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IDEOLOGICAL ORNAMENTATION OF POSTMODERN GEOGRAPHY. THE CASE OF ZAGREB AND PODGORICA

Predrag ŽIVKOVIĆ

University of Montenegro, Faculty of Philosophy, Danila Bojovića bb, 81400 Nikšić, Montenegro
e-mail: sociollog@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Relying on comparative sociological research of transition transformations of the capitals of Croatia and Montenegro (Zagreb and Podgorica), the paper recognizes their stages of development from the socialist to the neoliberal city from the standpoint of thanatopolitics. In the paper through the matter of post-post-transition theories we will sublimate the influence of the past social transformation in all the former social republics and point to the phenomenon of chronocide, which in this research has been concerned with the conflict between the past and future viewed from the point of history of the city.

Keywords: transition, neoliberal city, thanatopolitics, thanatosociology, chronocide, postmodern geography, socialism, postsocialism

GLI ORNAMENTI IDEOLOGICI DELLA GEOGRAFIA POSTMODERNA. IL CASO DI ZAGABRIA E PODGORICA

SINTESI

Basandosi sulla ricerca sociologica comparata riguardo le trasformazioni transitorie delle capitali della Croazia e del Montenegro (Zagabria e Podgorica – Podgorizza), l'articolo esamina, dal punto di vista della tanatopolitica, le loro tappe di sviluppo da città socialiste a quelle neoliberali. Prendendo in considerazione le teorie post-post-transitorie il saggio presenta l'influenza delle trasformazioni sociali nelle due repubbliche ex socialiste che sono durate finora. Viene messo anche in risalto il fenomeno del cronocidio che in questa ricerca si riferisce al conflitto tra il passato e il futuro con forti legami alla storia della due città.

Parole chiave: transizione, città neoliberale, tanatopolitica, tanatosociologia, cronocidio, geografia postmoderna, socialismo, postsocialismo

INTRODUCTION

The work *Ideological Ornamentation of Postmodern Geography* represents a tendency and an attempt to extract those phenomena that emerged in the period of post-socialist transformation on the basis of a detailed study of the ideological determinism of the city space. We think that the post-socialist transformation on the territory of the former Yugoslavia was ideologically controlled by the newly established regimes in all spheres of society, by which they wanted to ensure the legitimacy of the newly established value systems. Thus a new totalitarian spirit was created and it endeavoured to recall and hide the horizons of memory of any relic from the not so distant Yugoslav past. We should emphasize that we tried to find in the abundance of research papers dedicated to the social transformation of post-socialist societies, a sufficiently original framework of analysis that would not be “an accompanying voice” without a significant attitude, but an independent finding and a scientifically “intriguing” call to the theoretical disputation and conceptual recognition. We are obliged to explain to the scientific public that the article focuses primarily on the study of thanatopolitical and thanatosociological elements that emerged as outlines and reflections of the political regimes of Croatia and Montenegro in the field of establishing a new “identity face”. Why did we decide to study these phenomena? First of all, such papers are very rare in urban sociology, and therefore each new research record represents valuable material in the further constitution of this sociological discipline. Such a formulation gives an impression of pretentiousness, because anthropological, sociological and psychological theories contain both related points of view and papers whose subjects of research have a common denominator in thanatopolitics, but it cannot be said that they are created from the same research initiatives, at least when it comes to the original orientation of their authors because they tended to follow some other phenomenological trends in their studies. Therefore, we advocate an independent and original scientific statement in this paper because, regardless of the fact that the theoretical closeness with certain sociological and political studies dealing with the problem of thanatopolitics is noticeable, our finding is an independent attitude, because it goes a step further than these studies. We must emphasize that we did not approach the eclectic selection, and that we did not represent the theoretical currents in sociological and political studies separately in the form of a draft but, on the contrary, we terminologically and analytically pointed out those social phenomena that emerged in the 1990s, and which even today have dominant ideological features. In our elaboration, the city is conceived as a spatial framework in which it is possible to observe and hypothetically confirm the analytical apparatus which sociological science has at its disposal. By studying the everyday life of its citizens, it is possible to see their fears,

hopes, ideological practice, value orientations, cultural habits and the like. It is also possible to recognize the pulse of class intolerance, social power, and “mark” of the ruling political system. Starting with Zimel (2008), Veber (2014), Mumford (1988), Harvi (2013) and others, whose records are priceless for urban sociology, our study takes into account their suggestions of the city, its history, “spiritual habits”, and tries to perceive and impressively present the portrait of a modern city. The city did not give up mythological, religious and ideological ornamentation. With the advent of desecularization at the end of the 20th century, especially on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, it comes to a sudden search for some ideological messianism which will free the newly declared nations of their “socialist misconception”. Persons and martyrs who could not find a place in “memorial collections” of socialist memories are often glorified. Each day it reminded of what Finkelstein (2003) recognized in the so-called “Holocaust industry” (compare Kuljić, 2001), where the lament was used in a sophisticated and utilitarian way over those Jews who tragically and innocently lost their lives or who were in a similar way indebted to their community. The aim of this study is to monitor the historical emergence and determination of the establishments of the Croatian and Montenegrin society to reach for martyrological ornamentation at certain stages of social transformation, and to honour the heroes who will give recognition with their new revelation to the emergence of new nations. It is a misuse of the culture of memory, or rather a selective choice from the pre-socialist history which would help to overcome the decades-long habitus within the socialist regime. This is evident in the examples of the ideological transformation of the city space during the period of turbulent emergence of neoliberal ideology that found “an ally” in the current of rising nationalism and traditionalism.

Relying on the most significant results of the comparative and sociological study *Transition Transformation of the Capital Cities of Zagreb and Podgorica as a System of Settlements* (2016), which preceded and encouraged our work *Ideological Ornamentation of Postmodern Geography* in a certain way (because we provided the plaidoyer on its basis for the subsequent analysis), we detected the phenomena that reveal “the faces” of thanatopolitics and thanatosociology. In consideration of the reading public, it is necessary to say that our paper, apart from a brief review of the most significant results of the aforementioned study, does not aim to highlight its original research narrative because it would surely lose its authenticity. We shall provide an “alibi” by occasional referring to certain findings of the study *Transition Transformation of the Capital Cities of Zagreb and Podgorica as a System of Settlements*, especially to the chapter in the same monograph *A Symbolic Texture of the Post-socialist Transformation of Urban Space* (Podgorica – Zagreb), of course, due to an already existing set of research findings, our theoretical postulates and reflections. Therefore, we ap-

plied a series of methodological procedures in the paper (we shall give a detailed explanation later). Since we used the results of the conducted research, it was inevitable to refer to the secondary data analysis, after which we developed and constructed further direction of our work. Due to the limitations of the introductory considerations, we shall add here that, despite relying on the already existing research, we do not deepen and continue its cognitive domains, at least as they were originally conceived and directed, but we strive to present the transformational changes of Zagreb and Podgorica, with all the accompanying political and mythical folklore, as a kind of case study when it comes to the thanatopolitical and thanatosociological features of these cities with the elements of chronocide and neoliberalism i.e. their prevailing value systems.

What we have noticed certainly corresponds to the studies that were previously published by distinguished theoreticians such as Hobsbaum (2002), Finkelstein (2003), Asman (2015), and Kuljić (2006). These studies, among other things, are concerned with recognizable theories and sentences of “fictional traditions”, “Holocaust industry”, as well as “thanatopolitics and thanatosociology” with a special status of both culture and the politics of memory. One of the main hypotheses of our paper is certainly reference to the cyclical flow of revitalization and emergence of cargo cults in the Croatian and Montenegrin establishment, which we shall explain in the examples of their acceptance of neoliberal ideology.

It could be said that the domain of space and time has always been worthy of attention, not only for science, but also for social theory, especially if we take into account the interdisciplinary areas, such as geopolitics whose founders have established the paths for further reflection and welcomed all those devotees who have tied the mental landscapes and the cultural features of society and human beings to space. It seems that we can say that our aspirations are directed towards achieving the same sort of goal and that we endeavour to theoretically inhabit only the peripheral points of the relevant theoretical approaches as we endeavour to persist in providing an interdisciplinary approach. Such aspirations produced a material prelude not only to urban sociology, but also to other disciplinary angles of interpretation with an intent to provide a background for an anthropogeographical analysis. The next framework of interpretation which provides us with scientific relevance is the domain of political psychology, particularly the idea of psychological attachment to the surroundings which is an integral part of identity recognition, as pointed out by Nick Hopkins and John Dixon (2006). Although the identity is subject to changes which, “are marked and made visible by spatial structures” (Potočnik, Lah, 2017, 255), but it is possible to incorporate new contents into it over time, this was a violent deflection and a tendency towards its instrumentalization.

As we will explain in more detail, the reason for the application of the indicated theoretical framework are the collected research findings that in this reflection on history of ideas encouraged us to extract those theories that we believed were confirmed by the societies whose everyday habits and cultural abstractions maintained the threads of the time that had left them with the most striking impression (positive or negative impression of the past and the present). These were significant research finding because some social footprints in time confirmed the validity of those theories which were our original starting point. We will be more specific and simplify the analysis. In addition to the culture of memory which we consider to be relevant matter in this paper, we wanted to touch on the pulse of thanatosociology and thanatopolitics (which can be said to belong to the domain of the culture of memory) within the ruling establishment which in a magical way treats the matter of values and spiritual climate, and thus creates special canons of idolatry, at least when it comes to the martyrs who have found their place in the historical memory (in our case, in Croatian and Montenegrin societies). In order to justify the basis of innovativeness, we are determined to say that the contribution towards development of the sociological branch of *thanato-sociology*, which is in direct connection to *thanato-politics*, was primarily made by the works of Todor Kuljić, a well-known sociologist of politics. In the western academic thought it is recognized, as suggested by the author himself, as the *study of death* (Kuljić, 2014). In this paper we will refer to the sources of Todor Kuljić, who is important for us due to theoretical closeness in the studies of the culture of memory and “overcoming the past” in the post-Yugoslav societies.

Here comes a clarification. Although, thanatosociology and thanatopolitics are both, in their own way, related to death, the former to the unequal treatment of death and glorification or non-glorification of the deceased by a social group, and the latter to the abuse of death that always has as its goal a political instrumentalization, we believe that an inverse canonization of piety and animosity has been applied in the case of ideological patterns imposed in the cities of Zagreb and Podgorica. The factual records, as well as the materials on which this claim is based, are further supported by the examples of toponyms and odonyms, more precisely, by the deletion and devastation of the socialist symbols in the name of the pre-socialist ideological practice. Furthermore, one should not forget those features of neoliberal repressive formation which would replace the previous ideological matrices, finding them too weak to oppose the post-historical desecrating reality. This has ultimately led to the strong confrontations of epochal value choices, attributed to chronocidal events. In an attempt to free themselves from the socialist habits, Croatia and Montenegro's society resorted to a strong nationalism (Hodžić, 2008) led by the motto of demand-

ing 'blood and soil', the nationalist charge inevitably affecting the spatial features of the capitals of Croatia and Montenegro.

The social changes which emerged in the post-socialist period were often blurred by a political narrative that relieved the long-standing transformational deviations by using the motto of *Deus ex machina*. This meant that a solution was expected in the form of a long-awaited modernization, while the attention was drawn away from the questions of what should be given up in return for its benefits. And last but not least, is the theory of *cargo cults*, which gives our research the privilege of research uniqueness. Reaching for and accepting the neoliberal practice as the only valid one, Croatia and Montenegro's society became 'detainees' if not 'hostages' of neoliberal ideology that stripped them of the privilege of traditional recognition. It is believed that this phenomenon can occur in any society, regardless of its historical background and development (Dugin, 2008).

METHODOLOGY

We can safely say that this work is an epiphenomenon, verging on comparative research. In order to be more precise in trying to introduce the reader to the subject matter of this work, we will say that it was created within the comparative sociological research, carried out during 2015–2016, entitled *Transition Transformation of the Capital Cities of Zagreb and Podgorica as a System of Settlements*, more precisely as a reflection of monographic co-authorial work in the study *A Symbolic Texture of the Post-socialist Transformation of Urban Space* (Podgorica – Zagreb). The research was intended to deal with the results of the post-socialist transformation in the capitals of Croatia and Montenegro, as well as the domain of urban plans that were the fruit of a 'spirit of time', and thus shaped the organization of space. On this occasion, a group of researchers from Croatia and Montenegro, searched for the critical areas of social transformation in order to measure deviations from the desired projections. In addition to the survey used in studying public opinions, as well as the analysis of collected documentation (urban plans) in Zagreb, Podgorica and Nikšić, focus groups were organized with the aim of collecting the body of qualitative material (see more in Svirčić-Gotovac, 2016).

In order to explain our choice of methodological framework, we have to say that the survey research did not cover the domain of our thematic development and that this topic *Ideological Ornamentation of Postmodern Geography*, as already mentioned, emerged as a deepened understanding within the framework of a co-authored work *A Symbolic Texture of the Post-socialist Transformation of Urban Space* (Podgorica – Zagreb). Therefore, it is somewhat justified that the research findings in this work *Ideological Ornamentation of Postmodern Geography* were created, as Wright Mills (1998) emphasizes, as the

primary experience of the scientist (within the framework of sociological imagination), and thus, do not include statistical material as it could not be obtained due to the subsequent elaboration and deepening of the already existing monographic work so that it was necessary to consult secondary material (see more in Milić, 1965). The topic we explore in the related research work is studied by means of a specific analysis, i.e. a methodological procedure which has been used here as well in monitoring historical events and socially valuable choices. For this occasion, analysing the culture of the memory of the Croatian and Montenegrin societies, which manifested itself in the role of toponyms, with particularly pronounced ritualisms and folklore, we resorted to synchronic and *diachronic* (comparative-historical) methods of research as to identify a certain phenomenon in its more permanent context of manifestation (see more in Simić, 2006) and thus, hopefully, provide a scientifically valid method in explaining the thematic task.

Participating in the aforementioned comparative and sociological research and being a participant and observer of the everyday life of the citizens of Zagreb and Podgorica, we felt the necessity and a convenient moment to start our own research in the field of thanatopolitics on the basis of reliable indicators. We hope that we shall not digress from the topic if we say that the study *Transition Transformation of the Capital Cities of Zagreb and Podgorica as a System of Settlements*, after the obtained results, opened the way for establishing the theories of thanatopolitics and thanatosociology which perceived, through new urban plans, the sophisticated models of totalitarian orders that tended to mobilize the urban population through retraditionalization. The mentioned phenomena could be considered in the theories related to totalitarianism as a method of "copistics" of the Nazi, Fascist and Stalinist regimes, at least when it comes to their application of ideological ornamentation and power in the examples of toponyms and agoronyms. Of course, it is not possible here to completely identify the architecture that marked the aforementioned ideological regimes from the first half of the 20th century, with the architecture that emerged in the period of the involved neoliberalization. The act of ideological urban planning in the post-socialist period has encouraged us to see the connection between urban planners and architects on the one hand and the political establishment on the other hand. Namely, everything was done with the aim of legitimizing and glorifying the new political ideologies. Therefore, it should not be surprising that during the period we are talking about, both Zagreb and Podgorica received the status of sacralised cities where the political celebrations and rituals were consistently applied (Đorđević, 1997). This finding could be supported by pointing to the principle of "dispensationalism" that was "nurtured" in the Protestant societies, especially in their aspiration to create and build a city in America (Washington), which would remind of the New Jerusalem by mythological characteristics, what

is still a dominant course of analysis and explanation in geopolitical theories (see more in Dugin, 2008).

The following statement (which can be considered as the hypothesis of this paper) may, at first glance, take on the character of an unfounded analysis, but we think that the political regimes strived for a recent urbanization of Zagreb and Podgorica by a subsequent acceptance of the ideology of neoliberalism. Accepting the status of the neoliberal city and all the prerogatives the ideology had for the political regimes at that time, represented the phase of new urbanization with market orientation, thus creating a chronocide in relation to the previous social order and its value system.

If we take into account the previous studies that we mentioned in this paper, and that served as a basis for further elaboration and search for phenomena whose outlines we anticipated in them, we can say, at least for now, that we opened the way for the new research of the city as an arena of political and ideological turmoil in urban sociology. This is not a contribution to only one of the dominant views of the city, but it goes far beyond that, skilfully avoiding theoretical reductionism and offering a new prologue for assessing the alienation of the modern city from its citizens. We secretly encouraged the opinion of those theoreticians for whom the thought of the city aroused anxiety because of its "arrogant nature".

WHY POSTMODERN GEOGRAPHY?

The title above obliges us to explain the endeavour of insisting on the postmodern geography as a potential framework for the interpretation of this paper. Guided by the strength of the instruction given to us by the postmodern theorists whose positions can be classified as those who have a critical insight into this era, we wanted to highlight those social phenomena which completely inhabited the relationship between time and space. A very important indicator in this paper which can be said to be an additional framework for studying this subject, is the phenomenon of *postmodern geography* in which E. Sodža recognizes the dialectics of time and space (Sodža, 2013). It is enough to remind ourselves of D. Harvi (1990) and his indication of dynamic social processes which lead to the compression of time and space and the significance of space from the point of view of power expressed by M. Fuko (1997) and E. Sodža (2013) so that we can say that space for us is a 'theoretical practice space' at which it was possible to follow the state of ideological influences and flows. Perhaps the impression is deceptive and too digressive when it comes to the path we have taken in this paper, however, we think that it was necessary in order to test and understand the accompanying phenomena of the post-socialist transformation.

The cities had to go through a phase of liberalisation and forceful privatisation, so that the governing groups monopolised both by means of nostalgia and animosity towards the past. Thus, cities have become a refuge for

the banished memories and surviving hopes. We shall complete this outline by our intention to further devote ourselves to *divinization* and *demonization* of the value systems incorporated in Croatia and Montenegro's society, i.e. in their pre-socialist and post-socialist systems, a confirmation of the instrumentalism of death. Of course, their existence within the same system will not be excluded in further narration. What we have here is a symbolic transformation of space followed through a political instrumentalism of toponyms, idioms and odonyms. The specified corpus of characteristics which simultaneously define the panorama of urban identity, at least when it comes to Zagreb and Podgorica, will be used by the establishment not only in precisely determining the new political guidelines, but also in setting an epochal contrast against the deserted ideological attire.

We should also add that with the fall of socialism one 'grand Utopia' ceded its place to another. This will be supported by the examples of *chronocide* (Epštein, 2001). The aforementioned line contributes to our theoretical statement that upon arrival of the new revolutionary forces there comes the time of 'capitalization of memories and new aspirations'. Post-Yugoslav regions (Croatia and Montenegro) will become faithful followers of the so-called *cargo cults* (Dugin, 2008). It is of vital importance to emphasize that *cargo cult* myth does not only concern *domicile perception* of native tribes, but it can be (re)activated in any society with a non-selective attitude, not only toward colonizers, but (in this case) toward neoliberal values they adopt and which yet are not a part of their cultural ethos. There is a general opinion which says that they occur in times of turbulent social changes; in other words, the values that are characteristic of western societies were hard to imagine in one of the bastions of socialism. To be more precise, we here speak about the former Yugoslavia. During the post-socialistic period, the newly established countries embraced the western cult of democracy and neo-liberal capitalism. We should emphasize that this is not only the case with post-socialistic societies, but it can be found in any society that rejects its heritage.

Although many post-socialist societies simply accepted to follow the enforced patterns of development, they started receiving euphemistic phrases which said that changes are painful and it is necessary to dissolve and reject all the habits that do not fit the post-modern transformation of consciousness. What characterizes post-socialistic societies, at least when it comes to the interpolation of such values, is their unconditional acceptance.

THANATOIDEOLOGISATION OF TOWNS (A NEOLIBERAL SANCTUARY)

The announced topic at first obliges an avid reader to take a detailed approach in analysing the text in order to detect a negative tone it gives out. We are able to say that there is an important theoretical entity behind

this statement and such entity will enable us to carefully examine the processes of post-socialist transformation of the cities of Podgorica and Zagreb which are the subject of this analysis. Does a repressed critical pattern hide an approximate determination of cultural habits of the citizens who live in these cities? As much as the neo-liberal ideology pounded against the shores of the new social development of the post-Yugoslav areas, to the same extent it influenced the creation of an unrecognizable urban identity. An unavoidable area of interpretation in this research is the capriciousness that 'brokering economy' brought with itself. To be more precise, the political establishments in Croatia and Montenegro have tried to preserve the state-governed spatial planning, an euphemistic excuse for protectionism, marginalising at the same time not only the socialist legacy through the insecure neo-liberalism, but also enabling a perception of the new world through a form of violent privatization. It is obvious that these were abrupt and convulsive changes which failed to produce a strong institutional framework in most of the Yugoslav members, largely dependent on social control (Obryvalina, 2013). It is necessary to build an institutional framework which will govern the development of urban agglomerations. This is a clear precondition to sustaining the cultural identity of the city.

First of all, when it comes to the serial process of social transformation, it is necessary to bear in mind that the reform plans which integrate a valid form of social control must be compatible with the spatial landscape while not neglecting the social life of the city. Otherwise, by an ad hoc blindly implemented social reform one risks creating special deviant subcultural forms which are a direct consequence of poorly implemented reforms.

Following what Zak Derida and Right Mills have said, Michael Dear and Stevan Flusty (1998) talk about a new perspective which broke away from all the existing discourses. Of course, it has to do with the post-modernism and in this very thematic exposition with the post-modern urbanism. In a detailed, interdisciplinary interpretation of the city, Dear and Flusty consider the development of a modern city through those 'compounds' which display maturity and the latest contribution of the theoretical thought (the city in the globalisation era, cultural hybridisation and so on) (Dear, Flusty, 1998). What we insist upon is the condition whereby it is frequent in the contemporary Western urban sociology for the chapters on social processes to be overlooked, as confirmed by the above-mentioned theorists. Simply, it seems that all the painful experiences occurring through the transformation process were ignored. The Western theoretical thought of postmodern urbanism does not take sufficient account of the experiences of those countries whose values differ from their own. It is therefore necessary to persevere in the process of improving their theoretical sustainability, at least when it comes to this phenomenological subject matter.

Why is it important to invoke past episteme? The reason is more than obvious. Modern city, as an ideally-typical aspiration of politicians, ideologists, scientists and architects has undoubtedly become a shelter of technological universe, and at the same time, lost the image of former social homeland inhabited by people.

SPACE AS MANIFESTATION OF POWER

We think that through the panorama of our theoretical corpus we have offered enough valid interpretations of the post-socialist city as to offer a diachronic analysis of our empiric subject matter. It looks like it is ungrateful to talk about the development of modern cities in Croatia and Montenegro, if we do not take into consideration a wider framework with all those multiple actions that are included in the process of irresistible globalization. Likewise, it is impossible to talk about value transformations, if we neglect their socialist and post-socialist experience. Therefore, our analysis is called up to testify of the contrasts that followed the multi-decennial development of former Yugoslav countries. What we have announced at the beginning of this work concerns in part the field of post-modern geography which enables us to observe space as its theoretical content and manages to avoid the 'subject marginalization' and remove its existence from the margins of theory. We could also remember E. Sodža contribution to the sociological theory, the author who produced an additional incentive for development and interpretation of the area. To begin with, we should draw the readers' attention to his analysis of the philosophers of the 20th century and their idea of space. The segment of Foucault's space analysis is very important to us. Thus, Foucault highlight the discourse of space, introducing and reviving the idea of heterotopias. A tacit confirmation of our analysis is provided by the following Foucault's view: "*Yes. Space is of utmost importance for every form of social life; space is of utmost importance for every manifestation of power*" (Sodža, 2013, 30). In our research, space is interpreted through a framework of intertwining power. There is an interesting perception and definition of problems in space given by E. Sodža, where he gives examples of countries that belong to different classes of social-economic development and cultural customs. The transformation of space largely depended and was defined by means of a temporary climate of revolutionary forces and this eventually generated what is known as spatial policies.

TOWARDS A SUPER-SUBURB (A SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS)

In the final chapters of this paper we will strive to adjust the theoretical domain more constructively to the research plane, more precisely, to the secondary material consulted for its findings for the consideration of a new topic. We need to distance ourselves from this en-

deavour and say that we will try to rely on those points of view which correspond to our topic, although the research of this kind is very rare. This does not mean that only few theorists have touched upon this thematic corpus before us. Moreover, many research projects and monographs have dealt with value judgements in the post-socialist period (Lazić, 2011, 2014; Lazić, Cvejić, 2013; Pešić, 2014; Sekulić, 2011, 2012; Hodžić, 2008; Vujović, 1997), but, as we constantly point out this topic was mainly discussed within the theories of *cargo-cults* and engagement of culture of memories and, within it, a focus on thanatoideologisation. We hope that this chapter was justifiably divided into two parts. The first part concerns the monitoring of the phenomenon of super-periphery, i.e. in the cities covered by this research, while the other refers to a spectrum of political festivities which, we can safely say, emerged with the revitalization of the new right-wing politics.

Before we move onto the research part, it would be useful to call upon Duško Sekulić (2011) and his research into the value choices of the post-socialist societies, especially when it comes to the process of modernization. Although he studies Croatian society, in our case it is applicable because Montenegrin society inherited a similar ideological choice. The author came to the conclusion that there are two levels in the Croatian society. The first trend, as Duško Sekulić emphasizes, is the increase in the re-traditionalization which emerged after the socialist breakdown and which took the form of increased religiosity and national exclusivism with only slight variations in the period from 1996 to 2004 (Sekulić, 2011). What is important for us are the research judgements presented on the basis of these authorized value orientations. What is important is the 'ideological competition' of value orientations recognized in the re-traditionalization of society, its liberalization and political authoritarianism. All three value frames appear as ideological calculations, tuning up the status-based trust of society. It is possible to note the trend of confidence growth, but also a rapid decline in the liberal order in the first decade of the 21st century. Duško Sekulić explains this value outcome by the disruption in the economic environment, more precisely, by poor privatisation decisions which belong to the basic categories of the liberal order.

If we rely on this conclusion, by exploring the depths of neoliberal capitalism with a set of tasks that had to be applied in both the Croatian and Montenegrin economies in order to strike a balance after the socialist breakdown, we can say that one could not expect a different kind of urban solutions other than those which seem foreign to the spatial ambience of the capitals of Zagreb and Podgorica. Why are we adamant in this analysis? The answer arises from a series of valid arguments that speak in favour of our criticism. The space was used in order to promote the ideological calculation which, at the time, was served as to integrate the societies of the former Yugoslavia around a new manipulative scheme.

Here we take Kirsten Simonsen's (1990) view of post-modern urbanism, because his findings correspond to the situation that we have encountered in the field.

Namely, writing about the problem of postmodernism which introduced the post-Fordist type of production, Simonsen ingeniously highlighted the postmodernist version of architecture which emerged as an answer to the modernist one which was considered to have greatly had a dehumanizing character in its attempt to revitalize the European landscape, relying on the Bauhaus' solutions and rational planning (Simonsen, 1990). Postmodernist architecture represents, according to this author, an integral replica of the past. Perhaps the following quotation gives the best outline of the capital cities of Zagreb and Podgorica:

The architecture is 'high-tech' inspired and constantly aspires to add new dimensions to the language of architecture. The building-complexes often have the character of a 'fortress'. Self-enclosed, they turn their back on the surrounding city and aspire to become complete worlds, a kind of miniature city in themselves (Simonsen, 1990, 59).

When considering the new architectural plans and urban policy, one comes to the conclusion that the social foundations of the city are utterly ignored. We shall prove this thesis by useful examples and indications.

The described reflection is confirmed by the research of Branimir Krištofić (2016), a discerning sociologist from Zagreb. Determining his research course by means of a clear and interesting terminological elaboration of instances of *super-periphery*, Krištofić starts with the interpretation of a shocking agenda which was intended for the post-socialist countries. As the author states, Jeffrey Sachs first stood out with his "neoliberal therapies" which in spite of having far-reaching economic, political and social consequences, in the near future had to take the "peripheral sides" of the European family (Krištofić, 2016, 140).

This made the author test the given subject matter of the research on the basis of *super-periphery*.

The phrase super-periphery refers to the countries that are part of the basic peripheral system, but are even more open to the side effects of crisis than the peripheral countries of the Euro-zone (Krištofić, 2016, 142).

One could say that the specified 'theoretical voices' go along with complete research course of this author. In order to eliminate the possibility of doubt in comparability of the two cities, which is a part of our elaboration, we shall say that such cities happened to be in the centre or crossroad of 'the ghosts of the past' and 'an invasion of impassioned future'. In this muddle, their duel over the deathbed of the presence constantly went on.

Taking into account this statement, we are ready to show the state of transformations of Yugoslav republics. The aforementioned sociologist, Krištofić does not overlook all those changes that happened in the post-revolutionary period in his research.

The author based his assumptions and observations having in mind the urbanistic motto 'from profession to market need' produced by the Montenegrin and Croatian urban planners and architects who saw the same changes take place both in Zagreb and Podgorica. This justifies the insight into the existence of market malls which threw 'a shadow on the memories' of and the last remains of socialist achievements. New refuges for 'lost hopes' emerged on the sites of former industrial plants which lost its functionality during the times of 'un-achievable transitions'.

Within these research margins, Krištofić gave an overview of the transition from the socialist to the neo-liberal way of living, comparing the historical memories of the citizens of Zagreb and Podgorica to their ideological legacy and the new neoliberal practice. The author tests the above mentioned phenomenon at the plane of housing issues which is a site of constitutional changes.

Most of the post-socialistic countries kept their initial positions, i.e. the periphery, a little closer or a bit further from the centre. When it comes to housing, socialist countries transformed themselves from the avant-garde of modern development of society to the avant-garde of neo-liberal (rudimentary, to be fair) post-modern development (Krištofić, 2016, 161–162).

It is a devastating detail and the moment of the post-socialist transformation of these societies, and in particular a *Faustian bargain* that has been made as to rapidly approach the European metropolises. This implies that we are going through a phase of a desecrating consumerist culture. Of course, we would be too unrealistic and sarcastic if we said that these cities did not once have a reputation of recognizable treasures of their traditions.

Having accepted the opinion that the cities of Zagreb and Podgorica are replicated landscapes of post-socialism, it seems that it may be superfluous to repeat and point out the deficiencies in their individual description. What is characteristic of Montenegro, and especially of Podgorica, in the period we have observed, is certainly the state of differentiated and extracted urban zones whose ornamentation reminds and, above all, encourages social stratification. There is an obvious phenomenon whereby prestigious settlements sprout around shopping centres, which correlates with the findings of Kirsten Simonsen (1990) that modern cities more and more resemble the fortresses that are immune to social needs. It is easy to conclude from these fragments that the tendency to achieve public interest does not prevail

in these cities, but the city represents a political arena where it is necessary to impose political will or to instrumentalise the world of citizens. This leads to the neglect of interests of vulnerable social groups. In most of the cases, this urban policy has fulfilled the desires and needs of the privileged economic groups.

By carrying out a discursive analysis of spatial transformation of the post-socialist cities, Jelena Zlatař-Gamberožić (2016) speaks methodologically and inspirationally about those deviations that occurred after 1990. This is an analytically detailed and well-substantiated narrative which does not avoid its involvement with the problems of spatial policy. Her perceptions touch on the globalization issue for a good reason, thus confirming our endeavour to observe the metamorphosis of the post-socialist cities. There is an obvious stress on the reduction of the state's power on the one side and accumulated power of the market stakeholders on the other. The main issues are the questions of identity of post-modern cities, as well as a question of social differentiation of Zagreb and Podgorica. Following the work of Mark Augé (1995) the author notices that there is phenomenon of 'non-place' in Zagreb, whereas political and economic elites control the regional planning in Podgorica (Zlatař-Gamberožić, 2016).

One should stress that this is caused by a traumatic atmosphere, if we take into account the unsuccessfully carried privatisation and one obvious devastation of space on the part of the new elites who present the neo-liberal practice as the only valid one.

POLITICAL INSTRUMENTALIZATION OF MEMORY

In the final chapter of this paper, we will try to justify as much as possible the choice of the theoretical background used to support our elaboration of the modern neoliberal city, specifically, the major cities of Croatia and Montenegro. In an effort to provide an analytical framework for the future research of this kind, we have opted for a sustainable complementarity of those theories which found their employment in the ideological attacks of political instrumentalisation of memory, i.e. a violent refinement of the past. The last decade of the 20th century is characterised by a dictatorship of memory in the former Yugoslavia, because the memories of the past were not desirable in creation of the image of a new society. Representatives of the Croatian and Montenegrin establishments resorted to strengthening the political ideology in order to gain legitimacy of and confirmation for their project. Such a tendency was obvious not only in the political rhetoric of military campaigns, but also in 'rented space' and 'leased memories' that were to be supplied with a certain amount of animosity towards other nations. The hypothetical basis thus established gives us the right to ask ourselves whether the post-Yugoslav societies built their national identities on a human basis, patriotism or on a depleted belief that it

was necessary to achieve supremacy over other nations. Thus, after more than a twenty-century perspective, we are forced to believe that it was necessary to achieve the political domination first in one's own landscape, and then beyond its borders.

This meant that the names of city squares and streets, i.e. what in the urban terminology is known as toponyms, ononyms and idioms, had to be filtered through a nationalist rhetoric. All of the earlier features that stressed the time and ideological attributes of the Yugoslav being, became the unwanted inhabitants of the cities. Thus, we have noticed that in the city of Zagreb the memory of the period of coexistence with other members of the former Yugoslavia was forgotten, so that from the 1990's on the names of the pre-socialist martyrs appeared miraculously and proudly in the streets and other urban zones. In Montenegro, as will be shown, it was not a devastation of the other nationalities' personality traits as much as stigmatization and persecution of certain dynasties from their own tradition. This was an ideological step in the period of intensification of war intolerance, and later on it was a tendency to revitalize this intolerance at the time of the loss of confidence in the FRY. At the same time, encouragement is given exclusively to those persons who displayed recognisable national behaviours. We must be careful here and add that Hobsbaum's (2002) theory of 'invented traditions' is a possible answer to the historical temptations that these societies have encountered.

'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past (Hobsbaum, 2002, 6).

Reflecting on this insight into the tradition of the British historian, we emphasize that this study also confirmed the efforts of the Croatian and Montenegrin societies to engage the relics of tradition and give them a completely new usable value. This is not a slight critique of historical material, but rather a desecrating attitude towards the value orientations from the past included in the national ornamentation and rhetoric.

From the point of view of anthropology, this would mean that the post-socialist societies had to find a new backbone after the socialist breakdown and loss of the state and that petrified feeling and jargon referring to the father of the nation was lost. The warfare and upheavals that erupted in the territory of the former Yugoslavia remind us of the anthropological order of theories which indicate that such offenses represent a form of purification for those societies which found themselves in such a whirlpool which should have been used in order to forget about the previous value order to which they until recently belonged. Referring to Roger Kajoa, Jelena

Đorđević (1997) points out his attitudes which refer to a set of activities which are socially sanctioned in the community and which are being undertaken in order to desecrate the earlier memories of the ruler.

Ritual defamations are socially necessary, because they symbolically annul the negative urges, the hierarchical structure, so that, after the holidays, the purified participants continue their daily lives in accordance with the rules of that structure (Đorđević, 1997, 33).

In our narrative, social holidays are identified with war events so that a new order would follow, suffused with a new national discourse. The ritual festivities performed on such occasions are freed from an ontological character, although the manipulated people see the possibility of ideological purging from socialist habits in these ideological settings. We shall once again quote Jelena Đorđević in this analysis. It is interesting to observe her observation of political religion which has an invaluable role for us in interpreting the spirit of the time we are analysing. Political religion includes the area of special canons of belief and mythical performances, according to this theorist. It has been particularly topical in Croatia and Montenegro, not only in the post-socialist transformation period, but the previous socialist system had the same habits and aspirations of establishing itself as an earthly religion. This newly-established political religion supported the act or ritual of offering sacrifice which manifested itself in erasing the memory of socialist regimes and the return of some long forgotten heroes who were 'crowned' in a newly established value order. Here we must distinguish the symbolic character of the past from its mythical order (Kuljić, 2006). If we recall Rene Žirar (1990) and his anthropological text and an interpretation of ritual rituals, we can point out that in our case massive ideological material from the era of socialism served as an act of salvation for the newly created nations. Comparable and useful examples can be found in the post-Soviet states, where, even today, for the sake of obedience to the new idols, cultural and historical features from the time of the former Soviet Union get devastated. A striking example is the demolition of Lenin's sculptures and monuments, as well as the deletion of all those 'road signs' that pointed to the Soviet epoch. This is a transmissive process in the emergence of new identity features. This is also indicated by Todor Kuljić (2002) in his study entitled *Overcoming past*. This theoretician, on whose theoretical panorama we rely, besides the interpretation of Hobsbaum's creativity, speaks of a single form of personalized past in which those societies that have found themselves in the crucial period of turbulent history, more precisely, the time of political confrontations, are recognized. The creation of the post-socialist history, which had to keep continuity of

the past, is necessary in order to maintain and, above all, to ensure the integration of the society under the 'veil' of a new and revised tradition.

The renewal of national identity is particularly dramatic in the post-socialist regimes. In this reconstruction, even a mere recollection of the universal ideologies necessarily causes reactionary responses in the form of demonization of internationalism as mondialism, and earlier transnational socialist identity as totalitarian (Kuljić, 2002, 13).

This lengthy explanation is a valuable contribution and a clear proof of what we have so far emphasized. The nineties of the 20th century were a turning point at which a total value collapse was to be avoided and new identifiable identity features were to be found. According to Todor Kuljić, the state, and especially the ruling social groups, reverted to using past. In addition to a democratization of the culture of memory which usually turns into a troublesome-consumerist stream, Todor Kuljić recognises in his surroundings a politicization of memories which implies a fictitious tradition was to be confirmed at an institutional level (Kuljić, 2006). In the area of the former Yugoslavia, more precisely, in its former republics, 'new veils were placed over the eyes' of the young national states in order to blur the vision of the recent political elites and those of the feverish past. If a nation had to be purified, the space as its reflection had to be ideologically pure, because it reflects its size and ideological superiority (Smith, 2003).

Many monuments in Croatia and Montenegro will become secularized pilgrimages for their citizens. Here we will not only hold onto the theoretical views of the culture of memory. We intend to use the theories of thanatopolitics and thanatosociology for the sake of the credibility of the work, because of the range covered by the research in the area of culture of memory. Their engagement in this work is recognized through the efforts of political elites to present their choices from the past as potential victims of the system (in this case, socialist), to which they are obliged to dedicate the lost piety. If we take an ideological approach to the culture of memory, we will clearly classify the efforts of the state instrumentalization of the past, which is also mentioned by Todor Kuljić (2006). In these mechanisms of the controlled past he sees a clear departure from the communist past and the desire of political elites to forget about it as soon as possible.

Having offered a relevant set of views of post-modern geography and having connected them to the research threads of the author's views, in the final part of this work we will describe and hopefully provide a significant contribution to thanato-political and thanato-sociological theory. In order to keep epistemological integrity, we will say that thanato-political aspects actually induced the development of this sociological

discipline. Together with thanato-politics, they became particularly relevant at the time of sudden social changes, changing the cultural-historical circumstances of the use of death (Kuljić, 2014). Already relying on the theoretical instructions by Todor Kuljić, we will present the system of values of Croatia and Montenegro's society since 1989, and their understanding of the capital of death, as well as their attitudes towards past and future. Such a treatment of the problem showed a dialectical relation of those societies and the genres of the time, because they censored and gave up on their socialist past in order to hand over a place to a revolutionary future which was revised with force and ceded to others to use, after it had lost its popularity and its decorations. The ideological directive that promotes the banishment of time is for M. Epštejn "another neologism: 'chronocide' – death of time. Revolution starts with chronocide, i.e. ideological murder of past in the name of abstract future" (Epštejn, 2001, 8). The second payback session starts, as we have said, when the future loses its spiritual agility and the past starts with its vengeance. The above presented M. Epštejn thoughts will be applied at the beginning of affirmation of thanato-sociological and thanato-political theory.

In the lines to follow we will try to justify our selection of our research corpus. We strongly believe that due to a change in the ideological climate of Croatia and Montenegro, a change and revitalization of their national ethos have occurred. This process demanded from the political elites to determine by force the mental course of their society. Of course, this happened at the time of a raging war when the social development was neglected and the cultural-historic collapse gave way to an ideological architecture of *new nationalisms*. To be more precise, it was a Freudian *narcissism of small differences*.

The new chapter in the history of Croatian and Montenegrin society had to be transferred to the domain of space. The changes to the socialist heritage are visible through its replacement by the pre-socialist legacy in Zagreb. An excellent example are the new names of Croatian squares and streets (Croatian Nobles Square, Ban Jelacic Square, King Zvonimir Street, etc.). In such a way, the memory of the common past, which had to be converted to fit the pre-socialist period or 'secular chiliasm', had to be erased.

One of the most significant findings when it comes to the urban renaming in the city of Zagreb is a significant number of requests for changing the former socialist ornamentation, particularly frequent after Croatia gained its independence. This is supported by the research material in which it was noticed that those features were related to erasing the memory of the anti-fascist heroes as well as the accompanying rhetoric. That is, this was all done as to ideologically make a clear dichotomy in the field of international relations, more precisely, to portray oneself as belonging to the Western geopolitical

influence (Samardžić, Živković, 2016). We will mention some important changes in toponyms.

'Square of the Victims of Fascism' has been renamed to 'Croatian Nobles Square'; 'Republic Square' has been renamed to 'Ban Jelačić Square'; 'Street of the Socialist Revolution' was renamed to 'King Zvonimir Street'; 'Lenin Square' became 'King Petar Krešimir IV Square'; 'October Revolution Square' has been renamed to 'Trešnjevački Square'; The 'Brotherhood and Unity Square' (better known as 'Flowers Square') was renamed to 'Petar Preradović Square'; 'Brotherhood and Unity Avenue' was renamed to 'Slavonska avenue'; 'Proletarian Brigades Street' became 'Vukovar Avenue'; 'Engels Street' has been renamed to 'Marohničeva street'; 'Edvard Kardelj Avenue' was renamed to 'Federal Republic of Germany Street' street, etc. (Samardžić, Živković, 2016, 175, 176).

Montenegro resisted the forceful 'end of socialist history' for a whole decade, in order to banish successively the 'socialist heroes' from the city squares and streets, according to the established practice in the Yugoslav republics (Samardžić, Živković, 2016). It could be said that, in accordance with its administrative union with Serbia, Montenegro nurtured and revitalized common spiritual and historical legacy. This legacy included similar spatial characteristics, and only after 2006, following Montenegro's independence, a new *revolutionary chronocide* occurred. In the research of Samardžić and Živković (2016), this was proved by the example of Stefan Nemanja's toponyms from 1948 on, its sudden resurgence at the time of the SRY and political abandonment at the time of Montenegro's split with Serbia. Following this practice of changing the socialist toponyms, the authors are cautious in their explanations, since they emphasize that there was no violent and complete deletion of socialist epitaphs in Montenegro.

On the other hand, a stronger process of 'detoxification' of Podgorica took place in 2005 when the streets of 'Tito's Veles', 'Tito's Korenice', 'Tito's Vrbas' and 'Titoužicka Street' were renamed to the streets of 'General Sava Orović', 'Bishop Vasilije Petrović', 'Andrija Paltašić' and 'Jelena Balšić'. This decision also erased the street reminders of 'Tito's cities' that had already been banished to history, which made one street symbolic 'exhibition' officially go to history (Samardžić, Živković, 2016, 184).

It is noticeable that the thanatopolitical and thanatosociological motives pervaded the post-socialist urbanization of Zagreb and Podgorica. In the examples of hodonyms and agoronyms, one can recognize "the manuscript" of the political instrumentalization of historical figures that lived before the demonized socialist period. Each monumental feature carried in itself a

historical stage and the image of the development of the newly established nations. This would create a unique identity which would help to remove the tension between the socialist past and the post-socialist transformation of society into a liberal-democratic order. Perhaps it is ungrateful to judge "the participants of war conflicts" from this historical perspective, but with appreciation of value neutrality, it is difficult not to take an attitude that the motives for the post-war urban planning had the content of "urban epic". After the collapse of socialist ideology in the Yugoslav territories, all socialist martyrs became strangers and exiles, so it turned out that the new "sanctuaries" were exclusively reserved for "close relatives" from "national history". Political instrumentalization went so far that in national, religious and mythological cases it emphasized intolerance towards everything that did not have a symbolic impulse and, above all, loyalty to the new establishment. These were the outlines of using and manipulating "the capital of death" (Kuljić, 2014), which is not far from the conclusions of Norman Finkelstein's (2003) study of "Holocaust industry".

The emphasis on the emergence of neoliberalism can be considered valuable in this paper, because neoliberalism saw in retraditionalization the possibility and a suitable ally for the undisturbed emergence and acclimatization to the Croatian and Montenegrin society. Although Zagreb and Podgorica do not belong to the sociological narrative of Megalopolis, a hypothetical viewpoint in their case is valuable, because it says that there has been "a truce" of the opposite urban colouring or identity *"between Megalopolis in the meaning of a supranational city and a capital, a city associated with national identity"* (Vladušić, 2012, 26). We find the necessary explanation in the efforts of the establishment to maintain the continuity of its rule and the manifestation of power through a recognizable discourse of manipulation with martyrological contents that will achieve the consensus among people. On the other hand, by incorporating neoliberalism as the ideology of messianism, the political establishment wanted to show the other face which was pervaded by the spirit of the capitalist order. We have to be honest and say that each form of urban planning and architectural design from the 1990s cannot be considered as a deliberate and utterly ideological attitude of their authors because, according to Aleksandar Kadijević, such an attitude would lead us to "historiographic ideologism" (Kadijević, 2010). However, we must not look favourably on the other face of modern architecture, i.e. its "conspiratorial background". *"Styles, directions and movements, especially in new architecture, have an ideology as a basis for their aesthetic and design tendencies"* (Kadijević, 2010, 159). Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish and separate monumental buildings from their ideological ornamentation. The research of this kind belongs to the 'genre' of those empirical studies which do not only aim

to deny and revoke the 'comfort' of the narratives that have maintain, since the 1990s, the holistic character of the communities on the territory of Yugoslavia. What is more, the results and theoretical insights presented in this study attempt at establishing a dialogue, which is to commence on the bases of internal interrogation of the 'compressed guilt' and to continue until a new détente date between the Yugoslav republics. While collecting the relevant historical material and sociological lexicon which followed and which, in a sensitive a thorough way, analyzed the cultural memory of Croatian and Montenegrin societies, both in the past symbiosis of a socialist type and in the post-socialist epoch that gave birth and patented a department of historical development overburdened with a martyrologic politics (Kuljić, 2014), it became evident that the ideological climate of both societies exuded a strong symbolical instrumentalisation, with an urge to violently 'entomb the restless (socialist) past', while the young states, with a desire to urgently achieve maturity and recognition on an international level, spatially 'partook' of the discourse of power that enabled their internal cohesion. This, in an enigmatic way, confirmed Merton's (1957) thesis about the *latent* and *manifest functions*, which offered this paper a theoretical legitimacy and justified its analytical conception. Having mentioned the powerful trend of past processing (Kuljić, 2002), to add to the credibility of this essay, it was necessary to give examples that would confirm our hypothesis.

We have enough room for further investigation of thanatopolitics and thanatosociology, at least while differentiating *classical monument* from its *antithetic anti-monument* (see more in Kuljić, 2014), it would suffice to give an illustrative explanation of the necessity of a changed practice of memory, which will consider its mistakes in a 'composed' way and even organize a protest within a proud-spirited and collective propensity of a continuing vulnerability of a nation which results in an interpretative victimization of its past. For this reason, Todor Kuljić persistently insists on redefining and on a tectonic shift of the meaning and the symbolic identification which the classic or conventional 'record of memory', manifest in monuments, used to have. Sometimes it gives an impression of a 'coiled past' and of a new attempt to subdue the voice of those whose sacrifice serves a prescribed and channeled genre of memory. In this way, anti-monument cautions and instills new experience and heterogeneous interpretations in the above-mentioned dryness of meaning.

Todor Kuljić cautions about the devastation of the testaments reminiscent of the socialist past. If we consider Croatia and its strong relationship with its *Homeland War*, we will find an almost inaudible response to our own judgement of the mistakes done during the civil war (not even that), which makes Croatia a historically parallel case to Montenegro, at least when having in mind our relationship with the past, anti-fascism, and

the civil war. In Croatia, we find a pronounced animosity to anti-fascism and everything that used to relate the country to Yugoslavia.

In this state, the spatial revolution of memory was the strongest. It happened, thus, that over 3000 anti-fascist monuments were destroyed in Croatia, as declared by Croatian ex-president Stipe Mesić in 2011. (Mesić and anti-fascists)... Concurrent to this is the mass construction of monuments to the Homeland War with an accentuated religious symbolism, such as 'The Voice of Croatian Sacrifice', 'Homeland's Altar', and 'The Wall of Pain'. The Croatian public monuments are crucified between the symbols of war victory and death. 'The Monument of the Croatian Victory Storm 95' in Knin and 'Memorial Cemetery of the Victims of the Homeland War' in Vukovar are the spaces of official remembrance and gathering of the state elite. The battle for Vukovar is given the role of the foundational myth of the Croatian state, while Vukovar begot the central position in the development of that part of Croatian identity which is based on victimization (Banjeglav 2012:149) (qt. in Kuljić, 2014, 301).

Every victim of the *Homeland War* built itself in the collective memory of new generations. However, this understood a collective catharsis that subdued the memory and the judgment of its own guilt.

The message is 'remember the power of the sacrifice': 'Most of the new monuments rely on the use of the ingrained, ancient symbols whose messages are universal; yet, their visual speech is of a retrograde character, while their authors address the viewers as if they were only simple onlookers and not the active witnesses within their shared space and time' (Križić Roban 2010: 236). Among the visitors of the memorial rooms built to honor the murdered Croatian defenders, there is no capacity for any argument about their individual deliberation... Framed by a blinding patriotism, the senseless civil war, followed by genocide and persecution which could have been avoided, is translated into a necessity and moralized as a liberation, while the dirty conflicts are transformed into a glorious Homeland War and additionally secured by the conventional national monuments (Kuljić, 2014, 341, 342).

These are the foundations on which an anti-monument, as its powerful contrast, should be erected. To be more precise, it will sustain itself by permanently pointing to the ingrained hypnotic delusion of the conventional monuments and their thanatopolitical instrumentalisation. Although both monuments offer a limited exploitation, it is advisable for the future to acknowledge the messages which both of them send and, in this way, to develop more vital testaments that will not 'suf-

focate and subjugate the voices of the innocent victims from the past' (see more in Kuljić, 2014).

The presented panorama of city toponyms and odonyms should not delude the reader, because both in Zagreb and Podgorica there are visible manifestations of 'feebleness of their traditions' due to invasion of a *Faustian culture*. To be more precise, we here have in mind the acceptance of neo-liberal ideology. It is actually a confirmation of our thesis about the existence of *cargo cults* in Yugoslavia. *"Thus 'cargo cult' becomes pretty universal eschatological content which is typical of the deep unconscious structures, certain primitive, sacred knowledge which came down to the sphere of psychological and rudimentary, after thousands of years"* (Dugin, 2008, 123). In the post-socialist period, throughout the cities of Zagreb and Podgorica, driven by the acceptance of neo-liberal ideology and short-term benefits, completely new toponyms, dedicated to these market and lucrative donors, began emerging. What paradoxically consolidates Croatian and Montenegrin societies in the post-socialist period, as viewed from the perspective which also provides knowledge of neoliberal ideology, is the state of a necroculture, necrophilia, as a condition of social and cultural dysfunctionality in the new capitalist system (Thorpe, 2016).

CONCLUSION

Considering that our work relied on the secondary analysis of research data related to the transformation of the capitals of Croatia and Montenegro, we nevertheless moved along the other path of analysis which enabled us to shape our observations into new theoretical models and make a significant contribution to shaping the urban identity of the capitals, and thus contribute to the original anthropogeographical and sociological analysis. We have already said that they relate to thanatopolitical and thanatasociological contents, i.e. to the theory of the culture of memory. We directed the scientific thought to the knowledge that the capital cities had acquired the sacralised places, whose glory was eagerly highlighted by hodonyms and agoronyms that constantly reminded of the power of "the capital of death". The ideological neuroticism of the capitals of Croatia and Montenegro at the end of the 20th century has led to the fact that even

today these cities are "tight" for possible coexistence with a different culture of memory that disturbs their sustainability. Everything supports the fact that such a condition was nurtured in the context of maintenance and continuity of the ruling political groups.

The course of our empirical analysis has pointed to the practices which have to do with the immortality of the nation. Reminding of important historical persons was a motif for abandoning the past and constructing a new monument to celebrate the present system of values. By the time went on, there were noticeable actions against promotion of Tito on the streets of Zagreb and Podgorica. In such a way, the life of the nations was symbolically prolonged. It has already been said that collective consciousness is formed and sustained in that way. Political establishments manage instrumentalism and abuse of death.

The end of the 20th century (on the territory of Yugoslavia, and it seems even wider) conditionally accepted "the end of history" (although it was moving toward these ideological prologues), often coping with the relics of a chauvinist and nationalist enthusiasm. On the other hand, the establishments of the two societies easily accepted "the ideological stranger" by becoming open to neoliberalism, and that "ideological stranger" deepened not only the economic and political, but also general, social, and spiritual crisis. According to our analysis, we can conclude that this is a phenomenon called "cargo cults" in anthropological theories, which is the consequence of their acceptance of neoliberalism. Combined with unsustainable retraditionalisation, it gave a picture of what we discovered in the symbiosis of "the difference between megalopolis and the capital". Therefore, we hope that we make a significant contribution to the interpretation of post-socialist or neoliberal cities.

In the end, it was very interesting to study how the identity of Croatia and Montenegro's societies was built, if we take into account the point of view of psychological attachment to the place, political motives that emerge from these deep unconscious contents, religious and collective identities, i.e. this part of the research could serve as a scientific background to a political psychology, because they clearly show and maintain the sovereignty of the theoretical material used in this research.

IDEOLOŠKA ORNAMENTIKA POSTMODERNE GEOGRAFIJE. PRIMER ZAGREBA IN PODGORICE

Predrag ŽIVKOVIĆ

Univerza Črne Gore, Filozofska fakulteta, Danila Bojovića bb, Nikšić, Črna Gora
e-mail: sociollog@gmail.com

POVZETEK

Kot je razvidno iz prispevka, je burna preteklost hrvaške in črnogorske družbe v fazah postsocialistične transformacije strjena v kronocidu, ki se odraža v ‚arhitektoniki spominjanja‘. To je razvidno v primerih toponimov, idiomov in odonimov, skritih v kotičku spomina oziroma spominskih obeležjih, ki so razpihovala neskončne razprave iz preteklosti; govorimo o instrumentalizaciji smrti. Mnenja smo, da obstaja zahteva in potreba po ustvarjanju novega antispomenika, ki bo razbremenil okostenele spomine, ki se skrivajo v klasičnih oblikah nacionalnih spomenikov. Če imamo v vidu, da „kritični tanatologi vidijo v obeleževanju krajev smrti in umiranja sodobno potrošnjo ‚mračnega turizma‘“ (Kuljić, 2014, 295), potem je povsem razumno sklicevati se na Jamesa Yanga, ki meni da „klasični javni spomeniki ne morejo nikdar nadomestiti odgovornega spominjanja, saj gre za enodimenzijsko spominjanje in tolmačenje preteklosti, odraz ideologije tistih, ki jih postavljajo“ (Kuljić, 2014, 333). Zato v zaključkih prispevka pridemo do epistemov, ki opozarjajo na potrebo po osamosvojitvi in vzpostavitvi nove sociološke discipline – tanatosociologije, s svežim pristopom tanatopolitike.

Ključne besede: tranzicija, neoliberalno mesto, tanatopolitika, tanatosociologija, kronocid, postmoderna geografija, socializem, postsocializem

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