

The Flag as a Symbol and Vision of Peace, Democracy, and Nation-Building

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ABSTRACT

The design of the flag of Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) illustrates both the objectives and limitations of intentional design's role in national healing and state building following violent conflict. The architecture and design of public buildings, spaces, and symbols can facilitate sociability or reinforce segregation and hostility. This analysis contends that design, especially of public symbols intended to evoke emotions and unity, can facilitate healing. Yet in this case, the flag's design ignores the conflict, assumes a utopia, thus failing to move society to reconciliation.

KEYWORDS

Flag design; design knowledge; human behaviour; conflict transformation

INTRODUCTION

“Architecture and war are not incompatible. Architecture is war. War is architecture. I am at war with my time, with history, with all authority that resides in fixed and frightened forms” (Woods, 1993) Lebeus Woods, an American architect, contended the design of public spaces could foster peace and reconciliation in war torn environments. War carries economic, social, and emotional costs. War destroys not only bodies and buildings, but also minds and relationships, including home and family. Without home, family becomes displaced or lost. With family lost, one lives in liminal permanence, the past of familiar experience destroyed and the future unknown and insecure. Yet, what is home? Is it just design and architecture; or is it a familiar experience that dwells in buildings we call houses? What does the experience of home and war-time dispossession mean for the social body? Does being home require a return to familiar relationships and designs? Must it be only a point and place of return, which in the post-war is destroyed, and therefore impossible? Or is home and family a construct, perhaps imagination? Can the spiritual and physical place of family dwell as motions and emotions in my mind as I climb creaky wooden stairs, whilst hearing my babushka’s velvety voice: “wear socks, you will catch cold.”

Summarizing Woods, architecture is not just technology, that is how one builds spaces, but also an art which fuses science and aesthetics to meet human need. Accordingly, an architect or artist designing for peace can ameliorate post-traumatic stress disorder and facilitate peace building. The design of spaces will affect human behavior, sociability, and consequently peace. Yet, the role of a designer in crafting peace oscillates between designing an object as product, and the essence of experiences with that product. Diplomats, technicians, and architects can build structures and laws, but the inhabitants of these post-conflict regions determine in relationship with these designs whether the constructions serve as vehicles to transition to peace. The Versailles Treaty failed to create peace; the Dayton Peace

Agreement (DPA) for Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) similarly seems to be unsuccessful (Tesan, 2018). Widely discussed are the various legal instruments for conflict resolution – independence, consociationalism, minority rights – which did not change behaviors or heal societies (Lippman, 2019; Norris, 2008).

Instead, we suggest and highlight a focus on the post-Dayton peace treaty design of the B&H 1995 national flag. The design of this national flag should be understood as poiesis, i.e., bringing into being something which previously did not exist. In this case, poiesis is both the construction of the national flag as a symbol of B&H, and potentially the crafting of a design for conflict transition to peace. Yet, just as treaties and constitutions might fail to heal societies, so too designs such as a flag might not resolve the trauma which locks B&H into the post-war hostility. Successful design necessarily remembers the traditions of families and homes while offering new places of healing and peace.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Background: The design symbolism of the flag of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H)

The design and symbolism of the flag of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina emerged during World War II and the subsequent revolution. B&H was the most diverse and third largest republic within the former Yugoslavia. The name, Bosnia and Herzegovina, acknowledged the two historic and socio- geographic entities that constituted the left upper corner was an intentional design placement to emphasise the adage: “Bosnia is a microcosm of Yugoslavia, and from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Yugoslavia was created.” The notion explained that the inter-religious peace of B&H could be replicated throughout Yugoslavia. Indeed, after the wars of the 1990s, Bose (2002), raised the conundrum whether since Yugoslavia dissolved, would B&H follow its path.

Other than the red colour, the idea behind the design was not visually aggressive. In the post-Dayton flag, by contrast, no trace of or continuity with the socialist B&H flag exists. While perhaps understandable, lost with the symbol of Tito’s socialism, is also the symbolic representation of tolerance, diversity, coexistence, and above all the reality of the organic consociation of various beliefs. The rejection of the flag and the emergence of war portended the end of the embrace of tolerance and its representation.



Figure1. Flag of Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

During the 1990 local election in B&H, most Croats (Roman Catholics), Bosniaks (Muslims), and Serbs (Russian Orthodox) rejected the one-party system and archaic 1974 socialist constitution. The Serb Democratic Party advanced a clear nationalist policy and opposed B&H secession from the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. The overwhelming majority of Bosniaks and Croats supported B&H independence. The polarisation escalated into the 1992-95 war. The DPA which ended the war established a

decentralized B&H which included a Serb Republic, with its own national flag, as one of the country's two entities (Bose, 2002). The creation of the new sovereign B&H state then necessitated the design of a B&H national flag.

Multiple designs were presented and considered. Kolobaric, a key consultant, understood the potential political impact of design, but embraced an aspirational approach which ignored the post-conflict tensions. He initially adopted the light blue of the UN as the field. Later he settled upon the dark blue imitative of the EU flag, so that the B&H flag would possess a creative imperative, an aspiration to embrace EU and Western values. His design also mimicked the stars of the EU with an infinity of stars across the B&H banner. This representation implicitly embraced the peace process and humanitarian assistance that brought a strong international presence of military missions under NATO as well as civilians who administered the political process. While their operations tried to salvage tolerance and unity, their presence engendered a blowback of animosity toward the international community and its ideals. Therefore, the design of the final flag did not reflect nor affect the people of B&H. Attitudes toward the design of the flag highlight the binary thinking between the EU's aspirational peace and the traumatic reality of post-war B&H. The design attempted to extend the peace of EU into B&H without holistically engaging the reality of the people. The international leadership strived to embody a creative imperative, however, neglected attention to the dialogical and sociological elements of design necessary to evoke unity and tolerance.

RESEARCH METHODS

Designing peace through everyday objects seems to affect human behaviour as it shapes human senses and perception, including the notion of national identity. The assertion that the technology of designs such as architecture, monuments, parks, flags, or even chairs, can change social and individual behaviour, returns us to the question to what extent does a national flag promote national identity. To what extent can designing of a national flag or the architecture of a bridge (notably Mostar) successfully mitigate societal cleavages and promote perpetual peace, or alternatively reinforce the liminal pathologies which lock societies and sub societies into perpetual conflict?

The designer's attitude, "thinking," or mindset in constructing human behaviour offers aspects for understanding a philosophy of design and its impact on freedom and peace. If one looks at the typical Balkan vernacular architecture, as Charles-Édouard Jeanneret (Le Corbusier, 1987) did in *The Journey to the East*, or Heidegger (2005) addressed in *Building, Dwelling, Thinking*, one can detect a specific design era, the family house as home and a threshold of time frozen in space. Inside is warmth, frugal charm, and reassuring places where familiar experiences dwell.

Indeed, employing Le Corbusier's theory of "chairs" and houses as the "temples of emotions" and "machine for living," or as the vessel of constant metamorphosis, one can argue that the idea of national flag design is influential on human behaviour as much as the bridge, the chair, or Woods' surreal architecture. According to Le Corbusier, a chair or a house is a careful combination of designs. The house, says Le Corbusier (2001), is the machine for living. It shapes human behaviour and functions in the same way Woods' house does. Le Corbusier's chair, the rebuilt Mostar Bridge, and the B&H national flag seem to be simple everyday objects, but such a perception misses the real and symbolic importance of designs on human behaviour.

Wars are not natural catastrophes. Leaders and politicians design wars and decide how to apply the technologies of war. Actions of both Israeli and Hamas leaders now illustrate

this reality in Gaza. Likewise, the Yugoslav wars destroyed infrastructure, families, and society. Tense, apathetic liminality pervaded and remains today throughout regions of the Balkan Peninsula. Yet, post-conflict architecture, art, and design may play a role in the healing processes.

For instance, physical liminal spaces, such as the ruin of Mostar bridge, are concomitant with spaces of liminality in our mental states (Davison and Tesan, 2021). Liminality in this context is a methodology to understand broken relations and stalled development, and how these experiences are embedded into the design system of everyday objects. Liminality, defined as a tortured compromise with an inconvenient reality normally would cease once society, or an individual, exits the period of transition; yet so many transitions stall (Szokolczai, 2009; Thomassen, 2008). As we demonstrate in other works, in some post conflict contexts, war seems to transform into the institutionalized “permanent liminality” precisely due to errors in legal and constitutional design (see Davison and Tesan, 2021). Permanent liminality associated with certain design experiences increases, thereby reducing individual and societal order, and fermenting chaos. According to Woods (2011), design is a medium pregnant with the actual technique of poiesis: an important healing technology to exit post-conflict liminality while acknowledging the very need for liminality in design to undermine divisions. Careful urban space (infrastructure) design would lead to permanent healing. Structures, like those presented by Woods or Le Corbusier, possess a critical dimension in which design as a technology is therapeutic: an antidote against the liminal machine which Easterling (2014) associates with extrastatecraft. This paradox of liminal design is vividly illustrated in the post-war B&H national flag.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Case Study: the B&H Flag

The birthday of post-war B&H, 25th of November 1995, commemorates an inadequately prepared and ineptly held meeting in a garage on an airfield in Dayton, Ohio. The Economist discussed the DPA’s legacy as “After a quarter of a century of peace, Bosnia remains wretched...Bosnia was devastated, half its population had fled or been ethnically cleansed, and more than 100,000 were dead. The country has been at peace ever since. But on November 21st, exactly a quarter of a century after the Dayton deal, not many Bosnians will be celebrating.” (“Daytonat25”, 2020). B&H is divided along sectarian lines such that it is in peace but in pieces. Since 2006 it has stagnated under the misrule of entrenched nationalist politicians. People are depressed and angry, and the skilled young leave for better opportunities elsewhere (“Dayton at 25”, 2020). Is this what the movement for peace, democracy, and freedom of the Sarajevo spring of 1992 intended? The short answer is no, rather the infections and scars of war persist.

B&H declared independence from Yugoslavia on April 6, 1992. The current B&H flag is in use since 1998, was selected by the High Representative Carlos Westendorp with an aspiration of peace and national unity, despite the reality of a permanently divided society. An ‘EU’ medium blue field with seven full five-pointed white stars and two half-stars lined along the diagonal of a yellow triangle comprise the flag (Figure 2). The three points of the triangle stand for the three constituent ethnicities: Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs. ‘Others,’ individuals or groups who do not fall into the post-DPA system of B&H, are excluded from representation in the design. Others did have status before the war, but now the others, Jews, Roma, and individuals from mixed backgrounds, lack recognition.



Figure 2. Flag of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Closely following Bateson (1972), we argue that the design of the B&H flag is the symbol of a “double bind” to people, yet also the pregnant representation of a creative impulse to search for coexistence amid peace. Careful examination of the overall design reveals the tension. The flag’s scheme corresponds to the post-war groups (Muslim, Catholic and Orthodox), excluding “Others” as if they did not exist. The flag represents an axis of patterns of broken relations (the groups) embedded in the truce (the national flag). The design includes four primary geometrical forms - triangle, trapezoid, rectangle, and diagonal- enclosed in a rectangular form. Each form represents a group with the diagonal the point of connection, but also division. The forms then are the keys to uncover the technology of division, that is institutionalized conflict protected via the DPA under the guise of a peace treaty. Each symbol is present, but they are separate, consistent with the schisms of society. The triangular figure intends to represent B&H, which geographically (in the heart of former Yugoslavia) resembles a pyramid (Figure 3). The triangular shape contains triangular numbers, which are the base of Pythagorean “triads”. The significant point to stress is not whether these “triads” are in mathematical language finite or infinite numbers, but that these are in “relation to” each other. The triangle, in nationalist terminology, could represent the core, stabilizing ethnic group, the numerical majority, the Bosnian Muslim population. This group also might be considered core given their central geographical location within B&H, much as the triangular B&H was centrally positioned in the former Yugoslavia. Yet the triangle, the Bosniak group, depends on the other shapes: trapezoid, Bosnian Croats (Figure 4), rectangular Bosnian Serbs (Figure. 5), and above all in its direct dependence on the hypotenuse – diagonal possibly the Others (Figure 6)– that is aiming to offer a (dis)agreement.

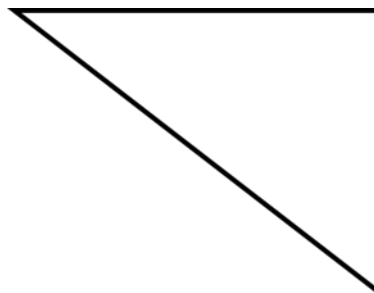


Figure 3. Triangle/Bosnian Muslim Constituents

The trapezoid (Figure 4) is quadrilateral with a pair of parallel sides. It arguably is a geographical representation of the B&H Federation, allowing for a dominant Muslim population but highlighting the converging Croatian Roman Catholic population. It also might symbolize the Republic of Croatia especially in contrast to the right-side rectangular

shape (Figure5) which seems to represent Serbia proper (excluding Kosovo and Metohija), that is the Russian Orthodox population. The diagonal figure (Figure6) is depicted to show an aspect of a dialogical stabilizer. Here we note that the concept of dialogical stabilizer amid schismogenesis develops from Bakhtin (1982) who contends the novel is an event in which the language of the author as designer draws its readers into a dialogical interaction. The same applies to the diagonal of the B&H flag: it draws the viewer into dialogical interaction with all three different geometrical shapes representative of the three separate groups. It also might be understood as positioning these constituencies for relationships.

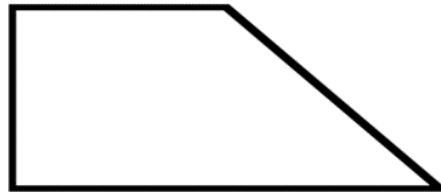


Figure 4. Trapezoid/Croatian Constituency

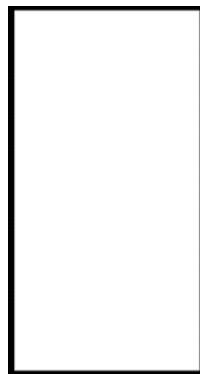


Figure 5. Rectangle/Serbia or Serb Constituency

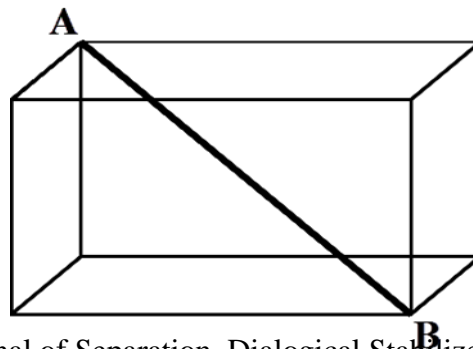


Figure 6. Diagonal of Separation, Dialogical Stabilizer

It indeed is ambiguous in the flag as to who or what, the stabilizer of the patterns of relations in the post-war context is. Perhaps it could be the infinite stars which parallel the diagonal that is the Office of High Representative (OHR). Although seemingly ignored, perhaps the ‘Others’ receive placement on the flag. If the latter, then the stabilizer falls into Horvath’s (2013) argument on the “diagonal” – it is here where the inequality between the forms via diagonal gives rise to a creative imperative as actually nothing because the others are excluded. Under this interpretation, then the diagonal would represent and encourage the schismatic relations and disharmonious human behaviour which confront and negate the creative imperative. If the diagonal refers to the OHR, then one is inclined to adopt Horvath’s alternative argument to describe the design’s function as mechanistic linear

rationalism which neglects conflict transformation, abandoning society into permanent liminality.

An additional, related consideration of this perspective applies to the colours of the flag as either a mechanistic mimic of the EU, or an aspirational creative imperative. Furthermore, related to Horvath's argument, it is important to note that she views the diagonal as a "usurper" of homeostasis in an already homogenous design. Yet we ask what if the very diagonal is used to design homeostasis in the same way its technology undermines it? She emphasizes: "like in the simple geometrical sense, the symmetry between the two sides of the square becomes confused if a single line is drawn between them. The two lines, which previously were in measure or ratio with each other, suddenly lose their self-support and independence with this action. Their meaning suddenly alters in another one, they become triangles, and the diagonal line receives an impossible quantity, as it is an irrational number... a number of the liminal" (Horvath, 2013, pp. 37-8). The relevance of her interpretation of this design is to imply the "double bind" through the diagonal and the half star (Figures 2 and 6) because the symbolic flag offers two conflicting notions of identity. Yet the possibility of creative imperative persists, and to that extent the potential of the dialogical design embodied in the flag.

Kant's Perpetual Peace as creative imperative

The diagonal design's function is intriguing. We argue that the diagonal posits that the seven plus one star(s) is a function that demonstrates in definitum perpetual growth. This growth is deemed evident in the upper and lower stars which are cut in half (Figure 2). This is a sign of a principle of growth through division. The trapezoid (Figure 3) oscillates on its diagonal, which in turn becomes an axis between two plus one forms: the triangle (Bosniaks/Muslim), the small trapezoid (Croats/Roman Catholics), and the rectangle (Serbs/Russian Orthodox). The diagonal with the stars cut in half, represents the possibility of growth but along the division obtained by the stars. Immanuel Kant would contend, "...the distinction between the infinite and a progress of indeterminate length (progressus in in definitum) would be an empty subtlety. For although when it is said, 'Draw a line' it obviously sounds more correct to add in in definitum than if it were said in infinitum, because the first means a no more than 'Extend it as far as you want,' but the second means 'You ought never to stop extending it' (which is not at all intended here); yet if we are talking only about what can be done, then the first expression is entirely correct, for you could always make it greater, to infinity" (1998: 522).

This perspective applied to the B&H flag highlights its subjectivity. First, it can be viewed as "ought to" representation of the international community and the EU's perpetual expansion. Second, it can be interpreted as what "can be done;" that is the main stabilizer or "others" who then appear to hold the whole flag representing the nation and their unity together in one piece. In turn, such a piece as peace allows for, and perhaps is, a dialogical event (Tesan, 2018). To obtain this division, it was necessary to insert the diagonal as a medium, or in Kant's vocabulary, that which is the guarantor of Perpetual Peace in the DPA, acknowledgement of the ethnic identities which led to war.

As with all the forms, however, the extension of the diagonal, along the half stars, as it crosses in definitum rather than ad infinitum, allows its joining points to engage in "Batesonian" relationships with other identities and groups as forms. This phenomenon can only be well visualized in the 3-D form: either a cylinder or yet another rectangle (Figure 6). This highlights that under transition, including conflict transition, the power of binary and linear thinking is represented symbolically in the B&H flag. Yet, a creative imperative could challenge this Batesonian double-bind interpretation if one corrects their

episteme from a binary yes/no or winner/loser to an all-encompassing dialogical relationship.

Accordingly, the reading of the geometrical forms, viewed together offers a concept of dialogical creative imperative of non-binary design trapped in a binary form. This design is at once legal and physical, which produces in all four points (Figure2) a hermetically encapsulated kinesis in a space of the conflictual institution: the peace treaty, the DPA. In that sense, the “diagonal” represents the base of the movement, but also a dialogical response to the philosophical and ideological dimensions of the tolerant life. This is the point from which the enclosed cylindrical/diagonal volume may appear as the relation to another star, which is permanently cut (Figures2 and 6). This indicates that an overall form, that is, the design of the B&H flag, produces the notation, “proto-kinesis,” of a true surface that “used” to be, but cannot again exist, due to the violent centrifugal forces around it. Therefore, this analysis finds this design as an event or metaphysical wall, not a static entity: a perpetual form (or nation) of becoming a creative imperative.

Discussion

A close re-interpretation of geometrical and symbolic forms in the B&H flag leads to the deduction that this new design represents the post-war system: divisions, polarization, and permanent liminality, but also a creative imperative for perpetual peace. In the symbol of the flag one can identify both the “double bind” and “permanent liminality,” and thus see it as a liminal experience in which there seems to be no solution for an escape while at the same time it is a creative imperative. To paraphrase Bateson: the function of the thing (in this case the flag) is not what it is, but to what it is in relation. Acknowledging that architecture and design condition human behavior, one can argue: the degree to which it becomes successful in designing healing processes is essential for understanding discourse on designing perpetual peace from everyday objects.

Easterling (2014) concurs and expresses concern that design under the control of powerful elites imposes structures which direct identities and constrain creative imagination. Thus, design is an essential part of the construction of the self and/or identity. If the essence of architecture or design changes, then who we are also changes. The B&H flag offers a construction of identity which affects individuals and societies.

Bateson, Woods, Easterling, and Kant each understand how design can impact human behavior, and counsel for creativity and construction which promotes human freedom. Designing structures that entangle interactions between local and global environments affects individual, group, and societal liminal transformative experiences. Appropriate designs are essential for places of unconsolidated peace which risk relapsing into war. Woods’ architecture and designs offer a balancing antidote to the destruction war causes. Unfortunately, a different architectural project displaced Woods’ proposal for post-war design in B&H. That project extols consumerism as the driving and unifying value of social life. The iconic hotel Holiday Inn in Sarajevo now is an expansive shopping centre as a focus of the design of space in the Swiss State Secretariat for Economic Affairs’ post-war Sarajevo City Project.

Woods’ project, the alternative Sarajevo city project, particularly the so-called Marijin Dvor zone, was his attempt to help facilitate the healing process of the scarred city using architecture and design (2001, 2011). Healing (space), as Woods argues, offers an organic and critical imperative towards conflict resolution. His works are meant to be used in everyday life as healing and “living machines,” to tap into Le Corbusier’s vocabulary. Thus, from a sociological point of view Woods’ method (diagonal & dialogical in every possible direction) transforms war motions and emotions into healing functions. In his

words there are certain “guiding principles” in design towards the balancing act thence healing spaces: “... (t)he First Principle: Restore what has been lost to its pre-war condition. The idea is to restore ‘normalcy,’ where the normal is the way of living lost because of the war. The idea considers the war as only an interruption of an ongoing flow of the normal. The Second Principle: Demolish the damaged and destroyed buildings and build something entirely new. This ‘new’ could be something radically different from what existed before, or only an updated version of the lost pre-war normal. Its application is very expensive financially, at the least (...) Third Principle: The postwar city must create the new from the damaged old. Many of the buildings in the war-damaged city are relatively salvageable, and because the finances of individuals and remaining institutions have been depleted by war and its privations, that salvageable building stock must be used to build the ‘new’ city. And because the new ways of living will not be the same as the old, the reconstruction of old buildings must enable new ways and ideas of living. The familiar old must be transformed, by conscious intention and design, into the unfamiliar new” (Woods, 2011).

Although his designs might appear inflexible, static, mechanical, maladaptive, and diagonal, they are very sustainable and responsive vehicles. Woods’ structures, comparable to the Japanese koan system and Dadaist art, are surrealist, seemingly “make-no-sense.” Yet these designs contain information, perhaps an infectious element, which acknowledges and respects the scars upon the pre-war culture, created during the conflict, and persists in the present. The responsiveness in Woods’ designs is clearly vivid in the design that willingly aims to change not just human behavior but the environment as well. The very presence of Woods’ koan design in the buildings is its enormous potential. Abused, scarred and unloved places can be re-used for the purposes of harvesting the healing and recreating loving places. Somehow these principles should have been incorporated into the flag in conversation with the aspirations of peace.

In Woods’ argument one also can embrace Kant’s “Toward Perpetual Peace” and its “ideal” architecture for injured societies. The basis for perpetual peace arose from his recognition and acceptance of dichotomy and the fundamentally violent nature of the state whether republican or despotic. Kant accepts the vision that a world federation could be an eventual option, but advises it should be approached incrementally through universal law and international institutions. Yet, we contend Kant’s international federalism and perpetual peace compromises with war; it ends the war, but does not guarantee tolerance and democracy. The perpetual peace does not address the internal human need for expression, participation, transformation, and freedom. Kant’s creative imperative can be embedded in the flag and peace treaties, but the just peace of freedom remains visionary. It is idealistic to believe an architecture removed from local participation is sufficient for human freedom (Tesan, 2018). Here the design concepts of Easterling and Woods must be incorporated.

Three hundred years after Kant’s birth, we acknowledge the ground-breaking genius of his perpetual peace. Nonetheless glaring limitations are evident, particularly given its neglect of the scars of war and pathologies of permanent liminality. For example, we examine local dismay and disaffection from the reconstruction of the old Mostar bridge (Davison and Tesan, 2021). The reconstruction should have been incremental and part of healing dispositional processes. Comparable to the post-war B&H flag, the international community constructed the new bridge with peace and unity as an end goal but failed to appreciate the depth of the historic trauma which also had to be addressed to heal the war-time scars. Design and architecture must acknowledge scars and deliver healing to injured individuals, groups, and society. This is how design impacts human behaviour.

CONCLUSION

Political endorsement is a trigger for different comments, positions, counter-positions and arguments as have been established in the findings of this study. These comments could be annexed in mainstream media through television interviews and political debates as observed in the data. Such interviews or debates bring together respondents from different parties. These respondents debate on the cogent issues raised by the endorser who becomes a major participant in the interaction process. Therefore, the endorser becomes a major subject of debate as the contents of the endorsement. The contents and the agents of endorsement discourse elicit five pragmatic intentions, namely, juxtaposition with alternative facts, 'conscious denial of and digression from position or fact', 'affirmation of thought and acceptance of position', 'representation of opinion, position and counter position,' and 'attack or defence of personality traits'. While juxtaposing with alternative facts, respondents employ expressive, assertive and directive acts, utilising denotative verbs, with emphasis like 'agree', adverbs, such as 'no doubt' and adjectives like 'performance, 'ability'. Pragmatic strategies like generalisation, amplification, reiteration, reference, indexation, using features like analogy, and acronym. Conscious denial of or digression is a pragmatic intention of the oppositions. In some cases, the respondents recontextualise the content of the endorsement for denial, and ignore facts presented for the purpose of delegitimation. Mostly, the expressive act is used, deploying pragmatic strategies like provision of comparative -alternative statistics, conscious denial of the claim, streamlining, and misinformation. Resources like 'synonym' and inference are used.

The pragmatic intention of affirmation of thought or acceptance of position is achieved by expressive, assertive and directive acts, using pragmatic strategies like sharing personal feeling, using denotative verbs, agree, negation, 'cannot be argued', and adverbs like 'no doubt', and 'quite'. It is also realised by delegitimation, condemning, and amplifying, using features like generalization, reference, indexation, coindexation and analogy. In representing opinion, position and counter position, respondents use expressive, commissive, assertive and directive acts, using positive and negative inference to emphasis the noun and verb 'control', adjective, wrong, code-mixed slogan, such as 'emi lo'kan', 'awa lo'kan', and personal pronouns. The speech act used elicits pragmatic strategies like trivialising, name-calling such as 'puppet', contradicting, recommending and criticising. For attack and defence of personality traits, the debate centred on the attributes of the endorser and the candidate being endorsed, employing strategies like defending their interest or qualities, using adjectives and nouns like 'capacity,' 'secure', and 'unite'. The respondents use repetitive structures, reference, analogy, cross indexation, litotes (understatement) and epistemic modality, dwelling on certainty. Mostly, assertive and directive acts are used dominantly, using pragmatic strategies like accusation, and indictment. Political endorsements are engaging and elicit arguments, positions and counter positions of the personalities and issues. But in most cases, attention is focused more on the personalities that the issues raised. The purpose is to undermine the endorser's worth so that the contents of his endorsement will not achieve the intended results. There is a pattern here; politicians and their spokespersons attack personalities rather than address issues, and this affects the nation and the democratic institution. This for a long time has affected the development of political culture and institutions.

Concerning design and its healing impact on humans and their environment, the analysis argued designs are technologies often constructed by powerful actors, and as such may possess hidden dynamic and transitory energy. The contention is that design errors which arise from linear and binary mind-sets prevent healing and possibly reinforce tension. The work demonstrated that the design of perpetual schism in B&H's flag

highlighted the role of the EU in contemporary conflict resolution as well as the institutionalized separation, dependence, and dysfunction of B&H society arising from the peace treaty, the DPA. The role of a design – the flag, a bridge, or a new city centre – can be an ideological and transformative vehicle in the social and spatial context. Designs' impacts can affect the internalization of tolerance and unity which then potentially nurtures democratic and tolerant civil society. Yet, this “pacifist” design agency was not directly articulated in B&H's flag. In the design of the grand post-war environment the effect on human behavior neglected to address the festering scars which negated the desire for a transformative creative imperative.

Finally, scars as dialogical diagonals demand respect and constant involvement via non-binary non-linear relationships: “I” and “my scar,” “you” and “our” perspectives, and the surrounding society. Scars serve to remind that a breakdown in the relationship between “Us” occurred. Equally, by inviting human contact, the true vector like design should be victoriously infectious. The infectious movement is from a state of inflicting and designing pain to “You” to create the respect and harmony between “Us.” Due to scars, not despite them, the single “I” in the form of a dialogical diagonal event can change into the simple respect of “We.” In such an environment might arise the creation of a criss-cross, reciprocal diagonal which combats the permanent trauma of war and thereby ushers the possibility of conflict transformation to peace. War, governance, belief systems, and technologies have evolved since Kant's birth three hundred years ago. Perpetual peace is a roadmap for peace but not democracy and tolerance. Contemporary situations such as B&H, as well as Ukraine and Gaza, demand innovative designs based upon local perspectives which acknowledge both the traumas of war and the desire for democratic peace.

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