A MARKETPLACE AS A PLACE FOR EVERYDAY ACTIVITIES

Abstract

The marketplace has been transforming throughout history in relation to typo-morphology, causing changes in socio-spatial relationships negotiated on many levels. The question is: how do different centers of power change the typo-morphology of a marketplace and thus influence everyday social life? In this paper, we try to understand these changes in relationship between a man and a marketplace, where we analyze his position within the space of exchange through strategies of power and everyday tactics. How does a man feel in these types of spaces: is he/she feeling free and protected on the one hand, or isolated on the other? The answer can be seen through exchange of tactics of everyday activities.

Keywords: marketplace, strategies, tactics, dynamic, flexible and adaptable city

ЧОВЈЕК И ПРОСТОР РАЗМЈЕНЕ - СТРАТЕГИЈЕ И ТАКТИКЕ ЗА ДИЗАЈН ПРОСТОРА ТРГОВИНЕ КАО МЈЕСТА СВАКОДНЕВНИХ АКТИВНОСТИ

Сажетак

Мјеста трговине су се кроз историју развијала и трансформисала кроз различите типоморфолошке обрасце у граду, што је изазвало промјене у друштвено-просторним релацијама на многим нивоима. Поставља се питање како центри моћи кроз своје стратегије мијењају типоморфологију простора трговине и на који начин утичу на свакодневни живот друштва. Овај рад се односи на разумијевање таквих промјена у односу између човјека и простора трговине гдје се кроз стратегије моћи и тактике свакодневнице анализира његова позиција у простору размјене. Како се човјек у таквим просторима осјећа: слободан и заштићен или изолован? Одговор се испољава управо кроз тактике свакодневних активности.

Кључне ријечи: простори трговине, стратегије, тактике, динамичан, флексибилан и прилагодљив град

1. MARKETPLACE AS SPATIAL AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCT

In order to understand and construct the social space, firstly it is important to research theoretically the meaning of the term 'marketplace' illustrating its complex, multilayered and multifaceted characteristics. The term marketplace existed since humans first began to engage in trade, but in this paper the word 'marketplace' refers to a way of living which engenders a specific complex of social relationships enabling people to perform their everyday practices. [1:203] In Bourdieu's perspective, a concept of social space called *habitus* refers to not an archeological site but 'a human habitat where people who have the appropriate habitus inhabit it' designating dwelling function to the space. [2:26] Thus, *habitus* is 'a set of dispositions or patterns of perceptions, assimilation and acquisition of objective structures and objective repetition' achieved by combining one disposition with another that the individual develops while performing everyday activities within social space. [2:65] A disposition for social action and engagement is conditioned by individuals' position in a space through engaging in everyday practices. This way, it creates a scheme of perception, thought and action composing different layers of experience being constructed and reconstructed through action of everyday life.

Lefebvre developed further Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* translating it into *habiter* (way of living) always linked to the understandings of social behaviors and everyday activities - 'the processes of dressing, playing, eating'. [3:17] As Lefebvre's *habiter* is not separated from social space, this alludes to his concept of three-dimensional spaces: *perceived* (associating with everyday routine and everyday moving through the space of social activities), *conceived* (through plans, design, drawings and maps created by planners, scientists, urbanists and architects) and *lived space* (everyday space produced by individuals who inherit and act within). According to Lefebvre, the marketplace can be seen as a three-dimensional space showing all the layers of experience. Firstly, it is a 'culture incubator' - space conceived to be used for purchase and sale of provisions, and exchange of goods, etc. [4:175] Secondly, it is 'the locus of a contractual society, the mirror for emulation, the meeting place for diversities' - space perceived by gathering groups of individuals in order to provide a specific demand for commodity and service. [5:10] Lastly, it is an 'urban nucleus' - lived space used for purchase and sale of provisions and exchange of goods, possessing the ultimate form of urban authenticity. [6:85] Lefebvre's dialectics between conceived and lived, highlighting that '(social) space is (social) product' and tool of social reproduction and control, a parallel can be drawn with Heidegger's concepts of *active engagement* in space (*zuhandenheit*) and our *contemplation* of it (*vorhandenheit*) as modes of presencing [7:26] [8:7]

For Heidegger, both things of nature (*vorhandenheit*), as a way of [thinking](#) for a [period](#) of [time](#), and artifacts (*zuhandenheit*), built by human actions and engagement, are necessary for everyday life as a form of cultural production. [8] The marketplace is used as a polygon for analyzing social relations seen as a space in which *vorhandenheit* and *zuhandenheit* overlap. Thus, everyday life encourages social activities and engagement by connecting space and society in order to be able to perceive, conceive and live in it. If we think of space as a spatial construct depending basically on society, endorsing Lefebvre's thought of the production of space within society as it actually is, we can say that the marketplace brings together both space and society in the same global process by exchange of commodities, money and capital. [7] The production of the marketplace is essential to the reproduction of society and to their social space that is produced by embracing everyday life which serves as 'a tool of thought and of actions of society'. [7:26] The question is: how to embrace everyday life in the production of the social space (in this case the marketplace) that 'no longer appears as merely the obscure background of social activity'. [9]

According to de Certeau, the practice of everyday life through the procedures of consumer production has to 'bring to light the models of action characteristic of users whose status as the dominated element in society (a status that does not mean that they are either passive or docile) is concealed by the euphemistic term 'consumers''. [9] There are two approaches defined by de Certeau to act in society: strategy and tactics. The difference between them is seen in the following way: 'strategies are able to produce, tabulate and impose (...) space (...) whereas tactics can only use, manipulate and divert these spaces'. [9:30] Strategies are structures of power - institutions - with a domain of action and decision-making in the production of social space. The power is seen in Mumford's definition of marketplace as 'a product of the securities and regulations of urban life'. [6:71] The realm of routine everyday practices, such as 'ways of operating' or 'arts of doing', are tactical in character intervening within sociocultural space produced and implemented by strategies. [9] Here we can see the relation between power that produces, tabulates and imposes space by its rules, regulations and instructions for use, and powerless individuals who use tactics to create a room for their experiences in settings defined by strategies. Social representation and modes of social

behaviors are enacted by individuals and groups, describing their tactics as metaphors for movements available to each ordinary man. De Certeau is willing to see users being active, emphasizing the fact that 'users make innumerable and infinitesimal transformations of and within the dominant cultural economy in order to adapt it to their own interests and their own rules'. [9] While researching changes and transformation in relation with strategies and tactics - power and powerless individuals - it is necessary to understand their influence on the changes of typomorphology of the marketplace. Through the following historical analysis, the marketplace is seen through its deep dependence on power strategies and the embodiment of commodity money, instead of being observed as a space of exchange of ideas and knowledge and social interaction.

2. THE RELATION OF STRATEGIES AND TACTICS THROUGH HISTORY

A short historical overview is used to show changes of the marketplace typomorphology ranging them from an open-air/extroverted, covered to enclosed/introverted. Based on that, one can see the ways strategies and tactics are embodied in the real environment in which everyday practices and trade take place. In order to understand the relation of production of space by the center of power on the one hand, and powerless individuals who use that space by tactics on the other, it was necessary to research architecture typology and morphological patterns of space of everyday practices and trade. This relation has evolved through history from man's freedom to use the marketplace (open-air/semi-covered - bazaars) to the state where the power is completely dominant over individuals, controlling the way they use the space (creating enclosed department stores and shopping malls). This way, the role of individuals in the use of space was decreased while the power of institutions in production of space became dominant. These powerful strategies have led to the production of enclosed spaces for everyday practices and trade where tactics, seemingly spontaneous and liberating, are in strict hierarchical subordination to governing institutions.

Starting with the first civilizations, the first forms of social spaces i.e. squares as extensions of intersections or covered streets were established, are seen as spaces supporting first forms of trade and intending for freely barter exchange. Streets and squares represent social spaces where tactics of presenting, exchanging and consuming specialized products could be applied spontaneously. However, the term 'trade function', as understood today, was not yet developed, and the term 'international trade' was primarily linked to priesthood as they were the only ones with a privilege to trade abroad. According to Mumford, in parallel to the spontaneous way of trading, an 'ancient form of *supermarket* - within the temple precinct' has been established. [6:72] Strategies used for a trading plan closely linked to the temple symbolize the unbreakable relation between power and trade that can be read in the following historical periods.

In ancient Greece, trade functions were performed on the *agora*, usually positioned close to the temple, bordered by the palace and parliament. Greek *agora* was a meeting place. Ancient Greeks had a casual attitude of trade as exchanging goods was an integral part of everyday life. An introduction to coins has intensified the *agora* trade function to the extent of withdrawing political power from the main square to the inner city areas. The split of trade and political power in Greece is one of the first historical examples of spatial division of trading activities and centers of power. The reason for that lies in the contemptuous attitude of Greek citizens towards merchants. Understanding trade, as a lower rank activity according to Jacques Ellul, where trade is explained as a consequence of division between science and techniques embodied in Greek society, originated from the way of understanding life in which they despise material needs, discredit manual labor, refuse using force and they respect nature. [10:42] Interestingly, the humiliated and expelled merchants have never received official citizen status. The spatial concept of trading can be understood independently of political power, embodied by tactics of exchanging goods and opinions in Greece *agora*. As a social space, the *agora* is used as the platform for living, engaging and spontaneous social interaction.

Different from Greek society, the Romans in accordance with their enterprising and efficient nature, accepted that trading and merchants had an important role in Roman society. For that reason, *Trajan's forum* in Rome was built, consisting of a sequence of open and enclosed social spaces. The forum within which, next to the commercial premises, the impressive Trajan's Palace, two libraries, temple, the Triumphal arch and the Trajan's Column with a bronze statue of a governor on the top were located. The strategy of unbreakable and hierarchical relations between governors, politics, education, religion and trading was established by building *Trajan's forum*. Social spaces of *Trajan's forum* in which trade and everyday life take place are composed of numerous premises with different functions gathered under the same roof. Compared with contemporary *shopping malls*

(Fig.1). *Trajan's forum* showed the improvement in building a porch marketplace with impressive colonnades by protecting it from weather conditions. This is the first indication of contemporary syndrome called *comfortable shopping* (all everyday activities under the same roof). This way, a controlled top-down space for *comfortable shopping* was created, within which tactics by individuals were minimized, strengthening *Trajan's* strategies. Thus, strategies - power - and tactics - powerless individuals - were located in the same social space manifesting a hierarchical mechanism that controls everyday life occurring under the same roof.

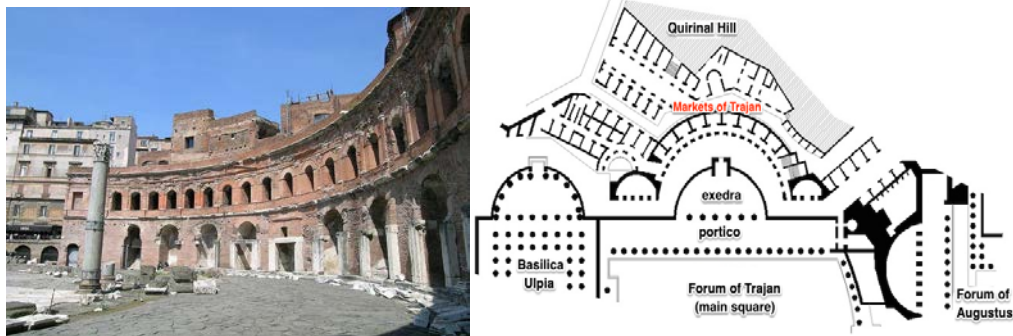


Figure 1. *Trajan's forum, and Plan of the Trajan's Markets, 2nd century, Rome*

After the fall of the Roman Empire, Christian communities were grouped within monasteries and city-fortresses, where the disorderly 'without social and political organization' ruled. [10:57] In moral perspective, the Christianity condemned luxury and money. In accordance with that, medieval marketplaces were placed outside of the fortress, and later by strengthening merchant positions, the city expanded to the areas encompassing newly built trading spaces. Street trading became a basic trading tactic. Strengthening trade guilds - groups of craft people united to achieve their rights - enabling the trade to reoccupy the central city zone, settling close to the center of power - the City Assembly. The people traded in the City Assembly, at squares and in streets with craft activities. The attitudes of society towards work have changed leading to the expansion of craft in numerous city households in which there was a division between the living space (upstairs) and the space for production and trade (downstairs). While trade guilds were concentrated to facilitate their techniques in the production of artifacts within its community, hiding their knowledge from others, some merchants, being aware of the advantages of international trade, developed modest techniques for massive production. Trade guilds formed at a local level began to feel powerless, and new types of merchants - entrepreneurs - have acquired artificial financial wealth by controlling international trade. [6:292] The reflection of social circumstances on the marketplace occurred again, starting with weak connection between political power and trade from the beginning of medieval century, where tactics dominantly formed trading streets, ending with the predominance of international trade and its direct connection with politics, forming *bazaars* unifying political power and trade under the same roof. Tactics of spontaneous gathering and trading became more and more powerless in the future being founded on the principle of spatial decentralization and strong hierarchical strategy.



Figure 2. *London's Pantheon Bazaar, 1845*

Since the seventeenth century, there was a massive change of the purpose and function of craft workshops transforming them into shops with serial production of goods. The craftsman is finally separated from the process of making the artifact. Being unable to compete with international resellers and traders, he is forced to produce for a remote anonymous market, or to suspend his production. New trading strategy emerged, having power over consumers' tactics and their everyday activities. In this relation of strategies and tactics, the seller became the hunter and the consumer was the prey, both closed in the mechanism of trading with goods of unknown quality. Wealthy entrepreneurs controlled serial production and consumption from their administrative headquarters. There is a need for the transition of squares and specialized shops into a new form of enclosed multifunctional halls *bazaars* with various goods displayed on counters (Fig.2). New completely enclosed *bazaars* are built to protect consumers and goods from the weather, enabling consumers to comfortably buy goods of unknown quality. *Bazaars*, as a precursor of shopping malls, were ruled by strategies - the power of political and trading elites - being responsible to control and distribute goods within *bazaars*. The political power was relocated outside *bazaars* to the city central district where the centers of power were physically separated from the luxurious activities of leisure, well-being and shopping.



Figure 3. Parisian Department store *Le Bon Marché*, 1852.

The era of capitalist industrialisation has radically changed social space and everyday life within which commodification has overpowered the value of artifacts. The distribution of goods to the marketplace became one of the principal actions. The new consumer society designates social space as an enclosed *department store* in which the reign of comfort and abundance of goods gathered under the same roof (Fig. 3). The *department store* has been located in the central city district, becoming an iconic building of every city by establishing a framework for the upcoming culture of consumer society. The administrative center originally located within industrial suburbs has been moved to new business city zones followed by a new architecture of skyscrapers alluding to Trajan's columns in a way that their connection with the center of power has been hidden and seemingly detached. The same case is with *the department store* where there is evident physical distancing of administrative districts in relation to them but at the same time, it has been strengthening the strategy of tracking money flows by the power-ruling elite. The enclosed system of comfortable trading in enclosed architecture structures started being a predominant form of controlling society and its everyday activities.

In the mid-20th century, the pollution and overcrowding of city quarters encouraged massive suburban settlements. In the same time period, primarily in American suburbs detached from the city business district, there was a new form of social space called *shopping malls* - 'everything under one roof' (Fig. 4). Seen as an anti-urban form surrounded by endless rows of parked cars, *shopping malls* unified both trade and spectacle. The creator of the first *shopping mall* is considered to be an Austrian architect, Victor Gruen, whose noble vision enabled American suburban families to finally create a social space. However, as Gruen stated, his 'social spaces' are actually strictly controlled and secured private spaces, and that 'social event' is programmed space whose sole purpose is to entice as many consumers of different ages and wallet depths.



Figure 4. Southdale Shopping Mall, 1956, Minneapolis

By the end of the 20th century, large and massive *shopping malls* began to spread rapidly across Europe. The conclusion of one article called 'The Terrazzo Jungle' in *The New Yorker* stated: Victor Gruen designed the enclosed *shopping mall* with an intention of making America more similar to Wien and eventually Wien began to resemble America. [11:6] Parallel to the development of the new anti-urban forms of *shopping malls* in the suburbs, the historical city, especially in metropolis, has become a scene for tourists. Since the time of ancient civilizations, the squares and streets have been social spaces for daily encounters but gradually they have lost this primary function. This transformation of the city nucleus has led to the displacement of trade into enclosed and air conditioned spaces that no longer belong to its citizens. In his book *The Prospect of Cities*, John Friedmann claims that American streets have completely lost their meaning and role in the socio-historical context and that they became runways for efficient traveling between two shopping malls. According to Friedmann, there are only two occasions when people take the streets: when protesting against authority and when celebrating. [12] Despite the fact that city nucleus including the streets have lost their primary function - to bring people together at the same place, the possibility of these spontaneous occasions is exactly what brings back their lost function of social spaces. The strategy is manifested through enclosed forms of the marketplace (e.g. department stores and shopping malls) showing that tactics seen spontaneously and liberating are in strict hierarchical subordination of displaced centers of power.

2.1 THE DOMINATION OF STRATEGIES - A MAN IS POWERLESS

Through the historical analysis of the marketplace typo-morphology (ranging it from an open-air, covered to completely enclosed space), it was aimed to show the changes in relation between strategy and tactics that occurred and their influence on today causing complete domination of strategy over powerless individuals. The marketplace transformation is not a linear process mutating from one architectural type to another, but all types have existed in parallel, even today, appearing simultaneously in the historical city or in their contemporary suburbs. The historical analysis is used to define the typo-morphology of the marketplace: seen as an anti-urban type composed of all previous-mentioned types and facing themselves, not the city – introverted (Fig. 5) According to this, the relation between strategies and tactics have varied through history of the marketplace: at first, spontaneous tactics used for trading were developed, then by strengthening the center of power under control of the church, tactics started decreasing; this relation faded in ancient Greece by the domination of tactics on squares and agoras; in Rome, Trajan emphasized the domination of power; in medieval century, the decrease of power and spontaneous creating street trading was evident, which ended with bazaar as a palace of luxury; and the creation of department stores and shopping malls - physically displaced the center of power - have increasingly controlled the flows of centralisation, globalization and global disinterest of society. The paradox of analyzing the marketplace through history shows that strengthening power and its complete centralization is inversely proportional to everyday activities. The position of a man as a social human being in the process from production to consumerization has been completely marginalized. Society gathered around the desire for improving their way of living has accepted consumer life, being preoccupied with freedom of choice in the world exposed by numerous opportunities for enjoyment and happy life. As freedom of choice is individual, in his book called *Work Consumerism and the New Poor*,

Bauman stated trade as a non-social act adding that consumer acts are opposite to manufacturer's acts as they are together while making. [13:31]

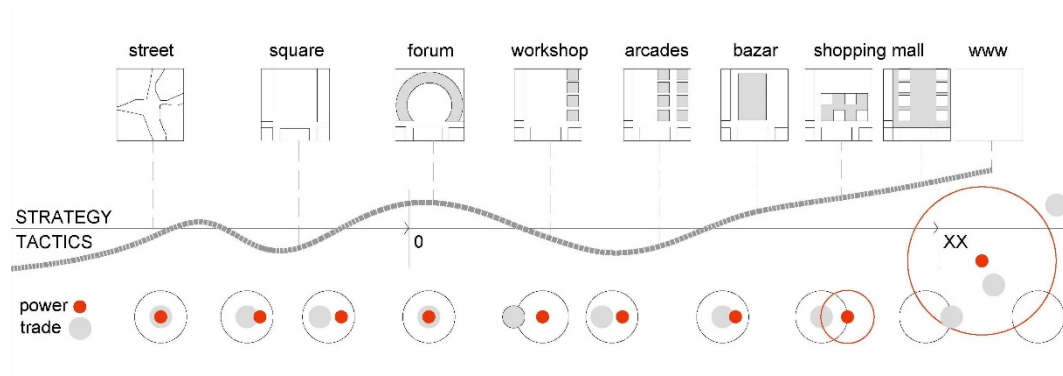


Figure 5. *The changes of the typo-morphology of the marketplace through history*

The introverted and marginalized position of a man in the process from production to consumerization is enhanced by the development of digital technologies and pandemic COVID-19. The digitalisation and virtualisation of the 21st century supported by the development of technology and social networks continue to revitalize the marketplace in a way that social spaces are substituted with the screens. The citizen engagement is limited to one click on the keyboard while human interaction is founded on virtual contacts. Giddens noticed a phenomenon of human disinterest by analyzing the beginning of the 21st century. He added that disinterest is not the same as completely ignoring the other person but each individual being aware of the presence of the other avoiding any gesture that could be interpreted as excessive intrusion. [14] Giddens considers the trends of further and more intensive human alienation caused by digital interaction, in order to emphasize the importance of a real interlocutor in everyday communication. According to Giddens, no matter how many direct virtual contacts we make by using digital devices, the close presence of interlocutors in everyday communication even in the most developed society remains crucial. [14] The virtualisation of everyday life and the marketplace confirm the domination of the global center of power to the point where tactics are abolished. The question is: where is the center of power today? If the city represents the economic and social world, and such a world can be observed through the relationship between power and trade, it can be concluded that their physical distance, today located at the center of local and global conflicts, is essentially a deception. It is evident that the center of power is the virtual world that rules real life and everyday activities.

Where are we living today, in an era of social distancing in public spaces, imposed by Covid-19 pandemic? The virtualization of real life and everyday activities reaches its peak during this period. In terms of human security, the dominant center of power suppressed real life, isolating human beings from social interaction. [15] The imposed restrictions on daily life by Covid-19 including social-distancing and ban on performing everyday activities, devastated the city urban spaces. [16] The traditional marketplace ranging from squares and streets to shopping malls is substituted with the virtual space of exchange (online shopping) overnight. Thus, online shopping located in the gap between local and global conflicts does not have any material characteristics showing that it has neither an identity nor connection with the inhabitants, nor any connection with the local context and urban space.

Now what shall we do?

3. MAN IS IN THE CENTER-EVERYONE ON THE STREET

The 21st century brings changes in the production of social space in two directions. The changes are seen as the potential to redesign the human dimensions of social space founded on small-scale tactics on the one hand, or total loss and collapse of social space on the other. The marketplace i.e. the public space is dead because of lack of connection between strategy and tactics i.e. 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approach is observed and used separately by urban planners and decision-makers despite the fact that both are important for the redesign of the marketplace itself. 'Top-down' approach is founded on utopian concepts of permanence created in a time of intensive urbanization supported by massive plans, permanent solutions and lasting results - the dream of permanence. It reflects the power of the City Council and authorities in decision making and planning of urban interventions where initiatives are solved in the long term. These initiatives refer to large-scale projects without consideration of tactics - citizen engagement in the everyday life of the marketplace.

'Bottom-up' approach is based on the 'The Theory of Communicative Action', German philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas, producing the term collaborative planning - the domination of tactics. [17:3] The importance is in the dialogue as 'the fundamental human need to share, to communicate, to connect with other living beings, and to leave a deep impression on them' focusing on the tactics in everyday life. [18] Tactics have started from 'small' actors, organizations or individuals, taking themes from everyday life and working on local projects as a way of responding to economic, environmental, political and social issues.

The contemporary principles founded on theoretical approaches and practices of public space are used to make a balance between strategy and tactics i.e. 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approach 'unlocking the potential of sites now, rather than in 10 years' time'. [19:3] The principles of the redesign of social spaces refers to both the redesign process (*democratically, temporary and adaptability, everyday and simultaneously*), and the redesign result (*massive small, identity*) (Fig 6). [19, 20, 21, 22, 23] Establishing a dialogue between strategy and tactics from the bottom to the top in a way that the link between strategy and public space is loosened, enables engagement in human-human interaction. The focus is on short-term, temporary/adaptable and everyday tactics for redesign of public spaces responding to society's requirement to be efficient, cheap and economical. Public spaces selected for redesign have to be massively small and uncontrolled by the power of strategy in which organizing different events becomes a serious potential of sheltering everyday tactics. [24] These spaces are the only ones that can bring back humanity through social engagement in real space, from the bottom to the top. If we follow the life cycle then there is a need to return to small-scale marketplace with a modest budget, short deadlines and accelerated procedures creating dynamic, flexible and adaptable urbanism that keeps up with the changes of socio-spatial relationships caused by COVID-19.

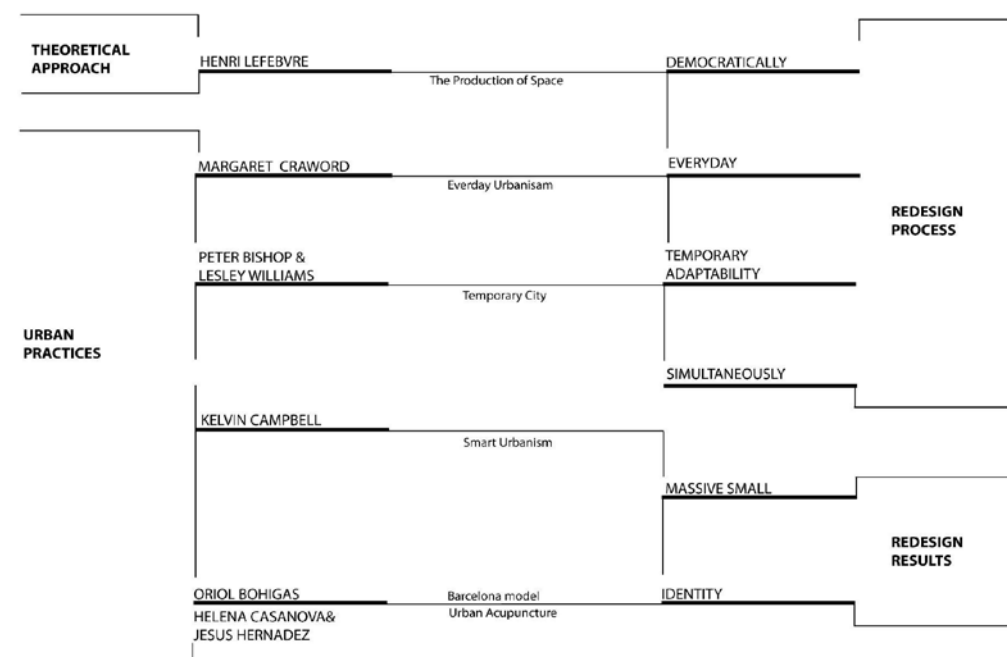


Figure 6. The contemporary principles on theoretical approaches and practices of public spaces

It is the strategy power that will govern everyday life, no matter the distance between power and space. As centralisation and domination of power strategies fade, everyday life tactics become more alive and efficient. This makes the physical position of power irrelevant, since it is centralisation and globalization that decide how dominant power is. Their influence is formed and decided in public spaces. Systematic expansion of these spaces shows that production in strategic locations, more or less close to centers of economic power, does not depend on the location alone. To conclude, even though we discuss the expansion in a spatial and physical context, the goal of this expansion is to connect dominant differences on a global and local level, with an aim to strengthen the metropolis itself.

The contemporary principles and practices of designing a public space, based on the dynamic, flexible and adaptable city, shows there is a way to balance the domination of strategies. Weak connection between strategies of power and tactics of everyday is the one that develops positive social interaction. According to Ardent, 'what makes mass society so difficult to bear is not the number of people', but the fact that the world 'lost its power to gather them together'. [25:53] The marketplace researched through history can be used as the one remaining tactic crucial for redesign and reactivation of social spaces, thus connecting people. Marketplace as a form of public space enable the citizens to be heard and seen through social engagement, participation and activation in the production of social space, bringing back users of space in the center.

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