PATTERNS OF EVERYDAY SPATIALITY: BELGRADE IN THE 1980S AND ITS POST-SOCIALIST OUTCOME

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Abstract: The article examines the rise of informal spatial practices in the areas left in the shadows of the socialist planning system, in Belgrade (Serbia, former Yugoslavia) in the 1970s and 1980s. By looking into the relation of spontaneous interventions with the constitutionally enacted system of territorial self-management, we explore both the enclaves of everyday life forming in parallel to the hegemonic and homogenous plan, and highly formalised, planned attempts at emulating spontaneous practices in large housing projects. The research is based on comparative analysis of planning documentation and illegal interventions, period sources including letters and memos written by architects and illegal constructors, available statistics and published polemics. The article argues that many of the unresolved contradictions of the socialist period can be seen as the seeds of those practices which have been part of the post-socialist transition and its spatiality from the 1990s onwards. Indifference toward self-management, cynicism of the everyday in the blind spots of socialist society and the planning profession's failure to deal with informality, are reproduced within the post-socialist city through unrelenting consumption of the common space.

Key words: socialist housing, Belgrade, self-management, informal spatiality, illegal construction, post-socialist city.

Introduction

The period after the fall of socialism saw an explosion of illegal, that is, unplanned, informal spatial practices occurring throughout Serbia. In everyday life of Serbia's cities and countryside, grey economy and illegal construction appeared as the most visible signs of Yugoslav federation's breakdown and ensuing societal collapse. Presently, according to government acknowledged figures, 1.3 million illegal structures are estimated to have been built across the country. The trend started to rise sharply

in the mid-1990s, when the number of illegally built dwellings for the first time equalled those built legally (Petrović – Vujović 2007: 363). It is not commonly noted, though, that the illegal construction problem become pressing in the socialist era, even though on a much smaller scale. For instance, in the beginning of 1980s, the number of newly–constructed apartments in public sector in Belgrade was five times larger than the number of illegally built dwellings (Petrović 2004: 87, 178). The paper examines the patterns of informal spatiality which started in late socialist years. These range from modest interventions such as glazing of loggias or small house extensions and spontaneously formed allotment gardens, to new illegal residential areas.

Yugoslav socialism was based on the theory and practice of self-management, initiated in 1949 and constitutionally endorsed in 1953 (Horvat – Marković – Supek 1975). As it turned out, in its everyday practice self-management failed to match the expectations of intellectuals and politicians who conceived it. Henri Lefebvre wrote that, "self-management appears at the *weak points* (or even gaps) of society, but in order for it to affirm and extend itself, it must occupy the strong points (well placed economic and social sectors, e.g., banks) of the social structure, which immediately resist it (...) bureaucracy tends to establish itself within self-management" (Lefebvre 1975: 15–16). And he was quite right, as philosopher Svetozar Stojanović explains it, in Yugoslavia: "Even a superficial glance at the real centres of social power in our country can show that a 'self-governing, self-managing society' exists only in ideo-logy, while a vivid dualism exists in practice – self-managing groups in the base and a rather strong statist structure above them" (Stojanović 1975: 469).

This article focuses on spatial practices which resulted from general disillusion-ment with self-management in its late period of crisis and imminent suspension. This period can be framed structurally by two major economic reforms: (i) 1965 reform introducing elements of decentralised market socialism compatible with self-manage-ment's liberal orientation, and (ii) 1989 reform announcing free-market capitalism and subsequent dispensing with self-management. Both the initial liberalisation and crisis of self-management engendered a range of spontaneous practices, including informal spatiality which exploded with the collapse of the system after 1989. Could these, at first, shy and modest practices carried out beyond the hegemonic and homogenous plan and image of the socialist city be seen as patterning those that will flourish in the post-socialist urban landscape?

Comparative perspective and theoretical framework: From late-socialist to post-socialist city

Post-socialist transformations
The transition from socialist to post-socialist city has been considered a matter of fundamental shifts instigated by the collapse of state socialism (Andrusz – Harloe

– Szelenyi: 1996; Tsenkova – Nedović-Budić 2006; Stanilov 2007; Sýkora 2009). These include: the reversal of ownership patterns, privatization of the existing housing stock and proliferation of private (domestic or foreign) investments (Bodnár 1996; Bodnár – Molnár 2010), suburban growth, spatial segregation and fragmentation of open space (Hirt – Kovachev 2006: 118–126), as well as the rise of informal spatial practices. But, are all spatial changes attributable only to transition processes? Sýkora and Bouzarovski (2011, 49: 45–46) write that post-socialist cities are the result of "multiple transformations". Their "morphology, land use and social segregation" are similar to "typically capitalist city", but in part they still "resemble frozen mirrors of socialism". In Belgrade, also, the urban landscape is torn between the heritage of the socialist era and dynamic post-socialist processes (Hirt 2009; Waley 2011). This article explores the legacy of the socialist city with regard to the rise of informal spatiality. It argues that while these transformations are accelerated by current socio-economic processes, their patterns are inherited from the prolonged crisis of the socialist planning system.

How can we discern these patterns? We suggest to look at micro situations of spatial transgressions which brew under the surface of the seemingly regulated socialist system. Hörschelmann and Stenning (2008: 355) argue for the ethnographical approach to study of post-socialist change, with the focus on the "specifics of how social, economic and political structures are lived, (re)produced and negotiated in localized contexts". Such approach challenges the thesis of a linear transgression from one clearly defined system to another. As architectural researchers, we understand small, informal changes in spatiality as part of the ethnographic data. The article derives from consulting a number of primary sources such as published studies of illegal interventions by sociologists and planners dating from the period of socialism or architectural periodicals and exhibition catalogues. Other primary sources include documentation from the personal archive of the architect Milenija Marušić of the Institute for Architecture and Urbanism of Serbia: original correspondence between architects and residents (Cerak Vinogradi housing estate) or investors (Yugoslav Army) and local authorities, original maps, plans and models, project logbooks and specialist studies (such as one on allotment gardening by Vladimir Macura). A testimony to the dynamics of spatial processes over some twenty years of late socialism and the first decades of transition, this archive uniquely documents complex and often conflicting relations between various actors, especially design professionals and residents. The authors of the article conducted interviews with the architect Milenija Marušić (21st November 2011, 9th January 2013) and urbanist Vladimir Macura (28th February, 25th March 2013) and consulted filmed interviews with the residents of the semi-formal Bežanija Plaža community, quoting one resident statement at the very end of the article. The video interviews are part of a wider research which was carried out by the students of the Master Studio "Dwelling in the Centre of Metropolis",

led by dr. Ljiljana Blagojević, associate professor, at the Faculty of Architecture – University of Belgrade during the fall semester of 2007–2008 academic year. The work in the studio involved *inter alia* studies of history of the location, analysis of morphological and typological characteristics of its urban structure, use of sociological surveys and analysis of observed cultural patters for purposes of urban design. Finally, the article uses statistics of housing and illegal construction dating from both socialism and post-socialism and on-site observations. The data extracted from the described sources provided valuable insight into social and spatial structures of examined informalities and the course of change over time of late socialism and post-socialist transition. These are interpreted through a perspective shaped by (i) period and contemporary literature on everydayness in Yugoslav self-management socialism; (ii) contemporary research on socialist and post-socialist city; and (iii) theoretical inquiry of everyday life and its subversive and/or emancipatory potential.

Lefebvre's autogestion *and De Certeau's* tactic: *a theoretical perspective*

Sharon Zukin's research from the early 1970s indicates that citizens primarily associated self-management with growing economic benefits, showing very little interest in both workers' and territorial councils. Counted on as a given, rather than exercised as a right, self-management was generally undervalued as an ideological goal (Zukin 2008: 96–98). The economic and cultural exchange with the West and rising consumerism which are described by researchers as part of daily life in Yugoslavia in the 1960s and 1970s (Luthar – Pušnik 2010: 10–11), can thus be seen as contradicting the official policies of active economic and political participation. Citizens were far keener on experiencing the pleasures of everyday leisure and consumption than on participating in the practices of self-management. The general support that self-management enjoyed due to a perceived link it supposedly had with relatively high living standards came to its end in a time of crisis. A sharp decline in popular support ensued in the 1980s, when the breakdown of the socialist system led to economic hardships. This negative attitude explains how after 40 years of existence self-management could simply disappear, in a largely uncontested manner (Vratuša-Žunjić 1995).

Late socialism seems to have exposed a split between the powers officially delegated to the people and the people's overall indifference. If self-management relied on both functional and territorial engagement of citizens (Horvat 1975: 27), where can we see transgressive spatial practices arising with its crisis? Do they appear at the functionally weak points of the top-down system, or in the areas deliberately overlooked by the system? Self-management was given spatial expression when it was directly translated into planning of housing communities as the basic territorial units that had a degree of political autonomy. Informal spatial practices, carried beyond planning and legality, directly challenged the planned development and territorial self-management. Citizens opted for illegal practices

rather than rights and powers ascribed to them through self-management, even if these would have helped improve their everyday life. This was especially true of unhygienic settlements, which housed some of the most deprived groups of the socialist society (Vujović 1985: 61).

Such a position within a socialist society might be interpreted as Michel de Certeau's *tactic*. An "art of the weak", its space is "the space of the other" (De Certeau 1988: 36–37). The everyday life of illegal settlements is, to follow De Certeau further, a contraband of sorts, a manoeuvre within enemy territory, taking advantage of every little opportunity, making use of the cracks, temporarily at least, escaping the gaze of the authorities. But, these practices are just microbe-like forms of resistance and subversion, not counter-hegemonic activities. Their logic, like that of De Certeau, belongs to the "Cynic tradition" (Roberts 2006: 87–89). Lefebvre's diversified forms of *autogestion* and production, on the other hand, positively enrich the principle of self-management with new social and political structures (Renaudie – Guilbaud – Lefebvre 2009: 30). While De Certeau's guerrilla tactic functions without ever involving its actors in wider emancipatory struggles, Lefebvre's *autogestion* is presented as the emancipatory project. Both positions are relevant, the former indicating reality, the latter pointing to asymptotic ideal.

Much of illegal construction of dwellings was tolerated by the state relieved of the constant pressure to provide societal housing. Informal spatiality accommodated private, that is individual initiative, a sort of entrepreneurship and private investment in solving the housing question, otherwise not provided for by the regulatory system. Whatever discontent might have existed regarding the socialist housing system, no collective form of urban activism challenged it. It can be argued, then, that far from striving in the weak spots of the socialist society, informal spatiality constituted its strong points. Although spontaneously happening outside direct control of the state, these points may well have helped socialism's continued existence. Disregard and appropriation of the common space, spontaneous settlements on public land or displays of individual wealth on private houses and the like, all contributed to the formation of a grey zone between two socio-political and economic poles: individual/private and collective/common. Contained within the socialist system, this grey zone exploded in the period of post-communist/socialist transition.

In the sequel, through five micro-case studies the article explores patterns of spatial practices and their contradictory relation. These involve:

– enclaves of informality, that is illegal, informal practices in areas overlooked by authorities: in the urban centre (residential community Bežanija Plaža and allotments in New Belgrade) and illegal sprawl in the periphery (Kaluđerica)

– planned informality, that is attempts of incorporating spontaneity within formal planning practices of housing projects, changing in turn their paradigms (housing estates Cerak Vinogradi and Resnik – Avala Grad)

Informal Spatial Practices: Patterns in the Margin

Illegal urban construction under socialism had been surveyed, analysed and discussed in the professional and academic spheres since the early 1960s. Even though socialist society was characterised by "under-urbanization" (Szelenyi 1996: 294–303), urban centres experienced high levels of concentration of population. With massive migration into the city, Belgrade's number of residents rose from 634,003 in 1948, to 1,602,226 in 1991, with the number of households constantly surpassing the number of apartments (Stanovništvo. Knjiga 10... 2004: 16). In addition to a general lack of apartments, the housing problem included issues related to just distribution. Similar to cities described by Szelenyi, in Belgrade too, the percentage of blue-collar workers entitled to "housing right" was significantly lower than the overall percentage of blue-collar workers in the labour force (David 1976). As a consequence, a significant number of Belgrade's lower income residents attempted to solve their housing problem either in the unregulated and shady rental market, or in the domain of illegal construction. Out of those engaged in the latter, 73 % were migrants from rural areas and almost 80 % were employed in Belgrade as blue-collar workers (Đurović 1970: 38). The range of illegal housing was very broad, from the acquisition of basement and garage spaces and the occupation of internal courtyards within the traditional urban blocks, to the spontaneous rise of entire settlements, mostly in the peripheral areas of the city – and its spatiality varied from slums to middle-income residential areas.

Residential community Bežanija Plaža

Bežanija Plaža semi–formal settlement of small houses and gardens rose in the 1930s over some 30 ha of the unoccupied left bank of the Sava River directly opposite the historical centre, and in its full view. For the reason of its grid-type rectangular blocks between six longitudinal "avenues" running parallel to the river, subdivided into long narrow parcels of 10–15 meters in width, it was dubbed "American town". Yet, semi-rural character prevailed, with vegetable gardens and orchards in the back of the modest houses. The settlement had no urban functions, such as schools, commercial, social or cultural facilities. With the post-WW2 construction of the modern city of New Belgrade in its hinterland, the area found itself at the epicentre of Greater Belgrade, occupying its prime riverfront section. Over time, the original houses were illegally enlarged by various extensions by the residents themselves, but the community retained its character, with its everydayness deprived of basic urban infrastructure and public amenities. This atmosphere strongly contrasted with the image of the area envisaged by the planning community.

The settlement makes up approximately half of the area designated as the Sava Amphitheatre central urban district, long considered one of the main assets of

Belgrade and subject of many a grand plan over the decades. The construction the largest and most representative convention venue in socialist Yugoslavia which also included the Intercontinental Hotel in the late 1970s, was seen as only the initial phase of total urban reconstruction of the area. Since then, numerous plans for the removal of the settlement and representative new development have been promoted by designers and politicians, mostly at times of electoral campaigns. As recent research indicates (ETH Studio Basel 2006), during socialist years the residents looked upon these spectacular projects as signalling a possible revitalisation of the whole area and improvement in their living conditions. But this never happened. In the absence of profitable, realistic and socially sustainable redevelopment plans, the residents were left in the blind spot for almost 70 years, manoeuvring small illegal interventions on their own, stretching the confines of the neatly packed parcels to maximum usability.

New Belgrade allotments

Even though the construction of the modern city of New Belgrade in the post WW2 period represented one of the most ambitious projects of the socialist state (Blagojević 2012) and, thus, most carefully controlled, informal activities also took place there. Parts of the undeveloped areas mostly hidden from view saw increased activity in the form of spontaneously formed allotments: vegetable gardens. The biggest group emerged in the late 1970s on a stretch of land next to the railroad tracks on the perimeter of housing block no. 23. The period research undertaken by the urbanist Vladimir Macura recorded more than 80 gardens in this area. At first, these were confined to a part of a terrain depression next to the railroad tracks, nicknamed the "Holes" by the urban gardeners. In time, the gardens expanded and occupied the entirety of usable land between the housing block and the railroad covering 8,660 m. sq. Macura explains the initial hesitation of the urban gardeners to advance further onto the land that stretched beyond the "Holes" as reflecting their fear of the reaction by the authorities against spontaneous initiative. The same was true, as he suggested, for the almost complete lack of any buildings within the gardens area (AMMe: 11–18).

In his research, Macura saw the allotments as reaction to the devastating state of urban reality in socialist city: as "small, but not radical steps" towards a "more humane" urban environment. He sided with the gardeners and supported their case by reassuring the sceptical planning authorities and political actors that allotments would certainly not creep up "in the form of crop fields" in front of the major political institutions (Macura 1985). This point is important, as the gardens placement revealed a careful and subtle choice of location. Out of harm's way, in a sort of planners' blind spot, they were just off the area of the drawings showing ambitious and grandiose plans of the central area of New Belgrade. The allotments never appeared within the confines of

the block, nor did they come too close to landmark political buildings. They remained on the margins, negotiating their presence within the city. As Macura (AMMe: 21–24) proposed, urban gardening could be seen as a form of recreation and rest after a day's work. Activities in the gardens provided a break from the everydayness of the socialist metropolis, and a break away from communal affairs dealt with through the territorial units of self–management. Could allotments thus be seen as an alternative landscape of leisure – the otherness of the local community centre?

Allotments disappeared in the early 1990s, giving way to informal market place, illegal traders substituting for gardeners. Informal economy, Belgrade's lifeline in times of wars and sanctions, soon became the most recognizable feature of post-socialist urban landscape. This clearly signalled the un-sustainability of allotments as leisure interventions in a society striving to survive deep socio-political and financial crisis. Nonetheless, allotments and illegal markets had something in common. They both occupied land regardless of its planed use or ownership patterns. Such appropriations, marginal and left in the blind spot of the hegemonic image of the socialist city, became one of the dominant everyday features of the 1990s.

Illegal sprawl in the periphery: Kaluđerica

More pronounced informal interventions appeared in peripheral areas of the growing city. The largest of these was the illegal settlement of Kaluđerica, a middle-income, peri-urban district placed along the major highway on the city's south-eastern border. Kaluđerica grew rapidly in the 1970s next to the existing village of the same name. According to census, the settlement numbered 1,909 residents in 1971 and 18,326 residents in 1991 (Stanovništvo. Knjiga 9... 2004: 16). Reportedly, however, in the mid-1980s the actual population in Kaluđerica reached the staggering number of 40,000. Its population structure consisted primarily of blue-collar workers (56,5 %) and white collar professionals (39 %), the majority with an income above the Belgrade average. The highest earnings were achieved by two groups. The first was formed by the members of the "new middle class" – private contractors, small entrepreneurs, owners of cafés and service stores and residents who worked "temporarily abroad" in the developed economies of Western Europe. The second consisted of those operating on the shady side of legal businesses (Saveljić 1989: 61–65).

Unlike "peri-urban areas and suburban enclaves of private housing of very poor quality" in the periphery of Soviet cities (Smith 1996: 82), Kaluđerica consisted of large, quality-built two- and three-story houses. Those were constructed on former agricultural land, with no planning, infrastructure or public space or amenity. New houses literally cropping on former fields, most often left in rough construction phase without façade plastering or cladding to avoid taxation, represented most obvious transgression which was deliberately overlooked by authorities. Contrary

to the wide-spread opinion that illegal settlements are socially homogenous, in Kaluđerica, high-income families formed a spatially segregated enclave known as "Beverly Hills". Its architecture often imitated the styles and features of private residences in countries where owners worked as *Gastarbeiter* (Saveljić 1989: 107–142). Such display of wealth and overtly bourgeois aesthetics contrasted with the late socialist housings, where modular, modernist facades concealed social differences. In Kaluđerica's "Beverly Hills", the rich could "parade their wealth" (Andrusz 2006: 80), rather like the elite of the post-socialist era.

The internal divisions went further. Newly arrived illegal settlers tended to build their houses in informal neighbourhoods tied by national and family links. They also defined their daily existence in strict opposition to the native rural population. In the process, the native rural population shrunk to 4,5 % by mid 1980s, subsequently losing control over territorial forms of self-management. Contrary to the wide-spread opinion regarding the apolitical nature of everyday life in illegal settlements, local councils in Kaluđerica, dominated by the recent migrants, exercised a number of abusive spatial practices which suppressed the rights and demands of the minority peasants (Saveljić 1989: 157–159).

In many ways, Kaluđerica anticipated the patterns of post-socialist building boom. With the collapse of public sector in the early 1990s the percentage of dwellings built individually increased sharply. Areas infected by illegal construction spread. The embryonic form of segregated enclave such as "Beverly Hills", developed into even larger opulent illegal neighbourhoods such as "Padina", with pretentious expensive houses surrounded by high walls and modern surveillance, reducing public space to minimum area for circulation. The major illegal activity carried out in the 1990s, by the emerging political and economic elite of the Milošević era, only followed the pattern of majority rule and spatial take-over even in traditional urban elites strongholds, such as the exclusive residential quarters Dedinje (Hirt – Petrović 2011: 760–761).

Informality in Professional Practice: Patterns in Design

In late 1960s, architects, planners, urban sociologists and authorities started to systematically reassess the earlier phases of housing construction and challenge the axioms of modern urbanism. The lack of territorial self-management and user participation in the daily functioning of new housing estates was often interpreted as a direct consequence of modernist planning and design. Furthermore, constitutional changes enacted in 1974 were followed by a new housing policy: Socially-Directed Housing Construction. Unlike the previous one in which construction companies dominated the mass housing process (the so-called "market model"), the central position in the new policy was assigned to associations of enterprises and institutions interested in satisfying the housing needs of their employees (Petrović 2004: 82).

Cerak Vinogradi Housing Estate

In Belgrade, the first settlement in which this concept was fully implemented was Cerak Vinogradi. Funded jointly by the Yugoslav Peoples Army and the Housing Interest Community of Belgrade, the estate was designed and largely constructed between 1977 and 1987. The wining competition project by the architects Darko Marušić, Milenija Marušić and Nedeljko Borovnica of the Institute of Architecture and Urbanism of Serbia, proposed an organic arrangement of buildings around pedestrian circulation and open space over the area of some 58 ha. With the aim to "reaffirm traditional urban forms", pedestrian streets were poetically named after trees: Spruce Street, Cedar Street, etc. These represented the first of three levels of community integration, the second being the neighbourhoods (formed by the streets and each with its own local centre), and the third being the settlement (which in its first phase of construction housed 8,500 people). These levels were seen as a provision for the "identification" with the environment and active communal life (Marušić – Marušić 1987: 127–134).

In the second phase, Cerak 2 estate (35 ha area, 3,600 residents), introduced an amphitheatre formed by the circular arrangement of the urban plan. It comprised of so-called neighbourhood plateaus: areas set aside for large public barbecues. The second phase also brought two notable innovations: urban gardening and a centre for interaction between suppliers, design professionals, and existing and future residents. The programme for garden allotments developed by the architects was nominally based on the study of the spontaneous practices in New Belgrade by Vladimir Macura. In actuality, it diverged from the results of the study in the most critical point of viability. The programme supposed the development of 1,032 individual allotments (measuring 50 square meters each) on two locations. According to Macura's research, no more than 5 % of households of a given settlement were likely to engage in urban gardening (AMMe: 22). Cerak Vinogradi had 3,646 apartments, which amounted to only 182 allotments. The discrepancy was defended by the architects on the grounds that Cerak Vinogradi was bordered by other housing estates, residents of which could also be expected to use the planned allotments. But the real calculation laid not outside, but at the very centre of Cerak Vinogradi. The areas allocated for urban gardening were in fact planned for the so called "central functions": sports-centre and multi-storey car park. The allotments were only thought of as a preventive strike against illegal or spontaneous construction in the part of the estate not planned for development in the immediate future (Marušić – Marušić 1987: 135).

Planned participatory forms of architect/resident communication took place in the Experimental-Exhibition Centre (EEC), which was initially conceived as a temporary test site for technical solutions of Cerak 2 estate. However, the program was soon ambitiously extended and accommodated in a proper building designed by the same design office. The building itself was on show, since it was assembled and

equipped by samples of products contributed by different producers and suppliers present on the Yugoslav market. Apart from displaying the materials, equipment and furniture, which could also be ordered on the spot, the centre served as a meeting place between architects and residents (Marušić – Marušić 1987: 135–136).

The archive of architect Milenija Marušić shows that the EEC opened officially in October 1985 and the logbook recorded 310 visits by residents by June 1986. The architects were keen to involve themselves as advisors to the residents in all matters and aspects of everyday life. This engagement continued the practice of previous encounters of designers and future users of Cerak Vinogradi in which the architects adjusted the internal layout of apartments to the needs of individual families. In the case of one Nada Doknić they even produced detailed sketches, indicating what type of plants is she to use in her flowerpots. But there were other, unpleasant experiences also. As early as 1982, the architects started lobbying the municipal and investor services to help put a stop to the illegal changes executed daily on residential buildings (AMMa). They tried to mobilise the residents and neighbourhood groups, fruitlessly referring to their local responsibilities as self-managers of the estate (AMMb). The illegal changes included cordoning gardens, appropriation of pedestrian passageways, and glazing or crude closing of loggias. For instance, in a letter answering the architects' complaint regarding transgressions, Milica Kerkez, owner of a ground-floor apartment, indicated that she glazed her loggia in order to improve thermal isolation and provide an otherwise lacking storage area. But more importantly she indicated the need for protection against daily thefts of items from the open loggia. Reacting to the architects' memo, which called for urgent demolition of everything that changed the initial design, Kerkez wrote that the apartments of Cerak Vinogradi were built "more for looking upon, than living in" (AMMc).

Not a single demolition of illegal construction was executed during socialist times. With the post-socialist transition, the settlement became a site of frequent illegal interventions in communal spaces and on top of contoured steep roofs, exercised with the tacit approval of the authorities which, as archival sources indicate, did very little to acknowledge mishandling in both construction and latter processes of legalization. Where informalities of late socialism demonstrated the struggle of individuals with everyday realities in the realm of private space, their post-socialist counterparts frequently emerged as blatant abuses of collective interests by individuals. In the most extreme cases, the usurpations of communal space and infrastructure saw new households illegally accessing the power grid and joining the water and sewage systems. Occasionally, groups of residents tried to align themselves with the architects who continued to fight such interventions (AMMd). But such forms of collective, bottom-up action aimed against private enclosure of common space had little effect in a society which ignored and misused self-management for decades, only to see its demise in almost complete silence.

Small-scale interventions conducted by residents of Cerak Vinogradi can be read as a "necessary and practical way" (Roberts 2006: 89–92) of living in the field dominated by social and political authority. Far from *le droit à la ville*, appropriation and participation by both the individual and collective (Renaudie – Guilbaud – Lefebvre 2009: 1–2), such vision of everyday life finds its proper place within the existing social order, however vicious or oppressive it might be. Largely excluded from the design process, and obliged to preserve their environment through communal life and local self-management, the users individually changed it, profiting from the blindness of the socialist gaze. Emerging out of this relation is yet another form of unspoken understanding between the dominating and the dominated. In such a system of inherent transgressions, could it be argued that the optimism of organized and directed spontaneity is bound to find itself hampered by everyday cynicism?

Resnik – Avala Grad linear city development

In December 1980, the Cultural Centre of Belgrade hosted an exhibition showing a proposed linear city extension of the existing village of Resnik in the city's outskirts. The plan envisaged integral reconstruction of the 220 ha area of the existing settlement with the increase of population from 7,800 to 12,000 (low density, 50–80 residents/ha) and a new estate Resnik – Avala Grad for some 20,000 residents over 186 ha (mid-density, 130 residents/ha). The exhibition itself was promoted as a new practice of housing planning, in the sense that it provided potential users, existing residents and professional community to become familiar with an outline project at the stage of initial planning ideas, rather than with the result of an already finished construction. As the exhibition catalogue claims, the event was a basis for a "truly democratic practice" (Resnik – linearni grad... 1980: 5).

The linear form was deemed the most suitable for bringing new development in close relation with the existing rural community. For the architect-in-charge Aleksandar Đokić, the new Resnik was not offering a purified version of urbanity, rather, it blurred the borders between urban and rural. The plan aimed at relating to lifestyles of both the existing rural community and future urbanites. The final architectural envelope and form were left undefined, thus accommodating individual initiative by residents in a controlled and participatory fashion. The architects gave the overall planning and design framework which allowed for spontaneity, diversity, self-expression and such in the finalization of buildings. (Resnik – linearni grad... 1980: 7–19).

As a "small, attractive and vibrant city", the new Resnik had "all sorts of entertainment" planned, especially in the linear centre – the main pedestrian street – lined with a mix of shops, services and communal activities in the ground floors of residential buildings. It included a "meaningful ambient", active space dedicated to social interaction and playfulness, central streetscape designed as a "re-interpretation of

contents of archetypical and/or personal memory", and playgrounds with symptomatic names – *homo ludens* and *infant ludens* (Resnik – linearni grad... 1980: 31). These can be seen as an insistence on the necessity of play, spontaneity and festivity within daily life.

Resnik – Avala Grad was never realised. While Cerak Vinogradi opened the possibility of direct contact between residents and architects, it still tended to confine the participatory input largely to invisible zones of the interiors. Resnik – Avala Grad took quite a large step forward towards direct involvement of residents in the design and construction of buildings. The spontaneity and celebration of the *ludic city* was in contrast to the logbook administered encounters and designed rituals of community life. In an open communicative mode, such as using comics as one of their media of expression, the authors of Resnik – Avala Grad bravely exposed the soft underbelly of Yugoslav everyday life – parties and drunken celebrations taking place in the shadow of official choreographed ceremonies (Luthar – Pušnik 2010: 12). Yet, how this spontaneity was to be both directed and preserved in the overall design of the settlement remained unstated and untested in quotidian realities, leaving the plans for Resnik – Avala Grad no more than an ideal projection.

In the changing conditions of the last decade of socialist Yugoslavia's existence, such attempts were bound to encounter difficulties. Even the ideas presented at the mainstream international competition for New Belgrade in 1986, had little effect. In their entry, architects Serge Renaudie and Pierre Guilbaud teamed up with Henri Lefebvre (2009: 23–29) suggested diversity and imbrications of rhythms, territories, management rules and practices, production, communication, modes of interactions and connections. That implied "permitting free implantations ... individual initiative, the liberty to participate in the elaboration of the city ... (and) assisted self-construction". The proposition, in a sense, of total *autogestion*, coming much too late was swiftly discarded and the French team's entry eliminated in the very first stage of the jury procedure (Blagojević 2009).

Conclusion

It may be argued that informal spatial interventions in the socialist city resided in the niches overlooked by the authorities. The inability of socialist architecture and urbanism to create a system that could include in a thorough and exhaustive manner the realities of everyday life resulted in a discrepancy between proposed and exercised, or to use Lefebvre's terms – *conceived* and *lived* (Lefebvre 1991: 38–39). This split acted as fertile ground for cynical reasoning which merged the state and the populace. The proclaimed policies called for the widest possible association and cooperation among citizens in self-management of daily life.

Beyond them, however, reality showed that spontaneous illegal practices became strongholds of socialist society and indicated the equilibrium achieved between legality and transgression.

We would argue that informal socio-spatial practices were tolerated because they were seen as replaceable (Bežanija Plaža), inconsequential (New Belgrade allotments), self-regulatory, or as a valve relieving the pressure of demand for new apartments (Kaluđerica). Their continued existence relied on the inability of the state to realize its ambitious plans. In fact, the public sector never participated in the overall number of newly-built apartments in Belgrade with more than 60 % per decade (Table 1). Emerging out of this relation was an informal alliance between various layers of Yugoslav society, resulting in a duality of the socialist city's image. As Lefebvre noted, such dualities, although potentially conflicted, can exist for a long period in a state of equilibrium "deemed optimal by a particular ideology" (Lefebvre 1991: 374). Therefore we can speak of Belgrade's enclaves of informality as *inherent transgressions* vital to the continued functioning of the existing social and political order. In Lefebvre's opinion, a progressive solution to this duality lay in the self-managerial appropriation of space, time and everyday life – in the positive abolition of the state and its domination (Lefebvre 1991: 416). Belgrade's cases prove the opposite practice of popular substitution of self-interest for self-management.

Even if contained by the system, informal spatiality anticipated the future collapse of the planning system in the post-socialist city, and the multiplication of the variety of informal spaces. Illegal occupation, as demonstrated by allotments, transformed into dominant form of appropriation, visible at every corner of Belgrade. The income-led segregation of Kaluđerica emerged as pattern for the exclusive ghettos in traditionally and new elitist areas. In the post-socialist years, self-management long forgotten, the spectacular designs continue to dazzle the citizenry. One such plan for the Sava Amphitheatre was promoted in the 1995 election campaign of Slobodan Milošević's regime. Even though, the political agenda was challenged in massive civic unrest following election results, the plan's bombastic name "Europolis" and its bright imagery remained in collective memory. Even in 2008, in what might be called a post-socialist, proto-capitalist laissez-faire, one Bežanija Plaža resident, filmed in her lovingly decorated and furnished, yet uncomfortably sewer-less house, recounts: " ... all that I would wish from such a future project is that it has dwelling and living spaces ... I imagine it as a Belgrade Manhattan, maybe with canals off of Sava, with buildings by the canals and boats sailing past ... in my imagination I hope to live one day in Belgrade Manhattan" (FAAa).

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Archival Sources:
Milenija Marušić personal archive (AMM):
– AMMa: Request to Supervisory Board of Yugoslav Peoples Army, 13/12/1982.
– AMMb: Request to President of Vinogradi Local Community, 10/12/1984.
– AMMc: Letter by Milica Kerkez sent to IAUS, 29/1/1985.
– AMMd: Memo no. 457 to Čukarica Municipality, 21/4/2003.
– AMMe: Typed manuscript by Vladimir Macura on allotment gardens, 1985.
University of Belgrade, Faculty of Architecture, prof. Ljiljana Blagojević's Archive (FAA):
– FAAa: Studio M4.1, 2007–08, video interviews with Bežanija Plaža residents conducted in October 2007 by enrolled students.

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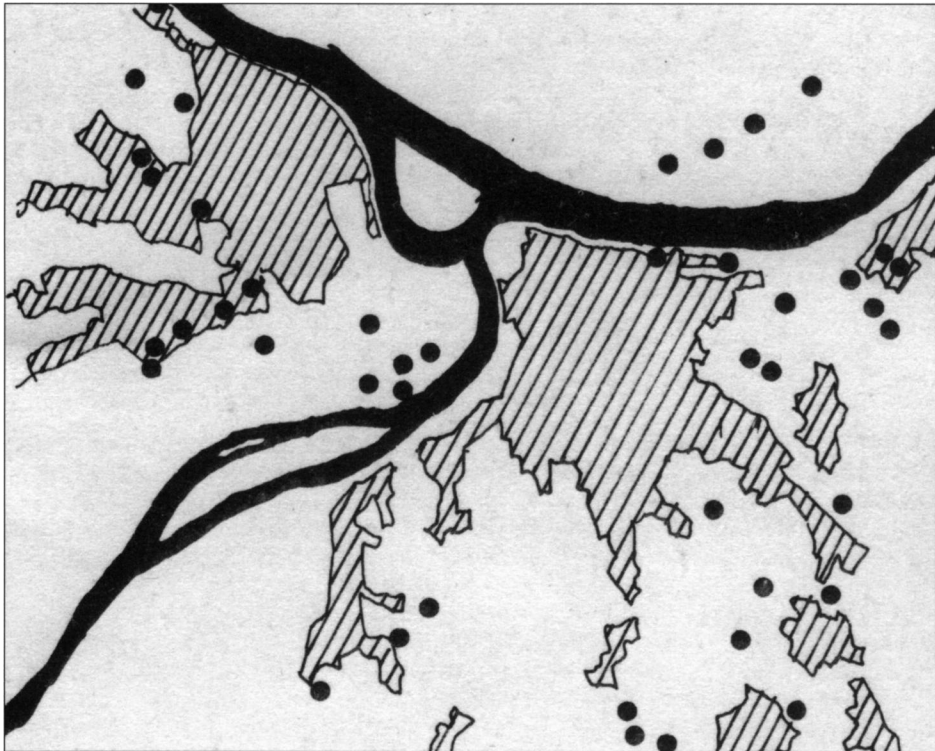
Figure 1 – Locations of illegal settlements on schematic map of Greater Belgrade from 1968. Source: 1984 – Komunikacija 30: non paginated.
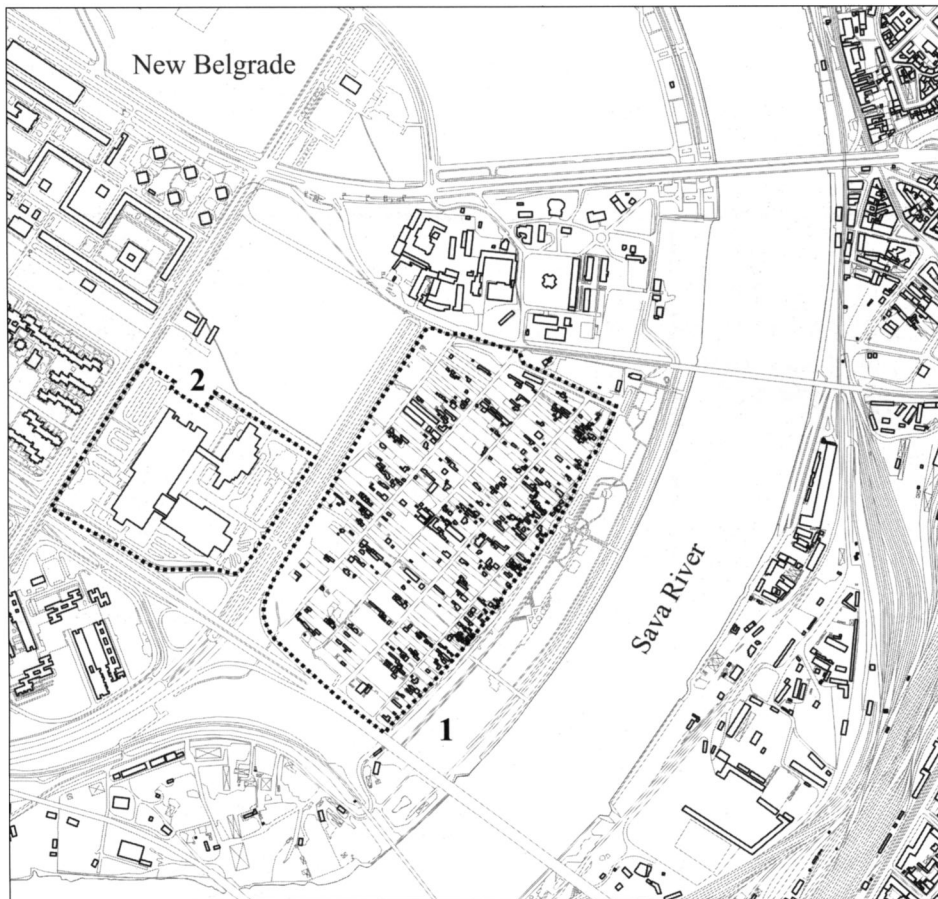
Figure 2 – Bežanija Plaža residential area (1) and Sava Centre convention venue (2). Source: Geodetic Plan of Belgrade.

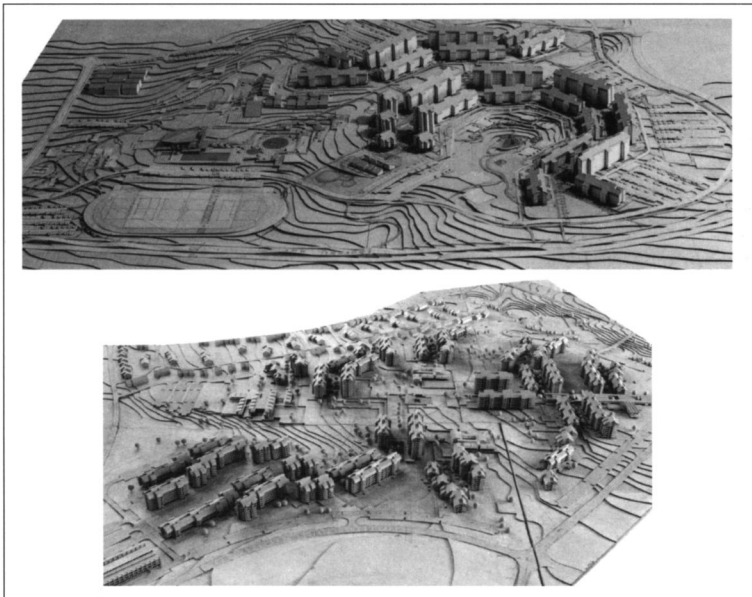*Figure 3 – Kaluđerica illegal settlement, photographed in mid 1990s. Source: FAA.*

Figure 4 – Darko Marušić, Milenija Marušić and Nedeljko Borovnica, Cerak Vinogradi, 1977–1987: model showing Cerak 2 (up) and Cerak 1 (down). Courtesy: Milenija Marušić.

Figure 5 – Aleksandar Đokić et al., Resnik – Avala Grad urban plan, 1980: model showing existing (left) and new Resnik (right). Source: Resnik – linearni grad... 1980: 7.
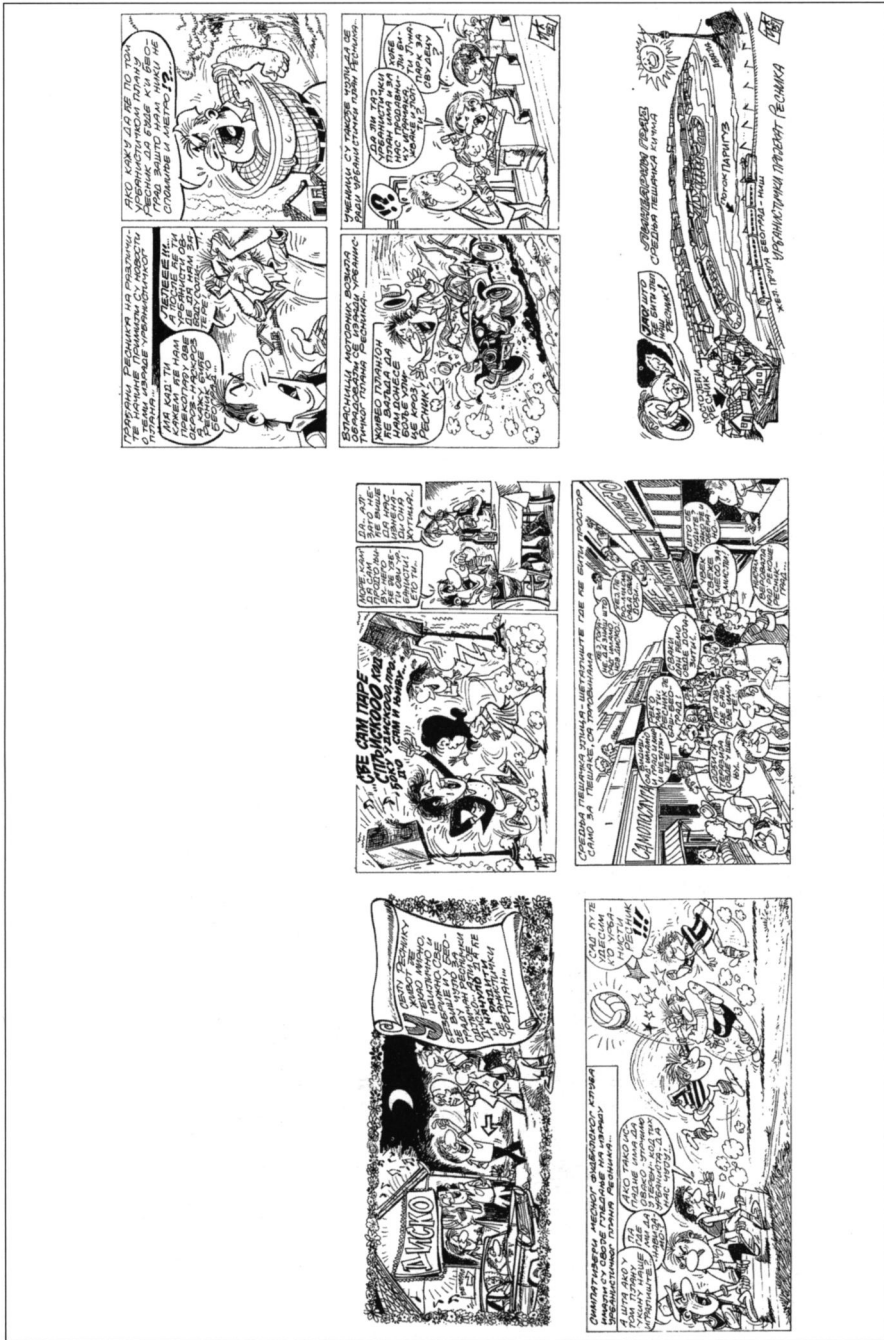
Figure 6 – Aleksandar Đokić (text) and Paja Stanković (drawings), Resnik – Avala Grad comic, 1980–1981. Source: 1981 – Čovjek i prostor 3: 16–17.

Table 1. Number of apartments built in Belgrade during socialism. Source: http://pod2.stat.gov.rs/ObjavljenePublikacije/G1991/Pdf/G19914002.pdf.

Period	1946–1960	1961–1970	1971–1980	1981–1990
Total number of apartments built	59,991	128,447	127,508	112,608
Number of apartments built in societal ownership	32,350	70,157	76,270	61,858
Percentage of apartments built in societal ownership	54%	54,6%	59,8%	54,9%

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Vzorce každodenního uchopování prostoru: Bělehrad v 70. a 80. letech 20. století a vývoj v post-socialistické době

Resumé: Článek analyzuje rozvoj neformálních způsobů uchopování prostoru v Bělehradu (Srbsko, bývalá Jugoslávie) v oblastech ponechaných na okraji socialistického systému plánování v 70. a 80. letech 20. století. Zkoumá spontánní střety se systémem teritoriální samosprávy zakotveným v ústavě. Jejich prostřednictvím studuje jak enklávy každodenního života, které se utvářely paralelně s hegemonickým a homogenním plánováním, tak formalizované cílené snahy potlačit v rámci velkých sídlištních projektů tyto spontánní praktiky. Výzkum vychází z komparativní analýzy územně plánovací dokumentace a nelegálních intervencí do těchto aktivit, z dobových dokumentů včetně dopisů a vzpomínek architektů a neautorizovaných stavitelů, stejně jako z dostupných statistik a polemik v tisku. Článek konstatuje, že mnoho nevyřešených rozporů období socialismu vyústilo v praktiky, které se staly součástí postsocialistické transformace a jejího nakládání s prostorem od 90. let. Nezájem o samosprávu, cynismus každodenního života v marginálních oblastech socialistické společnosti a neúspěšné snahy projektantů čelit neformálnosti se otiskují do postsocialistického města v podobě neúnavné konzumace veřejného prostoru.