

Titomeniks—Bridging Past and Future A Socio-Architectural Exploration of Yugoslav Monuments through the Lens of Star’s Boundary Object Theory

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ABSTRACT: The paper aims to highlight the social role of architecture and the associated social responsibility of architects. To this end the study employs a qualitative research approach to investigate the role of Yugoslav memorial architecture from the Tito era, using *Boundary Object Theory* as a framework drawing inspiration from Susan Leigh Star’s sociological framework. *Boundary Objects* are located at the interface between communities and are able to build bridges between conflicting points of view. Driven by the question of how architecture can serve as a medium for engaging with different and potentially contradictory social world perspectives, Boundary Objects connect these divergent views of professionals and stakeholders, providing a common basis for discussion. An interdisciplinary approach allows for a comprehensive examination of historical complexity, the shifts over time and their role in evolving social and political contexts. The aim is to establish a foundation for a cooperative dialogue, providing a meaningful basis for navigating architecture into an uncertain future by integrating it into contemporary societal dynamics.

KEYWORDS: Memorial Architecture, Yugoslavia, Boundary Object Theory, Social Worlds, Interdisciplinarity

INTRODUCTION

The discipline of architecture and spatial design does not mean merely contemplating a finite period; rather, it means dealing with our past, reflecting on it and contextualizing all of that within the present circumstances in order to utilize it for a potential future. This is particularly relevant these days, as our focus shifts—not only backwards—towards wars, refugee flows, ethnic exclusion, and destruction. Different identities with divergent pasts and presents are suddenly compelled to share a convergent future. This social responsibility profoundly impacts multiple realms, prompting a critical examination of the ethical and aesthetic foundations of architecture and its architects. The aforementioned identities often manifest in spatialized collective memory; anchored in the walls of our built environment—particularly in memorial architecture. These facets will be explored through the analysis of specific monuments, namely *Titomeniks*. This case study will apply *Boundary Object Theory*, a concept used in social sciences, as its theoretical framework.

1.0 FUNDAMENTUM

1.1 Titomenik

The term *Titomenik*, as well as a study on the conservation values of these monuments in a diverse society derives from the work “Titomenik - Remembering the Future” (Furbach 2017). *Titomenik* is a portmanteau of *Tito* and *Spomenik* (Serbo-Croatian for *monument*). It refers to a collection of monuments exclusive to the former Yugoslavia, predominantly realized during the Tito era. These monuments do not depict Tito as a person in any way but were rather established under his regime. Phonetically, the suffix *menik* deliberately echoes the word *manic* hinting at the concept of madness. This linguistic choice is influenced by two main factors: Firstly, the exceptional quantity of monuments erected between 1940 and 1980s, and secondly, the lasting impact these monuments continue to have today. This memorial architecture, shaped by a fusion of monumental brutalism and organic naturalness, evokes a singular fascination. An article titled “Spaceships for the Dead” sensationally describes these extraordinary sculptures as “winged eyes, giant flowers, and concrete UFOs” (Franz 2011). (Figures 1,2,3 & Furbach 2017)

This unique visual language also captured international attention; notably through Jan Kempenaers' photographic series “Spomenik: #1-26” (Kempenaers 2010), the exhibition “Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980” at MoMA in New York (MoMA 2019) as well as through media, as exemplified above. Primarily erected to commemorate Partisan battles or victims of concentration camps, Titomeniks were strategically constructed at these very specific locations. Consequently, they are typically situated in remote areas, deep within forests, almost concealed. Titomeniks—as memorial architecture—were created as monuments rather than being designated as such. Thousands of these monuments, along with their surrounding parks, were erected primarily as political instruments to shape a national identity in Yugoslavia. As such, they “both product and evidence of the socialist state’s successful liberalization process” (Vuković 2011, 77). Beyond their political function, the monument-complexes also served as public space for picnics, family outings and school-trips. Titomeniks were—hence their futuristic appearance—signposts to a better future, made possible through the sacrifices of fallen partisans at these

special sites. However, this envisioned future has not become present reality. The socialist system that effectively produced and established this identity-shaping memorial architecture ceased to exist following Tito's death. Today, 34 years after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, this is certainly one of the reasons why many of these monuments have increasingly fallen into ruins, were deliberately destroyed, or fallen victim to robbery of their façades (Figures 4,5,6,9,10 & Furbach 2017). Since then, Titomeniks have been in a state of limbo, as their original political foundation and the corresponding legitimacy have vanished. Their socialist past has been overshadowed by the democratic transformation that followed. The present qualitative case study builds on insights gathered during research trips, where I collected empirical data through observations as well as through discussions with both experts and laypersons. To gauge contemporary attitudes toward Titomeniks in today's successor states, a brief survey was used as an indicator of public opinion (Furbach 2017, 21).

1.2 Pre-Yugoslav Era: The Breeding Ground for Identity Conflicts

Dealing with such deeply rooted concepts of identity, it is necessary not only to look at the turbulent history of recent decades; but also, to understand the deep-rooted diremption within the South Slavic region. As early as in the 7th century, the first political entities were founded; with the Serbs establishing *Raška* in the 9th century (*Raška*) and the Croats forming their own political structures in the 10th century. The Bosnians—until then living in ascetic seclusion—underwent Christianisation, with the Serbs introducing Orthodox and the Croats introducing Catholicism. The state Bosna emerged in the 12th century, exerting little influence, which might correlate with its comparatively subordinated position today. Many events further reinforced this military and cultural division, such as the Ottoman conquest, the *Battle of Kosovo*¹, the 19th century uprisings against Ottoman rule, the First Balkan War, and the *London Treaties*². The assassination of Habsburg Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie by a Bosnian Serb in Sarajevo played a significant role in triggering the First World War. Following the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, the *Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes* established in 1918 under *King Peter I* and was renamed the *Kingdom of Yugoslavia* in 1929. Regions and states, shaped over centuries by diverse influences, were now expected to function as a unique entity. These deeply rooted differences led to numerous conflicts, particularly between the western-influenced Croats, who advocated federalism, and the eastern-influenced Serbs, who favored centralism. The political structure of this first Yugoslavia was fragile and, lacking internal political consensus, remained particularly vulnerable—even after 23 years of existence—until its occupation by the German Wehrmacht in 1941. The former Yugoslav territories were divided, leading to various approaches in managing the newly assigned territories. In all cases, however, tradition and national sentiment were suppressed; for example, in German-occupied areas of Slovenia, speaking Slovenian was forbidden. (Furbach 2017, 23-29)

1.3 Tito and the Yugoslavian *Brotherhood and Unity*

During World War Two resistance, in the form of Partisans, emerged from the *CPY (Communist Party of Yugoslavia)* under Josip Broz, better known as *Tito*. The *Democratic Federal Yugoslavia* was established in 1943 as a socialist federation consisting of six equal constituent republics: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia. Tito's paramount principle and that of Yugoslavia was *Brotherhood and Unity*, a state achievable only through the Partisans and their collective struggle. Hence, the commemoration of the Partisans became a constitutive means of Yugoslav identity. To shape and solidify this collective memory, it was celebrated through numerous rituals, national myths, films and other artistic expressions, as well as through numerous monuments. Tito, as the guardian of *Brotherhood and Unity*, made a significant contribution to the survival of Yugoslavia. The powerful cult surrounding his persona reached its peak shortly after his death, when Yugoslavia lost its most crucial pillar. The country descended into a devastating civil war. (Furbach 2017, 79-81)

The common went up in flames and made room for the particular, the search for difference became a battle. (Džihic 2015, 1)

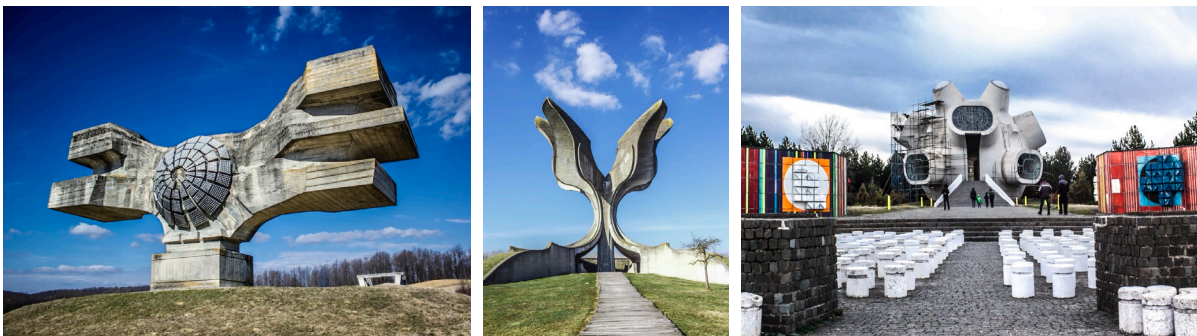


Figure 1 (left): Dušan Džamonja, *Monument to the Revolutionaries*, 1967. Podgarić, Croatia. Source: (Furbach 2017)

Figure 2 (middle): Bogdan Bogdanović, *The Stone Flower*, 1966. Jasenovac, Croatia. Source: (Furbach 2017)

Figure 3 (right): Iskra und Jordan Grabul, *Makedonium*, 1974. Kruševo, North Macedonia. Source: (Furbach 2017)

2.0 RATIO

2.1 Inceptum

Considering architecture as a social medium allows both theoretically understanding and empirical analysis of the effectiveness of built space. Societies express their identity through architecture, but they are also, in turn, shaped by it (Delitz 2010, 30). Architecture—both in general and specifically in the context of memorial architecture like Titomeniks—spans a spectrum of disciplines and stakeholders. The communication between these entities can be

hampered in multiple ways. Titomeniks, as embodiments of monumentalized pasts, serve as examples of how architectures can be carried into different futures that seldom align with their original contexts and envisioned ideals of life and future. As past visions of the future transition into the present, the emergence of diverse political, religious, and ethnic perspectives often complicates mutual understanding. This underscores the necessity of following an interdisciplinary approach that not only embraces the plurality of history but also integrates current and transnational discourses. It should actively engage in ongoing discussions surrounding the values and meanings attributed to build space, the dynamics of remembering and forgetting, as well as the intersections with public interests and the imperative that all of this must be continuously redefined. To highlight these diverse perspectives—within a society grappling with the aftermath of recent historical trauma—this paper examines Titomeniks as commemorative architectural objects and considers their role as *Boundary Objects*.

2.2 Susan Leigh Stars “Boundary Objects”

The term *Boundary Object* was introduced by Susan Leigh Star together with James R. Griesemer in their paper “Institutional Ecology, ‘Translations’ and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley’s Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907-39” (Star & Griesemer 1989). Star’s work has been multifaceted, making significant interdisciplinary contributions by integrating insights from sociology, science and technology studies, and information science. Her research fosters a holistic understanding of complex sociotechnical systems. She “brought us concepts that traveled through and across disciplines and gave us tools to render often invisible phenomena visible—especially those leading to injustices” (Balka 2010, 647). One of these tools is *Boundary Object Theory* (BOT), in which *Boundary Objects* (BO)³ serve as an interface between different social groups, enabling cooperation and communication without requiring complete consensus.

Consensus is not necessary for cooperation nor for the successful conduct of work. This fundamental sociological finding holds in science no less than in any other kind of work. (Star & Griesemer 1989, 388)

The concept of BOT, based on the principle of *Cooperation without Consensus*, raises intriguing questions about how individuals with diverse perspectives and knowledge systems can collaborate, especially in the ever-evolving landscapes of societies and identities. BOT was developed as an alternative to the perspective on objects in Callon’s and Latour’s *Actor-Network Theory* (Callon 1984), which “tends to fix objects in their identity, as ‘actants’ that” (Garrety & Badham 2000, 4) are either part of the created network or not. In contrast, Star and Griesemer’s BOT aims to describe and investigate “situations in which objects accommodate and retain heterogeneous meanings” (Garrety & Badham 2000, 4). Star was a “boundary spanner”; her concept of BOT transcended “disciplinary boundaries and offer substantive theoretical insights to an amazing array of thinkers, representing numerous disciplines” (Balka 2010, 650). Her *Theory of Boundary Objects* has been adapted in various research fields, including sociology, science and technology studies, computer science, and information science. For a deeper understanding of BOT, it is first necessary to examine Star’s and Griesemer’s definition of the term *Boundary Object*. In this context *Boundary* does not imply “something like edge or periphery” (Star 2010, 602), it denotes “a shared space, where exactly that sense of here and there are confounded” (Star 2010, 602-603). These common objects form boundaries “between groups through flexibility and shared structure—they are the stuff of action”. The word *Object* is used in “both its computer science and pragmatist senses, as well as in the material sense” (Star 2010, 603), where refers to something people “act toward and with” (Star 2010, 603). The materiality of an object “derives from action, not from a sense of prefabricated stuff or ‘thing’-ness” (Star 2010, 603). This implies that theories can be powerful objects. It is crucial to emphasize that Titomeniks are *Boundary Objects* not because of their “thing-ness” but because they are “used between groups in the ways described above” (Star 2010, 603).



Figure 4 (left): Boško Kućanski, *The Poet*, 1978. Makljen, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Source: (Furbach 2017)

Figure 5 (middle): Vuko Bombardelli, *Monument to the first Partisans*, 1961. Košute, Croatia. Source: (Furbach 2017)

Figure 6 (right): Jordan Grabul, *Flower of Freedom*, 1969. Gevgelija, North Macedonia. Source: (Furbach 2017)

2.3 Resulting Social Worlds

The preceding historical review may seem exhaustive, yet it serves as a gateway to diverse perspectives on the Yugoslav past and the present-day South Slavic society. During Tito’s Yugoslavia, Titomeniks conveyed an uncontroversial message—*Unity and Brotherhood*. However, the contemporary significance of these monuments raises more intricate questions about the social worlds they shape today. In the context of *Cooperation without Consensus*, it is crucial to acknowledge that the various actors involved in Titomeniks come from distinct social worlds. A monument conservator responsible for one or more Titomeniks “answers to a different set of audiences and pursues a different set of tasks” (Star & Griesemer 1989, 388) than a former partisan commemorating fallen comrades with flowers at the memorial. Even those who have vandalized Titomeniks, rejecting any association with an unwanted past, belong to different social worlds. “When the worlds of these actors intersect a difficulty appears” (Star & Griesemer 1989, 388). To better understand these dynamics, it is essential to identify some of these social groups engaged with Titomeniks. This analysis draws on my 2017 research trips, field observations conversations,

and small surveys intended as a “mood barometer” (Furbach 2017, 20). The Conceptual Diagram (Figure 7) offers an overview of the various social worlds, complemented by the detailed explanations that follow (this list does not claim to be exhaustive):

- *The Nostalgic* engages with Titomeniks as they were originally intended—as sites of recreation and celebration of Tito’s achievements. The powerful Yugoslavian cult surrounding Tito still exists in parts today. The Nostalgic uses the monuments as symbols of past collective achievements. He reminisces about Tito, the former Yugoslavia, *Brotherhood and Unity* or the lost era of communism. (Figures 1,2,3)
- *The Mourner* utilizes Titomeniks in their original capacity. However, in contrast to the Nostalgics, the emphasis here is on the monument as a profound grave site, serving to mourn at the resting place of partisans, victims of concentration camps, or symbolically, the burial ground of Yugoslavia. While there is some initial overlap with the *Nostalgic* in their shared emphasis on remembrance, the Mourner’s engagement is personal and sorrowful.
- *The Political* may resemble the Nostalgic, but with a special inclination toward recalling the era of communism. However, at this point not the *Communist Political* (within this categorization, he is grouped among *The Nostalgics*), but rather the democratic *Political* should be highlighted. For this individual, Titomeniks represent an unpopular political epoch marked by a perceived absence of freedom of expression.
- *The Fascist* also mourns the fallen soldiers but from an opposing perspective. For the Fascist, Titomeniks serve as memorials symbolizing the defeat in the war, viewed through a Greater Serbian, German, Italian, or *Ustaša*⁴ lens, making them unloved memorials.
- *The Believer* was largely absent from the public commemorative practice of former Yugoslavia, where religious iconography was not integrated into memorial sites. For this social world, Titomeniks may carry positive connotations, representing an era when religious freedom was officially guaranteed. However, on the contrary, they may also evoke negative associations if the expected meaning of their individual religion was not given their desired recognition. (Fig.8)
- *The Nationalist* perceives Titomeniks as relics of a rejected era of *Brotherhood and Unity*. These monuments symbolize a past time and unity that *the Nationalist* is relieved to have left behind. He supports the independence of the Successor states of Yugoslavia; He may advocate, for instance, for Kosovo’s sovereignty. (Fig.4,5,6,10)
- *The Aficionado* appreciates Titomeniks for their artistic, architectural, or sculptural value: Entangled in the historical and identity conflicts of the South Slavic region, the Aficionado may still harbor a patriotic pride in the artistic products of their homeland (He could also, however, offer an external perspective on the South Slavic Memorials). Potentially an expert in fields such as art history, cultural science, architectural theory or monument conservation, *the Aficionado* aims to document a specific artistic style from an era in a country that no longer exists. This perspective suggests that Titomeniks could be reimagined as essential BOs within the professional cultural community—though this reinterpretation may not necessarily resonate with the broader society.

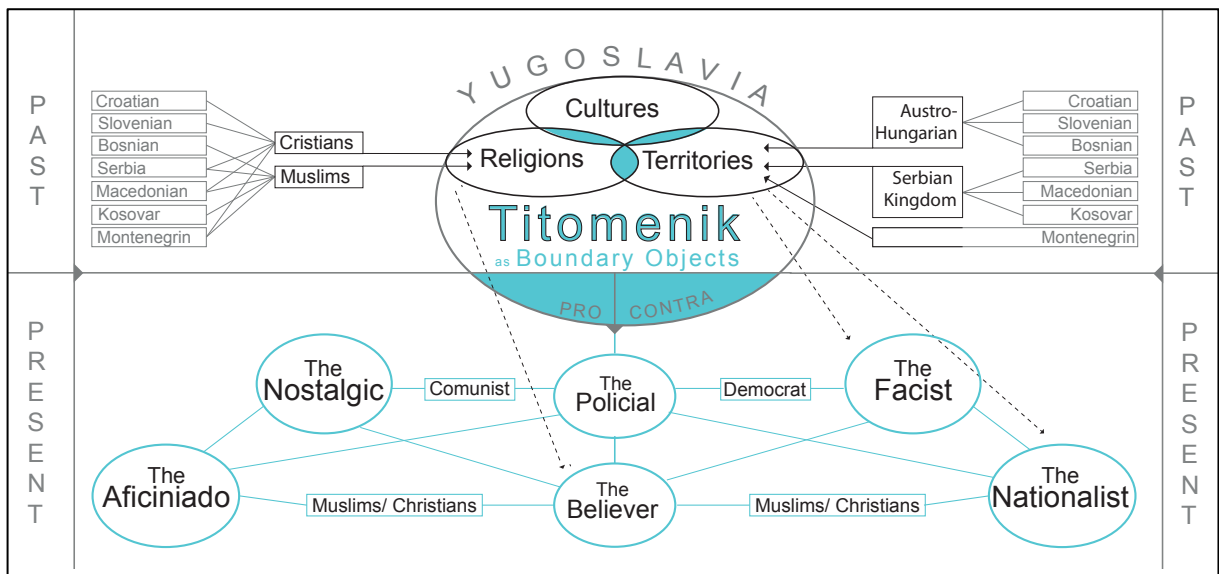


Figure 7: Conceptual Diagram: Social Worlds involved in Titomeniks; today and during Yugoslavia. Source: (Furbach 2017)

It is crucial to recognize that one person can belong to multiple social worlds, and that these affiliations are fluid and ever-changing. “On further investigation, large social worlds usually fragment into smaller ones.” (Garrety & Badham 2000, 3). Listing these exemplary groups serves to clarify the diverse perspectives of populations engaged with Titomeniks. It seeks to explain why different groups of people respond differently to them and how these responses have evolved over time. As BOs, Titomeniks “mean different things in different worlds”, which creates challenge for actors attempting to cooperate and reconcile these meanings (Star & Griesemer 1989, 388). This requires significant effort from everyone involved and the “translation” of each perspective (Star & Griesemer 1989, 389).

2.4 Titomeniks as Boundary Objects

A closer examination of Star’s and Griesemer’s elucidation of the *Boundary Object Theory* reveals its particular relevance to Yugoslav memorial architecture, “which lives in multiple social worlds and which has different identities

in each” (Star & Griesemer 1989, 409). Therefore, viewing Titomeniks as BOs enables a more comprehensive analysis of the socio-cultural, historical, and political dimension embedded in these monuments. To provide a focused description of BOT in relation to Titomeniks, the terminology and insights of its originator are used more extensively below. *Boundary Objects* are “both adaptable to different viewpoints and robust enough to maintain identity across them.” (Star & Griesemer 1989, 387). Since their construction, Titomeniks have undergone shifts in meaning and changes in how different social worlds engage with them. However, they remain robust enough “to maintain a common identity across sites” (Star & Griesemer 1989, 393); they can serve as the *Common Denominator* that brings together various knowledge bases and communities to achieve a mutual goal (Matilainen 2018, 5). Titomeniks “both inhabit several intersecting social worlds [...] satisfy the informational requirements of each of them” (Star & Griesemer 1989, 393), which is particularly clear in the very contrasting interpretations of the social worlds involved around them. But they are nevertheless “plastic enough to adapt to local needs and the constraints of the several parties employing them” (Star & Griesemer 1989, 393). This plasticity is evident in the very different social worlds that have each, in their own way, utilized and continue to utilize Titomeniks as tools. “They are weakly structured in common use and become strongly structured in individual site use” (Star & Griesemer 1989, 393). Titomeniks encompass both abstract and concrete elements. The inscriptions commemorating the fallen or the political speeches that took place at the time of their creation are concrete; the sculptural and artistic forms, on the other hand, are abstract and open to interpretation. Despite “their structure is common enough to more than one world to make them recognizable, a means of translation” (Star & Griesemer 1989, 393); so this structure – common in different social worlds—allows them to be recognized and understood in various environments. Because Titomeniks continue to hold different meanings for various social groups, they offer a framework for exploring these diverse interpretations. This enables a more nuanced and comprehensive analysis of the social impact of monuments, which are “concrete and abstract, specific and general, conventionalized and customized” simultaneously (Star & Griesemer 1989, 408). In the field of political and social theory Garrety and Badham draw a distinction between *Primary* and *Secondary Boundary Object*. A *Primary Boundary Object* may take the form of an artifact “around which all the activity is (supposed to be) focused” (Garrety & Badham 2000, 14)—such as the physical structure of Titomeniks as monuments. *Secondary Boundary Objects* are “subsidiary things that facilitate collective work around the primary object” (Garrety & Badham 2000, 14)—including activities surrounding the artifact, such as the political events or family trips. These events played a role in negotiating the meaning of the monument. In essence, Titomeniks, as artifacts, require contemporary interpretation and social interaction to effectively function as Boundary Objects. The negotiations and knowledge exchange enabled by a BO at a given point in time can evolve even if the object itself does not change (Matilainen 2018, 6). Examining specific monuments within the Titomeniks series reveals distinct states of transformation. Some Titomeniks have evolved from their past role as Boundary Objects, yet they continue to exist. The *Primary BO* remains largely unchanged, while the *Secondary BO* undergoes expansion. One of the most well-known Titomeniks is the *Jasenovac* memorial in Croatia, designed by Bogdan Bogdanović (Figure 2). The *Jasenovac* camp, initially established in 1941, eventually became one of the largest extermination camps in Europe. After World War II, the concentration camp was dismantled. In response to a request from SUBNOR⁵, Bogdanović designed *The Stone Flower* in 1960s, symbolizing life and eternal renewal.



Figure 8 (left): Miodrag Živković & Svetislav Ličina, *Monument to the Braves*, 1969. Ostra, Serbia. Source: (Furbach 2017)

Figure 9 (mid.): Vojin Bakić & Berislav Šerbetić, *Memorial to Resistance*, 1981. Petrova Gora, Croatia. Source: (Furbach 2017)

Figure 10 (right): Vojin Bakić, *Monument to the Liberation*, 1969. Knin, Croatia. Source: (Furbach 2017)

This Titomenik became the centerpiece of this memorial park along the banks of the river *Sava*. Over time, the complex was expanded to include a museum, a library, a publishing house, and spaces for conferences and lectures, making it one of Yugoslavia’s most visited attractions. During the Yugoslav Wars, the entire complex was closed off, because it became unwanted memory (Furbach 2023, 519). This single Titomenik embodies multiple time layers, shaped by different social worlds such as the *Nostalgic* and the *Socialist Political*, which contributed to its preservation—unlike many others that faced desecration or destruction (Fig 4,5,6,10). Commemorative events are still held at the memorial, primarily attracting *The Mourner*, but also finding use by *The Nostalgic* in a similar manner. The additional structures were restored after the Yugoslav Wars and now serve again museal purposes. The *Primary BO*, Bogdanović’s *Stone Flower*, remains unchanged in its form, while the *Secondary BO* (like its exhibition and archive spaces) is restored and expanded in their content. By narrating the history and contextualizing the founding events, space is created for other actors—*Politicians*, *Believers* and *Aficionados*.

The *Memorial for the Brave* in Ostra, Serbia underwent a different form of recontextualization. Located in the solitude of an open field, the Serbian Orthodox Church *St. Petka* was built in 2000 between the memorial and its entrance (Figure 8). Rumors suggest the church was constructed without proper authorization, which may explain

why the building process took 14 years to complete. Unlike the adjacent *Memorial for the Brave*, the Serbian Orthodox Church *St. Petka* remains in excellent condition. (Furbach 2023, 519)

Titomeniks in Košute or Knin (Figures 5, 10) as well as the ones in Makljen or Petrova Gora (Figures 4, 9) and many others exemplify memorial architectures destroyed in the 1990s by unknown perpetrators. Nevertheless, the remnants of these monuments remained on-site decades later (as of 2017, when I visited the monuments). They serve as monuments of extended memory, forming new historical time layers that have the potential to continue involving various actors, positioning the ruinous Titomeniks as a *Boundary Objects*.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that architecture can function as Boundary Objects and investigates how closely its structure is connected to the involved social worlds. The work selects Titomeniks, a specific group of monumental architecture, as a case study to illustrate the application of *Boundary Object Theory* to Architecture. As embodiments of a monumentalized past vision of the future, Titomeniks exemplify here how architecture, in general, extends into actual futures that rarely align with their founding periods and associated visions of life and future. Due to their various states, Titomeniks possess the ability to simultaneously represent different layers of time, each belong to contradictory eras and social worlds (Figures 8,10). Acknowledging and understanding the complexity of monumental artifacts through their various layers of time contributes to recognizing antagonistic discourses and perspectives as integral components of their message. This analysis enables to understand how the meaning of architecture evolves since their establishment, especially in response to societal changes, political upheavals, and emerging interpretations. This response is not one-sided; as the chapter on social worlds shows, society also responds to architecture. In a sociological sense, this can create a spatial-theoretical basis for conceptualizing the idea of space as a reciprocal relationship between architecture and society (Hilger 2011, 196). It is therefore hardly expedient to look at what architecture is or what society is in isolation from each other; rather, it should always be analyzed as an interacting structure. The implementation of BOT here reveals that this Architecture-Society-Structure is inherently heterogeneous, contradictory, and that its architecture holds different meanings to different people. Tracing the controversies within the meaning of Titomeniks through social worlds demonstrates that it is not only the architecture that heterogeneity is not limited to the architecture itself but extends equally to the actors and the diverse social worlds surrounding them. These social worlds encompass not only the architects or the original initiators—such as Tito—but also all people surrounding individual Titomeniks.

Titomeniks serve as an illustrative example because, unlike many other memorial architectures, they do not embody specific personalities, featuring only abstract and interpretable forms. This simplifies the identification of common denominators, critical points of agreement, or shared surface references, providing a robust platform for cooperative action. Crucially, this collaboration does not require individuals to relinquish their distinct perspectives, positions, or practices within their respective social worlds. A fundamental prerequisite for this approach is the inclusion of a diverse array of interest groups in an interdisciplinary manner. The *Boundary Object Theory* can then play a crucial role in facilitating social interaction and exchange among diverse groups. In the case of Titomeniks, they offer a unique opportunity to explore social interactions and negotiations among various actors who interpret and assert claims over these monuments. As *Boundary Objects* architectural structures—exemplified through the Titomeniks—can be considered as bridging elements that constantly gather and bring together new and diverse social worlds around them. Negotiating architectural concerns against the backdrop of BOT, the dynamic of social worlds, and interaction between architecture and society, and integrating these into multi-perspective cooperation—whether or not a consensus is achievable—can provide a robust foundation for purposefully guiding architecture into an uncertain future.

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ENDNOTES

1 The Battle of Kosovo in 1389 was a Serbian defeat, but it went down in Serbian history as Vidovdan and is since then celebrated as a victory: Henceforth, pride in the courageous struggle of Christian forces against Muslim dominance became intertwined with Serbian national identity. This patriotism later manifested initially in the commemoration of the Partisans, subsequently reflecting prominently in the pan-Slavic aspirations.

2 In the course of the London Treaties of 1913 the momentous decision was made to incorporate Kosovo into Serbian territory.

3 For the sake of better readability, the abbreviation BOT will be used for Boundary Object Theory and BO for Boundary Object throughout this article.

4 The Ustaša practised a cruel fascist leadership and followed the German model of the "new order" and paid homage to the cult of nation, state and leader".

5 SUBNOR (Savez udruženja boraca narodnooslobodilačkog rata Jugoslavije). English translation: Federation of the Association of Veterans of the National Liberation War of Yugoslavia

