UNDERSTANDING POST-SOCIALIST EUROPEAN CITIES

CASE STUDIES IN URBAN PLANNING AND DESIGN

EDITORS: Melinda BENKŐ & Kornélia KISSFAZEKAS

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POST — SOCIALIST EUROPE

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AMOEBA CITIES: TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING CHANGES IN THE POST-SOCIALIST EUROPEAN PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Socialist and post-socialist city; Warsaw, Poland, 2014.
Source: Author

We might never have been there, but we know and understand it. We look for the accustomed details, the city planning and architecture techniques from home, and we almost always find them. We feel how the city works. We sense the function of certain buildings – the significance of their location and appearance.

Undoubtedly, in Europe's post-socialist cities, there is a common *'language'*, a societal and environmental semiotics, which is easily comprehended by the inhabitants, but no one else. Those who lived, albeit only partially, through the period of state socialism understand the underlying reasons and interrelations. Nonetheless, for many others – either because they live elsewhere or are members of the generation that grew up since the changes in 1989-91 – the period's architectural heritage exists in and of itself, its contextual messages lacking or missing completely.

Within the field of architecture-based research into communities, numerous excellent studies have been carried out – written in the language of the given country and appreciated there, but practically unseen in the international professional literature.[1] In books of urban history for the instruction of architects and town planners,[2] the Central and Eastern European (CEE) region is regularly overlooked. The majority of foreign publications that do appear are works that expose the "*communist*" landscape[3] from an outsider's perspective. The present volume collects writings by young researchers who deal with this sphere of inquiry, each revealing the urban heritage of a different state-socialist city, as well as the transformations they are undergoing at present, while living and/or working on site. The closed economic bloc of state socialism placed cities so singularly in the foreground that they created artificial environments in the areas of planning and development. Despite the framework of common principles, local political, economic and social conditions established these so-called socialist cities along various career paths,[4] and these discrepancies continue to grow to this very day, even alongside an identifiable post-socialist model of development and urban space.[5]

SPACE AND TIME CONTEXT

State socialism was not the first period that resulted in recognisable patterns (in terms of the urban design's character and the architecture's stylistic features) which are spatially uniform,

1 In 2000, the historian Ferenc Glatz, as the president of the MTA [Hungarian Academy of Sciences], stressed, "Now it is up to us to convey the synthesising cultivation of Central and Eastern European research." He was referring to the task facing local professionals in the international discourse. Glatz, Ferenc (2003): *Helyünk Európában. Beszédek, cikkek, jegyzetek.* 1999-2000. Budapest:Pannonica.

2 For example, the region is not even included in one of the most well-known books of professional urban history: Benevolo, Leonardo (1993): *La Cittá Nella Storia D'Europa.* Roma-Bari, Gius. Laterzs & Figli Spa.

3 Hatherley, Owen (2015): *Landscapes of Communism: A History through Building.* London, Allen Lane.

4 French, Richard Antony and Hamilton, F. E. Ian, eds. (1979): *The Socialist City.* New York, Wiley and Sons.

5 Stanilov, Kiril (2007): The Post-Socialist City. Urban Form and Space Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe after Socialism. *GeoJournal Library* 92. Springer Netherlands
Cady, A. Kathryn (2009): National memory and postcommunist Hungary: conflating the "posts"? *Review of Communication,* Vol. 9(1).12–16.
Hirt, Sonia (2013): "Whatever happened to the (post)socialist city?" *Cities*, Vol. 32. 29-38.

Countries in Central and Eastern Europe in 1900, 1950 and 2010. Source: Author

practical and recognisable to this day. In the course of history, such environmental patterns either succeeded one another or completely or partially overlapped in Europe. While the Roman Empire's influence on city planning and construction can be detected time and time again in the southern, western and central regions of Europe, we no longer discover it beyond the Danube in Central and Eastern Europe. Large empires (such as the Ottoman, Prussian, Habsburg, Russian and Soviet) redrew borders again and again, sometimes inhibiting and sometimes initiating the internal development of a city network and the surrounding communities. In few places do we find structural continuity from the Roman Era till today. As a result of forced or voluntary relocations and resettlements among neighbouring territories with many nationalities, building cultures were historically mixed by the migration of peoples. At such times, groups and individuals who were more urban-minded, armed with greater experience in city building and planning, arrived in territories far from Europe's central region – whether voluntarily or merely obeying the will of rulers. In any case, they imported their own culture that shaped landscape and cities as well.

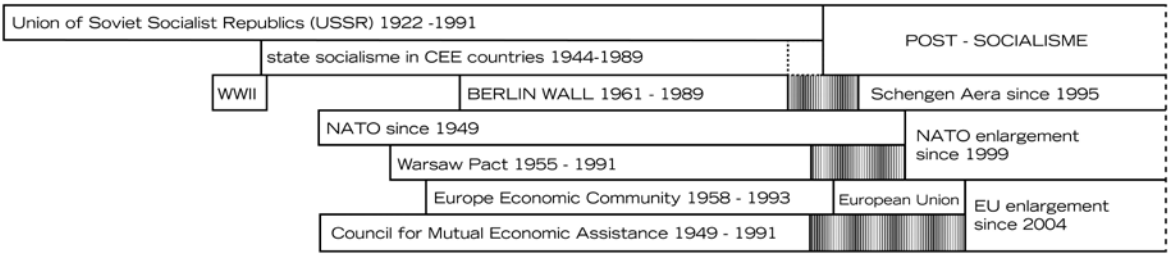
City centres in Central and Eastern Europe bear the traces of changeable historic periods with characteristic deviations in urban form and architectural stylistic features.[6] The Baroque was the first period, at the end of the 18th century, to bring about urban assemblies (city neighbourhoods, religious complexes and public buildings) with a distinctly Central and Eastern European look. In the second half of the 19th century, the towns[7] that formed around various inherited historic core became more uniform. This was the result of the industrial revolution (which ushered in modernism), the railway

6 For example, we find Ancient Era (Split), Middle Age (Krakow), Renaissance (Prague), Baroque (Győr), and Classicist (St. Petersburg) styles.

7 Sonkoly, Gábor (2010): A történeti városi táj – fogalomelemzés / Historic Urban Landscape – a Conceptual Analysis. In: Benkő, Melinda & Szabó, Árpád (eds.) *Városmegújítás / Urban Renewal.* Budapest, BME Urbanisztika Tanszék. 92-101.

development,[8] the arrangement of powers uniting the territories (the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Imperial Germany and Russia), and the multi-cultural community of planners and developers who mainly copied French and German models. Professionals and engineers who shaped the physical environment of towns – their infrastructures, buildings, public spaces – all studied in German, whether in Munich, Berlin or Vienna. The first technical training of architectural engineers in the Czech language took place in Prague in 1863, Polish in Lviv in 1872, and Hungarian in Budapest in 1873. They had similar principles and aims, as well as a common set of forms. City expansion in the time of Historicism brought about compact cities on a previously unknown scale – made up of closed, dense downtown areas with industrial buildings, hospitals, barracks, etc., on the outskirts. We may state that the urban environment that arose in Central and Eastern Europe prior to World War I was much more homogeneous than ever before.[9]

Thus, for a few nationalities based in the region, even before the inception of state socialism, enforced empire-wide uniformity was not strange. Resistance to the phenomenon, however, was a strong determinate of national consciousness everywhere. In the aftermath of the World War I and II, countries' borders were redrawn. Alongside what seemed to be territorial autonomy, the state socialist world created an ideologically binding spatial regime that stretched beyond borders, dictatorially enforcing urban development and a mindset that affected architecture as well.



Key historic data in relation to state socialism and post-socialism in Europe. Source: Author

8 Built over a period of a few decades, the railway network in the Austro-Hungarian Empire not only sped up industrialisation, but the stream of information as well. The second working railway route (after the Brussels line in 1835) was the Vienna-Krakow line, which was operable by 1837. By 1914, approx. 23,000 km (14,300 miles) of railway bound together the empire and connected the region to other parts of Europe.

9 Purchla, Jacek (2013): "The Central European city and its identity". *Herito,*Vol. 10(1), 56-93.

PRODUCTS AND PROCESS OF STATE-SOCIALISM: SOCIALIST CITIES

In the few years after World War II and before the establishment of nations based on a stabilising one-party system, there was a transition period of great movement. Once the new arrangement of nations was in place, there arose numerous small discrepancies which, characteristically of states being run by a single individual, were directly traceable to the personality of the given leader. Josip Broz Tito, the leader of partisans, President of Yugoslavia between 1953 and 1980, lionised by his own people and elevated to an icon in the role of a noble hero, could stand up to the Soviet Union as a livelier exponent of their values – quite unlike the "*simple, jovial, working-class*" figure of János Kádár, the General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party between 1956 and 1988 or the dictatorial attitude of Nicolae Ceaușescu, the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party between 1965 and 1989. While clearly, whether they wished it so or not, national leaders were compelled to heed the intellectual-ideological directives of the Soviet Union, many tested the boundaries of their space for individual or national manoeuvring. Although the countries under state socialism appeared to be working for a common long-range ideological goal, officially declaring one after another the advent of so-called "*pacts for friendly cooperation and mutual assistance*"; they also schemed against one another, which amounted to an effective political tool in the hands of the Soviet Union up until the very end.[10]

The socialist urban network

Within the so-called planned economy system, countries under state socialism operated in conformity with resolutions devised in Moscow. Typical were the five-year plans starting in the 1950s (when, initially, industrial development was the centrepiece)[11] and

10 This paradoxical relationship is well reflected, for example, in the case of Hungary's first and most important "*new socialist city*" (now Dunaújváros, originally Stalin City), it was important when choosing the location that it should not be too close to Yugoslavia, which belonged to the Eastern Bloc. Also worthy of notice, in the course of the Czechoslovakian revolution in 1968, several countries in the Central and Eastern European Bloc played an active role in the events.

11 For a few years following World War II, industrial development stood out as the focus of political attention. Leaders saw it as the most effective and spectacular means of prevailing over the West. State socialist countries not only wished to leave behind the western world, they wished to win a quick, annihilating and glorious victory of prestige, which would prove the validity of the system's ideology.

the fifteen-year plans for mass housing construction beginning in the 1960s (1960–75 and 1975–80), which constituted the state's foremost priorities. Since, historically, agricultural production was dominant in Central and Eastern Europe, the landscape was not expressly urbanised. Community networks were relatively loose with significant agglomeration in bigger towns, and a number of which were historic centres of commerce or industry. Obviously, given the success-oriented thinking of state socialism, industrial areas and urban territories were of greater importance. Consequently, besides the intense development of these sectors, they employed administrative means to unite, cease or revise the borders of certain settlements – thus artificially influencing community indicators and the developmental direction of the network, as well as the division of labour and overall hierarchy among townships.[12] It is no accident that, at the time of state socialism's collapse, the size of many communities and the areas used for industrial purposes proved to be senselessly and disproportionately bloated and enlarged. At the same time, with the construction of new "*socialist industrial cities*", countries strove to increase their industrial territory. Fired up by Soviet examples in the 1950s and then in the 1970s, they erected numerous new towns in the region.[13] The role of these new towns was two-fold: to provide a liveable habitat for the physical workforce needed to operate the industrial works and to proclaim the existence of a "*socialist city*"- model. / SEE chapters 09 and 12.

The centres

Besides the erection of new socialist cities, a reconsideration of the existing towns was also important. In part, they wished to establish a framework of architectural and public space, needed for public coexistence between members of the socialist (future communist) society and its system of civil institutions. Obviously, city centres would have made ideal locations for this goal; however, new socialist centres demanded vast areas of space. Most were planned as a modern ensembles made up of multiple institutional buildings composed around large socialist square. Numerous plans

12 The financial support of settlements (if they were in the industrial sector) or their neglect (if, for example, they were historic religious centres) was decided on the basis of manufactured central directives.

13 Kissfazekas, Kornélia (2015): "Relationships between politics, cities and architecture based on the examples of two Hungarian New Towns" *Cities.* Vol. 48. 99-108.

were drafted, but the majority of which were never executed. The official political rhetoric disowned, on an ideological basis, the inherited arrangement of civil institutes and their buildings.

State funding generally neglected the historic city centres. Moreover, in the process of urbanisation, which accompanied industrialisation, official planning did not concentrate on what existed, but on factory and housing estate construction that was new, fast and large in scale. Despite this, the overall appearance of a number of European (and, among them, Central and Eastern European) downtown areas changed fundamentally. For one thing, in following the general "*erase and replace*" maxim of modern architecture, new construction took place in city areas that were either damaged or destroyed in World War II or demolished on purpose. Further, beside old, small-scale centres of the past, there appeared large-scale buildings that were alien to the environment and dominated the view, in addition to the construction of entirely new city sections and infrastructure.[14] / SEE chapter 3.

Republic Square of Ljubljana, Slovenia, 2018. Source: Author

The urban periphery

For construction on a large scale, adequate for the principles of international modern architecture, it was necessary to reshape the historic space division, to free plots from private ownership, to nationalise them and, by expropriation, to create new sites for state development. The buildings were organised along new coordinates. Modifying the plot system, one of the most significant aspects of historical continuity, altered scales and the proportion

14 It is especially significant that, while the question of city centres was already on the agenda as early as the 1950s, their realisation generally took place in the 1970s, when so-called socialist modernism, which spread beyond borders with considerable uniformity, was dominant.

of buildings and public squares. Thus, modern functionalism and mass production fundamentally revamped the urban profile. On account of profitability indicators and those who envisioned the "*modern cutting-edge socialist*" image, small built-up environments were now threatened – both by the completely 'free' interpretation of ownership mechanisms in socialist cities and the unrestricted handling of territory. Hence, urban growth not only affected green areas or former agricultural areas that had not been built up, but also small settlements near the city centre. Oftentimes, existing urban tissue also disappeared, surrender to the territorial demands of mass housing and industrial development.

PRODUCTS AND PROCESS OF POST-SOCIALISME: POST-SOCIALIST CITIES

"… the infrastructure underlying Central Europe's actual network of relations was, and may still be, an entire urban constellation. Nowadays, our states are not the guardians of intellectual life in Central Europe; instead, it is our cities."

Konrád György, 1985[15]

In their article published in 2012,[16] Czech geographers identified three interlocking layers of the transition undergone by former state-socialist European countries after 1998. Following the change, institutional transformation provided the general framework for social, economic and cultural changes, all within the material setting of the built-up environment. Furthermore, these countries faced a manifold transition, since the changes in their political order coincided with globalisation, the digital revolution and the formation of an information society. It was during these early post-socialist times, the so-called *transition period*, that all former socialist nations, according to various principles, privatised their state holdings, which had significant influence on the parameters of their present-day post-socialist, capitalist urban development.[17] The majority of Central and Eastern European cities went through a phase of shrinkage after 1990. Change did not come in the form of increased quantity, but

15 Konrád, György (1985): *Van-e még álom Közép-Európáról?* In: Konrád, György (1990) Európa köldökén.153-183. Budapest, Magvető.

16 Sýkora, Luděk and Bouzarovski, Stefan (2012): "Multiple transformations: conceptualising post-communist urban transition". *Urban Studies*, 49 (1), 41–58.

17 Nigel Swain (2011): "A Post-Socialist Capitalism", *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 63(9). 1671-1695.

Overview on Budapest historic core, Hungary, 2017. Source: Author

restructured quality, stagnation or even destruction.[18] In our time, spectacular transformations primarily occurred in post-socialist cities (or in the centres of those cities) that enjoyed good geopolitical positions, as well as in areas with historical or natural assets. Historic attractions and natural beauties[19] are generally recognised virtues, used quite boldly nowadays as the basis for national and international real estate development projects.

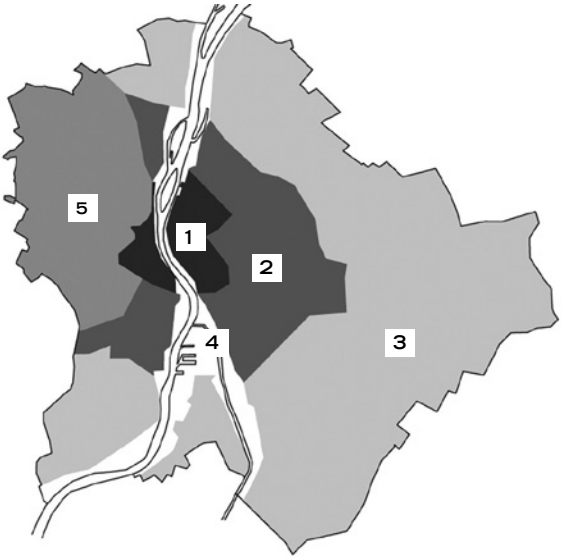
18 A compendium by the World Bank, in 2007, used the phrase *"third transition"* (The Third Transition of Ageing Population) to characterise the region's demographic changes. In general, populations in post-socialist countries grew until 1980, then stagnated until 1995, and have decreased ever since. / The World Bank (2007). From Red to Gray. Retrieved from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/ECAEXT/Resources/publications/454763-1181939083693/full_report.pdf

19 Tatarkiewicz, Wladyslaw (2000): *Az esztétika alapfogalmai.* Budapest, Kossuth Kiadó.

Models for socialist and post-socialist cities

The book entitled *The Socialist City*, published in London in 1979, was the first to undertake a general description and spatial model of socialist urban areas.[20] Hamilton's model of socialist cities[21] refers to eight zones. Within the small inherited inner area, he differentiates the historic, Medieval or Renaissance, core from portions that originated in the capitalist period before World War II. The large socialist outer urban area is composed of a transition zone, socialist-realist housing from the 50s, modern residential districts from the 60s and 70s, an open or planted isolation belt, an industrial zone and, finally, countryside.

Since 1994, Budapest has used a similar schematic five-zone model, with three basic elements that may be generalised across Europe: (1) the historic core, (2) the transition belt and (3) the outer area. The other two components reflect natural attributes that modify the first three categories: (4) the river and (5) the hilly area.



Budapest's schematic five-zone spatial model. Source: Author

Four categories appear in the socialist and post-socialist models by Sykora from 2009.[22] They are the centre (which can be historic,

20 French, Richard Antony and Hamilton, F. E. Ian, eds. (1979): *The Socialist City.* New York, Wiley and Sons.

21 Hamilton, Ian (1979): Spatial Structure in East European Cities. In: French and Hamilton (eds.) *Socialist City.* 195-261.

22 Sykora, Ludek (2009): Post-Socialist Cities. In: Kitchen, Rob, Thrift Nigel. (eds) *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, Vol. 8. 387-395. Oxford:Elsevier.

although this is unimportant), the inner city, the housing estate as an independent category and, finally, the periphery (in the socialist version) or the suburb (in the post-socialist version). From the standpoint of urban development, it is a significant difference that housing estate construction was predominant under socialism, after which the site of changes became the centre and the suburbs. "*CEE cities are, after all, more European than socialist*," [23] summarised Bertaud in 2013; yet, he highlighted some key spatial issues in relation to the actual problems of European post-socialist cities: the lack of retail and service space in the city centre, the huge inherited socialist residential areas, the used or unused industrial land located close to the city centre and, lastly, the weak and poorly maintained urban infrastructure.

The post-socialist European cities of our time call for a schematic model that transcends administrative boundaries. For the sake of generalisation, we have excluded natural features that modify the urban structure and speak, instead, of spatial zones which represent three distinct fields of development:

1. the centre: basis of the city's identity, composed of the historic or modern core and the inner city;
2. the transition belt: heterogeneous area with inherited and contemporary parts made up of public institutions, housing estates, gated communities, infrastructure, industrial fringe, etc.; and
3. the outer zone: halfway between rural areas and the suburbs, including edge city,[24] housing estates and industrial or agricultural land. / SEE chapters 05 and 10.

The centre: historic core and inner city

In terms of the cities' inherited spatial order, our common European past is still apparent in the centres and modern infrastructure, despite state-socialist's decades of urban transformation. Today, in the majority of post-socialist European cities, the historic centres enjoy national or local protection. Thanks to historic assets that have remained in the physical environment, Central and Eastern Europe already featured on the UNESCO

23 Bertaud, Alain (2013):"The Spatial Structures of Central and Eastern European Cities: more European than Socialist?" In: *International symposium on post-communist cities.* The Russian and East European Center (REEC), University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. / Retrieved from http://alainbertaud.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/AB_Central-European-Spatial-Structure_Figures_2.pdf

24 Garreau, Joel (1991): *Edge City*, New York: Anchor Books.

Tourist historic city centre of Prague, Czech Republic, 2014. Source: Author

World Heritage as well, for example Krakow's downtown received protected status in the first list of 1978, than others as Budapest, Prague, Vilnius, etc. All this proves that, in the cities of the region, a significant portion of historic downtown areas escaped demolition, forced development and modernisation. As a result of nationalisation, the real estate market ceased under state socialism, so renters and owners had neither the obligation nor the incentive to renovate or maintain property.[25] Privatisation, which was required after the change, affected the building stock in the city centre, already in a condition of decay. Besides the *"greyness"* of the houses, the public squares were also quite derelict. In Western Europe, city renewal efforts aimed at rehabilitation of public spaces began at the end of the 1980s, and they achieved stunning transformations in a few years.[26] Only relatively later, in 2004, did post-socialist cities embark on this course of renewal, based on international principles and practice, primarily motivated by the European Union's developmental politics and funding. With regard to downtown infrastructure and historic building development (postponed for decades during state socialism and the period of transition), the rapid socioeconomic shifts following the change, the privatisation and restitution implemented differently in each country, not to mention the unique features of the given city – all provided and still provide a diverse set of opportunities for renewal.

25 Lampel, Éva & Lampel, Miklós (1998). *Pesti bérházsors.* Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó.

26 Among the model cities for international public square renewal are Barcelona , Copenhagen and Lyon.

A good number of post-socialist cities have emerged like newly discovered hidden treasures, their transformative processes sped up by EU expansion. Among others, Prague, Krakow, Budapest, Riga, Dubrovnik, etc., became sites for international development and tourist destinations. Valuable historic centres have been divested of their residential functions. In our times, thanks to foreign investment and high-profile state funding, the inner areas are dominated by tourism and the "*tertiary sector*" service industry. It is a phenomenon particular to Central and Eastern Europe that, at the end of the 1990s, gigantic shopping centres settled at the border of historic city cores. As a result, ever since the change, new trade enterprises have been hobbled. Hence, for cities of their scale, there are few well-working downtown streets with shops, traditionally at the ground level, to sustain everyday use of the city. This problem is most palpable in the inner city, next to the historic core, where residents (now owners since privatisation) remain in poor-quality, still un-renovated historic building stock. Also, public space renewal and infrastructure modernisation still lag behind. / SEE chapters 02 and 04.

The transition belt

Urban development required the settlement of areas around the centre. Since the end of 18th century, cities lost their compact nature as territories providing services (for military, health, green areas, railways, warehouses, industry, etc.) and residences (often organised into housing estates) began to surround the identity-defining downtown areas. Today this former urban periphery functions as transition zone, portions with no natural assets seem colourless and bland to outside observers. At the same time, it is true everywhere that the periphery's area is many times that of the centre, as is its population. Moreover, its conditions faithfully reflect the socioeconomic environment of the given city and period. A peculiarity of Central and Eastern European cities nowadays is that, within their borders, these transition belts contain considerable spatial surplus.

The areas are sprawling, scattered and disorderly, while their building stock is largely underused.[27] Part of the background to this phenomenon was urban development under state socialism, when

27 For comparison, see the population density of a few European cities after 2010: Dresden: 15 people / hectare; Prague: 25 people/hectare; Budapest 33 people/hectare, Warsaw: 33 people/hectare; Amsterdam: 50 people/hectare; Milan: 72 people/hectare; Barcelona: 158 people/hectare; Paris: 213 people/hectare. In *Wikipedia*. Retrieved 20 May 2016, from https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Drezda.

practically everything was owned by the state.[28] Thus, the land and locations within the city had no genuine value. Now, however, location – the quality of the surroundings, view, accessibility, etc. – is the basis for all real estate development; so, besides the historic centres of post-socialist cities, transition and outer zones with good natural attributes have also managed to attract construction. In the interests of retaining investors, everywhere in the post-socialist international market, regulations change rapidly. Planning does not determine, but generally follows events. Significant green areas near city centres (with woods, agricultural land or public parks) and former industrial areas with a waterfront became prime sites for often disproportionate development. In many cases, investments were realised despite natural assets (floodplain meadows) and ecologic values (wildlife protection zones).[29]

Vilnius contemporary city centre with Europe Tower and Town Hall, 2016. Source: Author

The area of Central and Eastern European cities' industrial territories, whether in use or not, are several times that of the average Western European city.[30] The reasons are industrialisation that began in the mid-19th century and was forced to continue under socialism until the 1980s, belated de-industrialisation, privatisation which followed the system change, the free international market that took

28 A portion of residential stock remained in private ownership in a few Central and Eastern European countries. New forms of private home construction occurred in Hungary after a change of economic philosophy in 1968.

29 For example, in Budapest, residential development on the Róma Bank and the Museum Quarter under construction in City Park.

30 There are 5% such territories in Paris and London, 13% in Prague, and 15% in Budapest; while 28% of Krakow is underused former industrial territory. In. Bertaud (2013)

shape and the regulatory environment. These inherited industrial zone landscapes within cities are characterised by valuable, unrenovated buildings of material in a constant state of decay; vast territorial incursions in the urban body; and function-less condemned environments left to rot. The most prime locations – either near the centre or possessing excellent natural attributes – are still capable of renewal.[31] Yet, given that the post-socialist supply far exceeds current demand, investors easily find another green area (either in the outer zone or the vicinity of the given city) or another town altogether for urbanisation. Consequently, since the change, city portions in transitional belts have barely developed in quantity. In terms of their size, there has been little construction or remodelling; the number of workers and residents is in constant decline. Changes in quality lag far behind those of the city centre, as it contains neither classical historic elements nor natural assets that could generate new developments. Indeed, there is no conscious development policy to expedite renewal projects either.

The outer zone and the edge

The outer zone, beyond the historic centre and the transition belt, is a vast area made up of diverse units.[32] Here, under state socialism, among residential areas with detached houses on small plots, as well as the provincial and small-town centres that were made part of the city,[33] they incorporated the common physical legacy of the Central and Eastern European region – namely, panel block housing estates, industrial and agricultural territories within the city (now mostly abandoned), and traffic corridors. Large panel building housing estates, primarily erected in the 1960s and 1970s, are the absolutely defining urban form of post-socialist cities. Nowadays, 15-80% of city-dwellers still live in these estates, which reflect the various circumstances of their country, city and quarter, as well as the national residential policy, the local culture and economic

31 After Hungary's accession to the EU in 2004, there appeared proposals for developing Budapest's Danube Bank disproportionate to the urban scale. Benkő, Melinda (2009): Duna-party: Duna-parti kilátások Budapesten. *Utóirat: A Régi-Új Magyar Építőművészet melléklete.* Vol. 9(2) 12-15.

32 According to the General Organisational Plan of Budapest (1994), the inner city and downtown area along the Danube River belong to five designated districts, while the so-called transitional, suburban and hilly regions, as well as the outer zones along the Danube, are all part of the periphery. Kocsis János Balázs (2015): "Patterns of Urban Development In Budapest after 1989" *Hungarian Studies* 29 (1-2), 3-20.

33 In 1950, seven neighbouring towns and sixteen villages were incorporated into Budapest.

conditions. In case studies of post-socialist housing estates, we find demolition, demise, ghettofication (i.e., reverse gentrification), concentration, intensification, building renovation, complex renewal and rising values alike. The most uniform product of state socialism, these neighbourhoods retain their inherited urban form. Also, thanks to the variety in social make-up that has changed often over time, its represents one of the most diverse uses of contemporary urban space. / SEE chapters 06, 07 and 08.

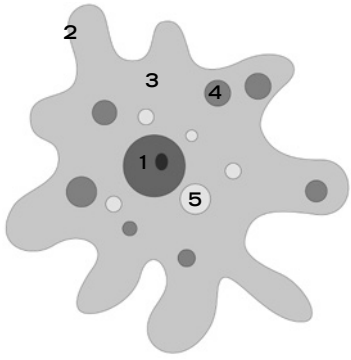
Somewhere and everywhere; Riga, Latvia, 2015. Source: Author

The outer zones of post-socialist cities are sites of planned and spontaneous change, a patchwork of sudden, startling, quickly terminating dense areas and under-urbanised parts. In the time of socialism, due to an insufficient quantity of city flats, many lived here under simple provincial conditions, although they worked in the city. The 1980s began with the rise of suburbs, based on the desire to own a house with a garden. After the change, instead of developments in brown areas, new construction projects were drawn to the green fields found in the agglomeration of independent settlements without any appropriate regulatory or support system in place. Detached houses, apartment complexes and office buildings, in addition to industrial, logistic and trade parks, sprang up everywhere. Borders of post-socialist cities are generally invisible. Within city lines, we could be in a village; and in a neighbouring settlement, we could encounter big-city crowding. / SEE chapter 11.

AMOEBA CITY

The post-socialist urban body is kind of amoeba existing without a precise outline. The amoeba metaphor is applicable to present-day urban changes. The most important part of these cities is the centre or *nucleus.* (1) At the same time, the surrounding body is formless, flexibly adapting to the demands of the capitalist free market, but without the societal controls or means that have evolved over history. Indeed, it changes continuously and spontaneously, adjusting to the pressures of urbanisation, although primarily along its edges or *membrane.* (2) The intermediate zone or *cytoplasm* (3) bears the burden of superfluous space from a previous period – namely, state socialism, in the case of post-socialist cities – abandoned, with their use and future uncertain. Within it, there are sub-centres (4) made of various materials with different roles and functions, as well as dense places. Occasionally, there is a lack of continuity, and empty space or *contractile vacuole* (5) can be present.

Naturally, an amoeba city does not have to be just a post-socialist town in Europe. The term may be applied to any urban landscape (in a historic period or even our own) where the planned framework is constantly rewritten to suit current socioeconomic demands. Urban alteration is intense; while control, by professionals, planners or the community, is weak.



Amoeba / City
Source: Author

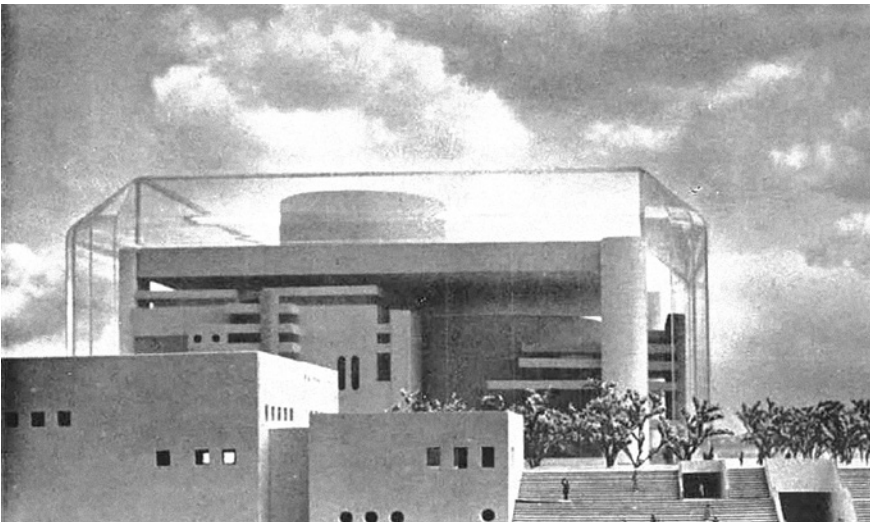
In this book, eleven neighbourhoods, cities or regions are used as case studies to assist in understanding the changes in post-socialist Europe's physical environment. First, there are stories about centres (from Belgrade, Brno and Budapest), then papers focusing on large prefabricated housing estates situated in the transition or outer zone of a post-socialist city (Bratislava, Tbilisi, Lviv and Varna) and, finally, studies into the urban and architectural impact of different socialist policy phenomena (in Russian lands, the Vojvodina Region, a Wroclaw suburb and the area of Lake Balaton).

BELGRADE / SERBIA

Vesna TOMIĆ

Vesna TOMIĆ was born in Serbia, and graduated from the University of Belgrade, Faculty of Architecture, where she is a PhD Candidate. Ms. Tomić worked in distinguished Serbian institutions for architecture and urban planning. As a leading planner or as a team member, she has been engaged in the creation of town planning designs, projects and studies. She has received several awards for professional achievements at national exhibitions and has published a chapter in an international book, as well as articles in scientific journals. Her research interests are cultural and physical aspects of the urban environment and the role of urban planning.

CHANCE FOR "CREATIVE CITY" TURN IN BELGRADE



The winning project for the Opera House, Dall & Lindhardtsen, 1971. Source: Urbanizam Beograda 16, Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade, 1972, p 8.

It has been almost fifty years since the international architectural competition for the Belgrade Opera House, when the project awarded the first prize, the work of Danish architects Dall & Lindhardtsen, was characterized by the jury as a project transcending its era, a project for the future.[1] The new opera house was not built, but another monumental building named "*Sava Centre*" was, becoming one of the largest congress, cultural and business centres in Europe. Both were projects of culture, iconic objects – the Sava Centre as a building of mass culture and the Opera House as project for elite culture. It was a chance to develop Belgrade waterfront, although there was controversy, related to architectural and memorial heritage, over the location. This happened during the 1970s as the period of building a new federal capital on the left bank of the Sava River, "*the most ambitious urban project of*

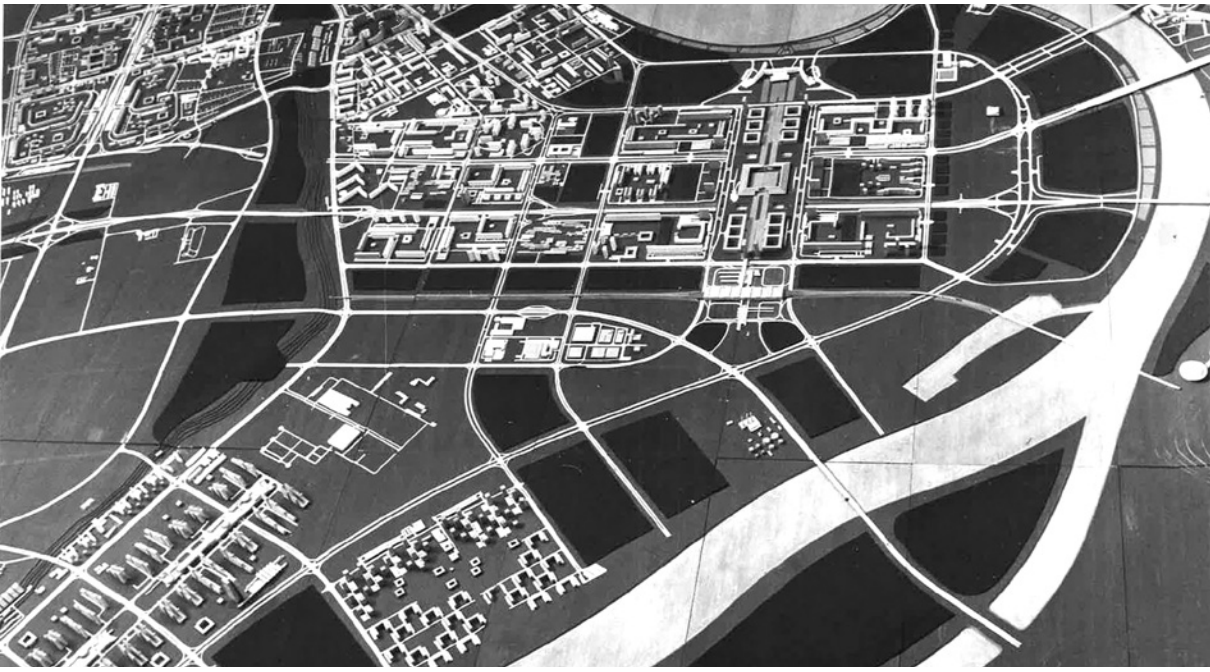
1 Mecanov, Dragana (2009): "Arhitektonski konkursi na Novom Beogradu od 1947 do 1970. godine" [Architectural Contests in New Belgrade from 1947 to 1970], *Spomeničko Nasleđe*, 113-140.

Sava Centar, a work by Stojan Maksimović, 1975-1976. Source: photo by Author, 2017.

Yugoslavia's socialist modernization"[2]. In the general context, during most of the 20th century, culture was seen as a matter of prestige ennobling and educating people, and not as an economic benefit. New Belgrade district rose on drained wetlands with representative public buildings, following the 20th century characteristics to create spatial and symbolic cultural zone based on the successful economy[3]. At that time, Belgrade, as the seat of the state administration of the former Yugoslavia, was supposed to represent a new political regime as well, since it was necessary to implement a transformation from the capital of a constitutional monarchy to the capital of a socialist federation. It was a complex task for several reasons. New capital city was to affirm the unity of the new state, formed of nations sharing a similar language, but with different historical and economic background: the Western and Northern part was developed by the Habsburg monarchy, the Southern and Eastern regions were part of the Ottoman Empire and the Adriatic Sea coast influenced by the Republic of Venice. Also, there were political ideas and discussions, followed by the ambition of the Yugoslav Communist leaders to be dominant in the greater Balkan federation. In 1948, President Tito's announced the so-called "*historical No*" and break with Stalinism, but not with communist doctrines. Up to the 1980s, this situation created a specific political, economic and cultural position for Yugoslavia, in between Western and Eastern blocks. Under

2 Kulić, Vladimir (2014): "New Belgrade and Socialist Yugoslavia's Three Globalizations", *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity*, Vol. 2, No. 2. 125-153.

3 Zukin, Sharon (1995) at Freestone, Gibson: "City planning and the cultural economy", *City Futures Conference*, Chicago, 8-10 July 2004, 3, accessed march 2010 at: www.ibrarian.net/.../CITY_PLANNING_AND_THE_CULTURAL_ECONOMY.pdf



Planned development of New Belgrade, hand-made model. Source: Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade, Library fond, 1972.p 8.

such circumstances, the huge urban project of building a new city began in 1948, according to the principles of the Athens Charter, opposite the traditional urban fabric of the historic core planned in the 19th century. First, the building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was built, which carried a symbolical message.

The 1970s were years when the position of the culture in urban development in Western European countries and in the US started changing, with a growing awareness of its economic impact. Reconceptualization of culture promoted a more adaptable model, which then became imperative. As a response to broader changes in the society, culture and creativity became important resources and basics for competitiveness. Instead of an "*arts-led*" regeneration concept, culture was regarded as part of the entrepreneurial life of cities.[4]

For political and socio-economic reasons, there was a lack of continuity – in terms of ambition, applied best practices and knowledge – when building Belgrade into a modern metropolis. While culture and creativity started to play an important role in

4 Harvey, David (1989) at Đukic, Aleksandra; Vukmirović, Milena; Vanista-Lazarević, Eva (2016): Creative Cities: Exclusive or Inclusive places Case study Belgrade, In Ognjen M., Alessandro A. (eds): *Inclusive/Exclusive Cities. City of Skopje*, Skopje, 104-120.

European city development in the 1980s and 1990s, the urban development of Belgrade proceeded in a different direction. There were no resources and conditions to support the development of complex cultural strategies, or to initiate a serious development project, until the political changes in the 2000s, which marked the beginning of a new period in Serbia.

With the implementation of cultural strategies, Belgrade has considerable potential for development given by its traditional and modern urban tissue, recognizable urban landscape, strong identity, lively space and creative people. Culture as a resource is included in every official document and project; however, private initiatives provide important motor for change. Cultural strategies are integrative, multi-dimensional schemes organized in a participatory and process-oriented direction. The 1970s experienced the potential and strength for developing Belgrade, by embracing a new way of thinking and different skills. The question is if there is a chance for a similar turn-around nowadays. The creative city turn,[5] for urban planners means not just replacing one paradigm with another; but it is also the ability to see a solution not only in physical infrastructure, but also in complex social interaction based on participation.

CREATIVE CITY STRATEGIES

The shift of the traditional position of culture was part of the broad changes. As Garcia described it, "*The evolution of a global, service-oriented economy has placed culture at the very centre of urban development*."[6] There is a new dialogue about the relationship between culture and urban development, with a "*global policy and advocacy movement*" supported in several theories.[7] Nevertheless, cultural development strategies are not a "*recipe to be prescribed*", but often they are adopted and executed without sensitivity for the local community. Meanwhile culture becomes a re-visited resource for the city, sets of arguments for its negative effects are specified: measure for controlling culture, loss of identity and autonomy in art, economic and social inequality, social polarization, gentrification,

5 Landry, Charles; Bianchini, Franco (1995): *The creative city*, London, UK: Demos.

6 Garcia, Beatriz (2004): "Cultural Policy and Urban, Regeneration in Western European, Cities: Lessons from Experience, Prospects for the Future", *Local Economy*, Vol. 19, No. 4, 312–326.

7 Evans, Graeme (2009): "Creative Cities, Creative Spaces and Urban Policy", *Urban Studies*, 46 (5&6), 1003–1040.

and not to mention discussions over its impact on economy and correlations. These dilemmas, however, have not made cultural development strategies less popular; in fact, they are constantly evolving.

Culture-based development is seen as a possibility for high competitiveness and for implementing principles of sustainable development. Depending on potentials and needs, sets of objectives for cultural development strategies can be defined. The main goal is to achieve economic development and employment, as well as city regeneration by infrastructure development and tourism. Analysing cultural clusters in the Netherlands, Mommaas indicates that they serve a great diversity of objectives related to promotion, revitalization and stimulation of the development of the cultural democracy and diversity, the growth of space for arts and culture, the discovery of architectural heritage; all of which involve new coalitions "*between economic, social and spatial policies*".[8]

Concerning the scope of a strategy, different methods and models used to set cultural policy in the context of urban development and regeneration: the sectorial approach, where particular creative industry sectors or clusters are chosen to be supported, and the macroeconomic approach, where the creative resource is regarded as a whole.[9] The usual models of culture-based planning in the 1980s were flagship projects, hallmark events and local festivals that were developed. Later, they were simply adapted into different forms with further improvements made by combining strategies and activities. There can be described three popular approaches. The first is cultural planning, which integrates cultural expression, resources, space and place. The second is the talent strategy, based on the theory introduced by Richard Florida that cultural vibrancy, tolerance and diversity are qualities to attract key factors in an innovation-driven economy. This signifies a "*creative class*" of people with knowledge and creativity. The third group includes cultural cluster strategies, which are no longer vertically organized by the public sector, but are organized more inclusively and are process-oriented.[10] Analysing methods within the strategies, we encounter iconic structures to create an image; heritage mining using historic buildings and quarters; mega-events such as the

8 Mommas, Hans (2004): "Cultural clusters and the Post- industrial City: Towards the Remapping of Urban Cultural Policy", *Urban Studies*, Vol, 41, Issue 3, 537–532.

9 Evans, Creative Cities, 1011.

10 Smidt-Jensen, Søren (2007): "The roles of culture and creativity within urban development strategies, Outlining a theoretical framework for analyzing Scandinavian cities". CSB Working Paper nr. 8. http://www.byforskning.dk/publikationer/Siden%20publikationer/Working%20papers/ssj_rtn_paper_endeligt_jan07.pdf, accessed 11 December 2009.

Olympic Games, EU City of Culture and the branding of cities through a specific theme such as the "*Cultural Capital of the World*" or "*Venice of the North*".[11]

The concept of using culture and creativity for urban economic development cannot be successful without community involvement, the development of social networks, human resources, identity and authenticity. In order to succeed with long-term, consistent cultural strategies, alongside balanced spatial and social development, urban cultural policies need to be established as an element of city governance. Mommas sees culture based-development as an opportunity to reach "*more open, flexible, dynamic and developmental*

"KC Grad, European Center for Culture and Debate", using a historic building, an old warehouse from 1884, Savamala District. Source: photo by Author, 2017.

approaches", but he also draws attention to a combination of a classical, inhibitory relations towards culture, in addition to a boostering approach that does not bring benefit to cultural values.[12] Garcia suggested that cultural policy are not developed in city governance proportionally to the use of culture in urban development. High level of investments, needed for hallmark cultural events, mostly are not bringing long term cultural legacies and are not a part of coherent, long term strategies, that will have an aim to reach a balanced spatial and social distribution of benefits[13] That kind of projects could compromise basic community and cultural values.

11 Richards, Greg; Wilson, Julia (2007): "The Creative Turn in Regeneration: Creative Spaces, Spectacles and Tourism in Cities". In Smith M. (ed.): *Tourism, culture and regeneration.* UK: CAB International, 12–24.

12 Mommaas, Cultural clusters, 531.

13 Garcia, Cultural Policy, 313.

BELGRADE'S PATH TO CREATIVE STRATEGIES

As a part of the policies of Serbia, creative industries are a new phenomenon, even though there is a long tradition of these industries and, as Mikić stresses, remarkable creativity among Yugoslavian artists, especially in the 1960s and 1970s.[14] That was a period of integrated planning, public participation and interdisciplinarity.[15] Former Yugoslavia distinguished itself from other European countries with Communist regimes for its openness to consult the Western planning legislation and planning practice. In spatial planning, it managed to create completely new areas with diverse functions such as new administrative complexes, cultural institutions, trade fair complexes, transport hubs and infrastructure. As Hirt points out, New Belgrade modernism stands out with its remarkable architectural quality both in conception and technology.[16] Through the perspective of cultural and creative city strategies, this heritage can be used as resource for development.

Specific political and economic circumstances in the 1990s led to the decomposition of Yugoslavia. Although efforts were made, it was not possible for Serbia to follow the transformations happening after 1989 in the majority of European countries. The culture sector suffered from a cutting of public financing, producing a new entrepreneurial position for artists. In that decade, at the end of the 20th century, Serbian spatial and urban planning became characterized by a top-down approach with a lack of strategic planning. Spatial and urban planning was predominantly at the service of private interests and without strategic governance.[17] Also, there was no interest in viewing culture as a resource of urban regeneration and development.

Since the year 2000, creativity and the diversity of cultural expression have grown stronger in Serbia.[18] Political changes introduced pluralist political culture and a marketing-oriented economy. In the period from 2005 to 2009, the Government adopted

14 Mikić, Hristina (2014): *Creative industries in Serbia*. Belgrade, Serbia: Foundation Creative Economy Group.

15 Perić, Ana (2016): "The evolution of planning thought in Serbia: Can planning be 'resilient' to the transitional challenges? ", *Planning Theories, Pedagogies and Practices*, Vol. 07, 17th IPHS Conference, Delft 2016, History-Urbanism-Resilience, 181–194.

16 Hirt, Sonia (2009): "City profile-Belgrade, Serbia'', *Cities*, 293–303.

17 Vujošević, Miodrag (2010): "Collapse of strategic thinking, research and governance in Serbia and possible role of the Spatial plan of the republic of Serbia (2010) in its renewal", *Spatium International Review* No. 23, 22-29.

18 Mikić, Creative industries, 4.

several relevant documents that promote culture and creativity as potential resources for urban development, which Vilenica names the "*modernization model*", supported by the activities of European cultural institutions and missions.[19] The creative sector in Serbia is still perceived as an alternative culture,[20] and although there are initiatives to develop the cultural sector, culture is still insufficiently perceived as a resource and tool of urban regeneration, related to economic and spatial development strategies. There are ongoing projects of cultural clusters in Serbia (promoted by the ministry in charge of tourism), hallmark events (Summer Universiade, Eurovision Song Contest), thematization (Europe Capital of Culture 2020), and individual initiatives (Savamala Quarter). The period is characterized by changes of legislation with some quality solutions, but still suffers from the absence of by-laws. Also, there is a legacy of functional problems such as the status of property and arrangements between political parties and tycoons.[21]

In 2020, for the second time, Belgrade plans to host the Summer Universidad. In both instances, the event has been promoted by officials as a chance to create a new image and gain economic benefits via the reconstruction of sport infrastructure. There is no data about the exact number of visitors, and the total economic impact was not analysed; nevertheless, it is obvious that the Universidad creates benefits for tourism. A lack of achievement may be noted in other factors, primarily social, which would allow the implementation of a comprehensive process of urban regeneration.[22] The nomination process of Belgrade for the European Capital of Culture 2020 has also been promoted for its positive socioeconomic effects and opportunities to address the shortage of cultural policy.[23] On the other hand, Belgrade attracts the creative industry, and there is a tendency for spontaneous development of cultural clusters and districts. There are areas with grouped clubs and restaurants,

19 Vilenica, Ana (no date): "The Art of New Class Geography of the City-Culture-guided urban regeneration serving the *modernization* of the periphery", http://publicationstation.wdka.hro.nl/andre/Gray_Zones/5.%20Vilenica,%20A_%20The%20Art%20of%20FINAL.docx, accessed March 28, 2017.

20 Stojanović, Milica; Petković, Nataša; Mitković, Petar (2012): "Culture and Creativity as Driving Forces for Urban Regeneration in Serbia", *International Journal of Social, Behavioral, Educational, Economic, Business and Industrial Engineering*, Vol. 6-7, 1854–1859.

21 Vilenica, The Art of New Class Geography, 6.

22 Stojanović, Petković and Mitković, Culture and Creativity, 1858.

23 Volić, Ivana; Bajić, Luka; Radenković-Šošić, Bojana (2012): "Belgrade as European capital of culture - conceptual conjunction", *Spatium International Review*, No. 27, 26–30.

bolstering the buzz and image of a lively city, especially the Savamala District, home to bottom-up initiatives with cultural and creative approaches in urban regeneration.[24]

DEVELOPING BELGRADE WATERFRONTS

Savamala District, Mixer House, creative center, changing its location because of higher rent. Source: photo by Author, 2017.

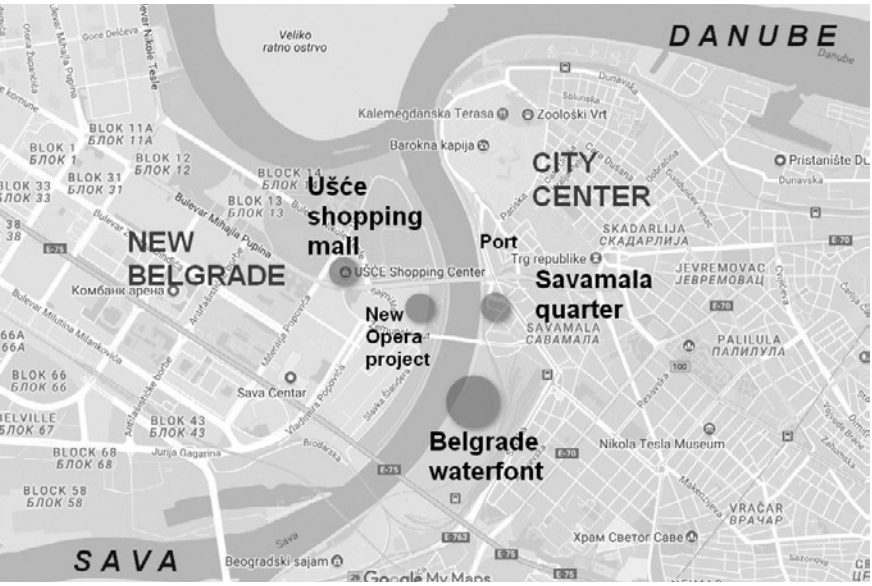
The Savamala Quarter was developed in 19th century as a colourful commercial centre, but in the socialist period, there was no interest in investment. As a cultural brown-field project, it brought new activities to the unused area of the Sava riverbank.
Its development of started in 2009 with the Mixer Festival, a private initiative supported by business groups, and later by city and municipality authorities with the notion of introducing a creative city concept and establishing an incubator programme for young creative people. An important role was also played by the German Goethe Institute's Urban Incubator Project, an *"artistic-communal-participatory-social entrepreneurship"* with the intention to improve the quality of life of the local community.[25] Today the Savamala District can be described as a vibrant space with a diversity of cultural activities and opportunities for leisure. Yet, when analysing

24 Mrđenovic, Tatjana; Đukic, Aleksandra; Stupar, Aleksandra (2015): Urban design and identity: re-creating waterfront brownfield Savamala case. In Gospodini A. (ed*): Changing Cities 2: Spatial, Design, Landscape & Socio-economic Dimensions*, International Scientific Conference Porto Heli, Greece, 22-26 Jun 2015, 759–769.

25 Vilenica, The Art of New Class, 7-8.

these projects, there may be a question of the creation of further inequalities, the implementation of a Western model in a local context, thus giving rise to alienated consumerism instead of developing new social networks.[26]

Until the 1970s, the banks of the Sava and Danube Rivers were conceived in the urban plans of Belgrade as a green institutional area or site for infrastructural development. In the masterplan adopted in 1972, the Belgrade waterfront was planned as the extension of central zone.[27] Political interest in developing these areas and creating new identity came with the political changes in the 1980s, as a need to promote and secure power. The Sava's right bank, which developed as an economic area in the 19th century, but was neglected during the Yugoslav period – became again attractive for investment. First in 1996, the project named *"Europolis"* was promoted by Socialist party, but it was not realized. Another development initiative within the wider area of Savamala, named "*Belgrade Waterfront*", a large-scale public-private partnership project that has been ongoing since 2014. Although spatially connected, the "*Belgrade Waterfront*" and Savamala Creative Hub projects, they have taken place without any coordination or cooperation.



Belgrade map, with marked location: City Center, New Belgrade, Savamala Quarter, "Belgrade Waterfront" project, new Opera House project, Belgrade Port. Source: Google map, marked by Author, 2017.

26 Ibid, 8.

27 Djordjević, Aleksandar (1972): "Generalni urbanistički plan Beograda " [Master plan of Belgrade], *Arhitektura i urbanizam* - posebno izdanje [special edition].

Savamala District, restaurants, port, and skyscrapers of the "Belgrade Waterfront" project in the background. Source: Author.

Opposite to Savamala, the New Belgrade Waterfront represents a green urban space with a public park dominated by the Museum of Contemporary Art. And in the background, the former headquarters of the Central Committee has been transformed into the Ušće Shopping Mall, realized in 2009 as private investment. In this Waterfront project the only connection to the river bank is a paved public walkway approaching to floating restaurants and clubs, and that concept has not changed for years. But New Belgrade, with its different urban tissue and infrastructure, makes it suitable for organizing hallmark events, where a large number of people can participate. That diversity is an opportunity for development through cultural and creative strategies, buttressed by authenticity and identity. Due to processes shaping society in last decade, New Belgrade has become an example of a consumer city as a result of the changing and unbalanced roles of actors: investors, politics and marginalized town planners.[28] After a period of optimistic, expert planning in 1970s, spatial and town planners are faced with altered political, economic and social circumstances, in addition to new requirements. Planners have responsibility, but formally and informally, investors and politicians are in positions to arbitrate over professional matters.

28 Marić, Igor; Niković, Ana; Manić, Božidar: "Transformation of the New Belgrade urban tissue: filling the space instead of interpolation", *Spatium International Review*, No. 22, 47-56.

PLANNING A CREATIVE BELGRADE

Headquarters of the Central Committee, New Belgrade, 1964. Source: Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade, Library fond.

Ušće shopping mall, transformation of former Headquarters of the Central Committee, as part of private investment in 2009. Source: Author.

The planning system in Serbia is hierarchically organized, with spatial plans containing strategic frameworks and urbanistic plans such as instruments to carry out adopted principles of spatial development. In spite of the effort to create changes in the spatial planning system, Serbia is lagging behind other transitional countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Transition from socialist to post-socialist society, in the area of spatial and urban planning, includes

functional and structural changes of the institutions and legislative framework. The law on planning and construction has changed several times in a short period with several innovations, but that did not significantly influence the system of planning. From 1989 on, the shift from government to governance or the wider public participation in spatial and urban planning has not been present in Serbia. Instead, there is clear persistence in old habits and influence coming from new centres of power.

In practice, there is a rational planning system with expert planners and limited public participation taking place in the phase of adopting plans. The Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia, as the main national document for 1996-2010 and 2010-2020, contains preconditions for developing cultural strategies, especially in the tourism sector.[29] Principles of cultural development strategies are not introduced in a consistent manner; there is an incompatibility of goals between sectors, especially for tourism and cultural heritage, without criteria or instruments for resolving the issue. When assessing why cultural development strategies are not understood and applied consistently, Đordevic claims that it is the "*no lesser significance of the social system development, out of which should derive ideas on the needs, values and goals of a social community for which we make plans. This system has been subjected to a mere improvisation in plans (urbanization, housing, renewal, public services and special assets).*"[30] Also, Perić points out that, in the contemporary period, redevelopment projects are carried out with non-transparent procedures and a lack of public participation.[31]

The Serbian government adopted a number of national programming documents and strategies, but according to the Screening Report for the Republic of Serbia, most of the strategies lack action plans and are not linked to budgetary provisions.[32]

Since 2006, the city government adopted three five-year development strategies for Belgrade. In the 2011-2016 Strategy, cultural heritage, city image and identity were declared

29 Law on Spatial Plan of Republic of Serbia 2000-2010, Official Gazette RoS, 13/96; Law on Spatial plan of the Republic of Serbia 2010-2020, Official Gazette RoS, 88/2010.

30 Đorđević, System of Spatial Planning, 146.

31 Perić, The evolution of planning thought, 191.

32 Commission, WP enlargement and countries negotiating accession to EU MD 176/15, Screening Report Republic of Serbia, Chapter 22 – Regional policy and coordination of Structural Instruments, 23. November 2015, 1-11.

important resources.[33] The first priorities were identified as valorisation and a systematic approach to catalogue resources, as well as improvement of institutions in the tourism sector, as defined in the Spatial Plan of the Republic of Serbia. There are some elements of embracing the creative city concept such as the principle of inter-sectorial cooperation or the noted importance of city identity for its further development, but they are not profiled as part of a creative city strategy. The role of culture is seen to be passive; tourism is recognized for its economic benefits and its capacity to preserve cultural resources. The cultural policy of Belgrade is defined through a classic scope of culture, recognized primarily as a field of creativity, heritage protection and presentation.[34] Šešić notices that, in practice, inter-sectorial cooperation is not based on developing joint projects, but just on participation in the financing of specific events.[35] The 2016-2021 Strategy features a clearer identification of the potential of the cultural and creative industry, human resources and city identity.[36] This demonstrates a conceptual move toward the development of cultural/creative strategies.

Creative Belgrade – "Mural opening". Source: KC Grad, photo by Andjela Grozdenović, 2017.

33 Urban planning institute of Belgrade, Palgo centar (2011): Strategija razvoja Grada Beograda, ciljevi, koncepcija i strateški prioriteti održivog razvoja, [Belgrade Development Strategy, Objectives, Concept and Strategic Priorities for Sustainable Development], Belgrade, Serbia.

34 Dragićević Šešić, Milena; Mikić, Hristina; Svetlana, Jovičić (2007): " Strateška analiza beogradskog sistema kulture ", [Strategic Analysis of Belgrade Cultural System], *Zbornik radova Fakulteta dramskih umetnosti*, 277–218.

35 Šešić, Strateška analiza, 281.

36 City of Belgrade, Secretariat for Investments, Palgo center (2016): Strategija razvoja Grada Beograda, strateški ciljevi, prioriteti i mere održivog razvoja do 2021, [Belgrade Development Strategy, Objectives, Concept and Strategic Priorities for Sustainable Development to 2021], Belgrade, Serbia.

CONCLUSION

Culture-based development of cities, as a part of wider changes, is an inevitable concept and strategy. What was once the "*product*" of cities becomes their resource and tool for development. Creative city strategies involve dynamic and complex processes, relationships and the inclusion of different actors in new roles. Because of their complexity, a key role is played by strong and stable institutional support with a strategic approach and the ability to adapt and evolve.

A review of strategic documents and plans for Serbia and Belgrade shows the development of an idea of a creative city turn. The focus of the strategy is on organizing hallmark events, developing tourism and increasing the economic benefit by working on the city image. However, due to other problems the city is facing, this is not a priority. This brief analysis, which may have its shortcomings, shows that there are simple objectives, as well as questions and doubts, such as the introduction of strategies with sensitivity for local specifics and communities, real reasons and interests for implementing cultural strategies, and a commitment to avoiding economic and social inequality. Belgrade has the potential for a creative city future, but it is necessary to develop institutions, horizontal collaborations and greater community participation and involvement. Objectives in strategies need to be more profiled, connected to local specificities, and created in multi-sectorial collaboration, with action plans that include proper methods and instruments for implementation. Wider participation should also be promoted. The role of urban planners can be to provide knowledge and foster discussions about instruments, implementation and results of strategies, in order to broaden existing perspectives on cooperation with other actors in creative city development.

BRNO / CZECH REPUBLIC

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PROJECT FOR BRNO REGIONAL CENTRE AS THE "NEW HEART OF THE 20TH CENTURY" [1]:

The idea to build a new centre of the city of Brno sprang into life at the beginning of the 1960s due to the lack of advanced public facilities in the original urban core as well as due to the latter's inadequate efficiency caused by the rise in passenger traffic and public transport. As a consequence of a higher standard of living, a growing number of people (not only those living in the Moravian metropolis) were able to own a car and for this reason it was necessary to address deficiencies in the sphere of transport as well as the organisational structure of the city core and its surrounding areas. The following lines will focus on the unrealized projects and studies related to the Brno regional centre the construction of which was aimed at replacing the outdated shop network and to generally improve the situation in the tertiary sphere.

City planners and architects abroad tried to solve the problem of modern transport, regeneration and rebuilding of the city centre already at the VIIIth CIAM congress[2] in 1951 which took place in the English town of Hoddesdon. Its theoretical conclusions regarding the transformation of the main American and European cities[3] had been subsequently further elaborated up to the 1970s. The conclusions embraced at the congress summed up under the title *The Heart of the City*[4] were also commented upon by the Brno city

1 The title of the present study is based on the texts of the VIIIth International Congress of Modern Architecture CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) which took place between the 7th and 17th July 1951 in England. Originally, the congress slogan was supposed to be: "*The Core of the City*" or "*The City core*", but eventually, the architects changed it to "*The Heart of the City*".

2 The non-governmental organization CIAM was established in 1927 at the La Sarraz castle in Switzerland. The last congress took place in 1959 in the Dutch town of Otterlo and hosted a number of important architects. For more on the subject see: Mumford, Paul Eric (2002): *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*, Cambridge, UK: MIT Press, 201–215.

3 For more details see: Gruen, Victor (1964): *The Heart of Our Cities – The Urban Crisis: Diagnosis and Cure*, London, UK: Thames and Hudson.

4 For more details on the VIIIth CIAM group congress see: Marchi, Leonardo Zuccaro (2018): *The Heart of the City – Legacy and Complexity of a Modern Design Idea*, London, UK: Taylor & Francis Ltd.

planner and theorist Karel Strejc[5] in his study on the *rebuilding of the city centre.* In this study he symbolically picked up the threads of the work already commenced by the Brno CIAM group and its leading member Bohuslav Fuchs who was present at the congress in Bridgewater in 1947[6] which dealt with urbanism and planning of the city intended for the socialist, machine-based society.

Strejc in his study finds solution to problems regarding clarifying structures of the modern city in the right adjustment of its operational functions and their even distribution. The city centre, as defined by Strejc, is the highest organisational unit within the arrangement of the public services. He further claims that the 20th century city core undergoes dramatic changes in its physical shape caused especially by the growing car traffic which puts its system under strain. This is reflected, for example, also in the sphere of services and trade where already in the 1950s the system of urban functions[7] collapsed.[8]

BUSINESS SOCIAL ACTIVITIES IN THE CITY CORES

The existing urban retail network did not satisfy the modern sale, stock and transport demands. The lack of necessary parking areas both for the customers and the suppliers together with the insufficient size of the floor space could not provide the inhabitants of such cities as Brno with quality services. The centre's inefficiency hindered economic development in the field of tertiary sphere which could have brought about serious political problems in the future.[9] Building new housing units meant growth of suburban areas and together with them grew also the need for new public facilities. Although their development was incorporated into the housing estate

5 Strejc, Karel ed. (1967): *Přestavba městských center*. Brno, Výzkumný ústav výstavby a architektury, 6.

6 Hruška, Emanuel ed. (1948): *Urbanismus a plánování*. Brno, Blok výtvarných umělců země Moravskoslezské.

7 Smithson, Alison ed. (1962): *Team 10 Primer*. London, UK: Studio Vista.

8 Unlike the architect Karel Strejc who based his theory on city functions on the Athens Charter (1933), a lot of urban planners in the 1960s considered this document outdated because of the time and conditions of its issue. In the 1930s, both car traffic and the town industry had not yet been developed. In spite of this, the city projects based on the rules of the Athens Charter influenced later city planning: e.g., the division of the city functions where the industry was ousted from the inner parts of the cities.

9 Berend, Ivan T. (1996): *Central and Eastern Europe, 1944–1993 – Detour from the periphery to the periphery*, Cambridge, UK: University Press, 182–221.

structure, shops and other facilities often emerged only several years after the blocks of flats themselves had been built.[10] For this reason, their inhabitants were forced to satisfy their consumer needs in the city core facilities instead, which led to their even greater overload. What is more, according to the rules applying to the distribution of the housing developments, in smaller estates with the capacity up to 1500 units the necessary public and technical facilities were never provided.[11] Shopping malls as we know them today did not exist under the totalitarian regime, therefore, the era of the Prior department stores and the network of Tuzex and Eso shops was about to follow.[12]

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

The socialist state as an intermediary of the "*trade and cultural industry*" tried to respond to this problematic situation with various adjustments of the existing trade units in the city centres which involved certain obstacles (preservation of monuments, solving transport issues) or with building and planning new public facilities such as business social centres. These were located either in the vicinity of the historical centre or in recently built suburban structures.

When building these shopping centres, the state officials in charge of ruling the country paradoxically found inspiration in the deprecated consumer culture of the Western countries[13] where new centres were built to be used for commercial and cultural activities[14] of local consumers. Abroad, cities dealt with the lack of floor space

10 See also: Přibyl, Lubomír and Pleskotová Helena eds. (1985): *Centra občanského vybavení 1985 – sborník referátů z konference*. Praha: Dům techniky ČSVTS.

11 Beran, Václav; Hulínský, Václav; Ontl, Václav; Machan, Pavel; Pšenička, Čestmír; Syrový, Petr; Štengerová, Dagmar and Tolar, Jan (1972): *Bytová výstavba – hospodaření s byty, díl I*. Praha: SNTL, 9.

12 Tuzex – a network of shops operating during the previous regime and shortly after 1989. In these shops it was possible to buy goods in short supply made in the Western countries by means of a special currency called "*bon*" – these were gained by exchanging foreign currencies. The socialist state did not officially support the "*capitalist*" products. Also thanks to the Tuzex network first payment cards appeared in Czechoslovakia. The company ceased operating at the beginning of the 1990s. Eso – the network of socialist shops selling luxury goods.

13 For example: Seraj, Nadej ed. (2015): *Yona Friedman – The Dilution of Architecture*. Zürich: Park Books, 108–117.

14 Avermaete, Tom (2005): *Another Modernity – The Post–War Architecture and Urbanism of Candilis–Josic–Woods.* Rotterdam: NAi Publisher.

in various ways.[15] Our historical cities[16] had local plans for the commercial network development designed in connection with the newly constructed communication network. The indicative local plan defined the concept of centres from the city-wide point of view and the general plan approached the public facilities building in terms of various sectors.[17] It is true that city planners followed various historical trends of development[18] regarding the creation of the city centres and confronted the result with the actually existing and the intended state of city building including the feasibility of satisfying the needs of the population.[19]

Eventually, it was the car traffic which became the chief city shaping element both in our country and abroad.[20] Models our architects drew from when constructing the shopping centres can be found in Sweden, West-Germany, Holland, England or France. According to the Brno architect Zdeněk Michal, the models for public facilities centres used in Czechoslovakia at that time were, for example, Farsta and Vällingby in Sweden, Albertslung in Denmark and Lyngby with its large shopping mall in Copenhagen. According to the article by Jaromír Sirotek[21] the scale of the new centre of Brno was supposed to follow that of the Nordwestzentrum in Frankfurt am Main[22] and to already suit the purposes of the environment typical of the year 2000.[23]

The historical core and the new ways of its use was the theme covered in the works of the Brno Research Institute for Building and Architecture[24], the workplace of the already mentioned

15 Hon, Michal (1967): "Team 10", *Československý architekt*, 1–2, XIII., 6–7.

16 Musil, Jiří (1967): *Sociologie soudobého města*, Praha: Edice Sociologická knižnice.

17 Zarecor Elman, Kimberly (2011): *Manufacturing a Socialist Modernity: Housing in Czechoslovakia, 1945–1960*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

18 Riedl, Dušan (1953): *Vývoj měst v Čechách a na Moravě*, Brno: Ústav architektury a územního plánování – Skupina územního plánování Brno.

19 Hrůza, Jiří (1965): *Teorie města*, Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd.

20 For more details see: Jacobs, Jane (2013): *Smrt a život amerických velkoměst*, Dolní Kounice: MOX NOX, 345–378. – Jacobs, Jane (1961): *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, New York: Random House.

21 Sirotek, Jaromír (1970): Koncepce rozvoje staveb obchodní sítě ve městech. In J. Musil (ed.): *Koncepce rozvoje občanských zařízení v osídlení ČSSR – sborník referátů z pracovního aktivu konaného v Brně ve dnech 7. a 8. dubna 1970*, Brno: Výzkumný ústav výstavby a architektury, 217–230. [‚Concept of the shop network buildings development in cities']

22 Schwagenscheidt, Walter (1964): *Die Nordweststadt – Idee und Gestaltung*, Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag.

23 Hruška, Emanuel (1966): *Problémy súčasného urbanizmu*, Bratislava: Vydavatelstvo Slovenskej akademie vied, 254.

24 Strejc, Karel (1965): *Výzkumné úkoly k přestavbě městského centra*, Brno: Výzkumný ústav výstavby a architektury, VÚVA.

urbanist Karel Strejc and his colleagues Dušan Riedl,[25] Miluše Pazderová,[26] Václav Lamser[27] or Jaromír Štván[28] whose work is free from ideological pathos and therefore remains a useful source of inspiration for scholars even nowadays.[29] According to the above-mentioned workers at the Brno Institute (VÚVA), the city centre can be viewed as a social-ecological structure which is defined as a functional unit allowing the culmination of its inhabitants' activities which is understood in terms of the utmost use of its space. Inhabitants' activities are related to various functions of the city centre and its appropriate functioning, both within its own space and within the surrounding environment at which various links of the city core are made. These areas in and outside the centre are mutually interlinked by the so called operational functions including public facilities, transport, housing, production, technical equipment and natural elements which, by the structure of their functional areas ensured balanced character of the centre and its surrounding areas. According to the studies by Karel Strejc *Přestavba městských center* (Rebuilding of the city centres) and *Funkce městského centra a jeho vazby v regionálním systému* (Functions of the city centre and its links within the regional system):[30] the most serious of the centre's shortcomings was the unsuitable relationship between the individual functions where their mutual imbalance caused complex operating complications which increased with time and had impact beyond the centre's borders. It was especially these functions which became the most important feature during the city core rebuilding, determining the correct functioning of the whole city organism and the disproportions were intended to be balanced through intervening into its structure. As Strejc's colleague Miluše Pazderová pointed out in her study: "*... every town is a phenomenon sui generis with its characteristic features…*"[31] which define and characterize it in a general manner.

25 Riedl, Dušan (1973): Rehabilitace jádrových center našich měst, In K. Strejc (ed.): *Funkce městského centra a jeho vazby v rámci regionálního sídelního systému*, Brno: Výzkumný ústav výstavby a architektury, 3-13.

26 Pazderová, Miluše (1971): *Brněnské centrum – průzkum atraktivity (studijní úkol)*, Brno: Výzkumný ústav výstavby a architektury.

27 Lamser, Václav (1965): *Společenské aspekty městských center – expertíza*, Brno: Výzkumný ústav výstavby a architektury, 21.

28 Štván, Jaromír a kolektiv (1962): *Problémy perspektivní přestavby našich měst*, Praha: Výzkumný ústav výstavby a architektury.

29 Kumpošt jr., Jindřich; Strejc, Karel and Riedl, Dušan (1970): *Studie o centru města*. Brno: Útvar hlavního architekta.

30 Strejc, Karel (1973): *Funkce městského centra a jeho vazby v rámci regionálního systému*, Brno: Výzkumný ústav výstavby a architektury.

31 Pazderová, Miluše: Sociologické aspekty přestavby městských center. In K. Strejc (ed.): *Přestavba městských center*. Brno: Výzkumný ústav výstavby a architektury, 112.

UNREALIZED PROJECTS OF THE BRNO REGIONAL CENTRE

Planning projects of the Brno regional centre[32] started to be actively undertaken in the 1960s by the Chief Architect's Office[33] under the leadership of Ivan Ruller[34] and later in cooperation with the local branch of The State Project Institute of Trade[35] atelier 01 led by Zdeněk Řihák.

For Brno as a metropolitan and a fair centre, several possible variants of shopping centre projects in various parts of the city were prepared. Due to the demanding character of the project which focused on the building of the regional centre, an interest association of co-operative society co-investors, national companies and services of the city of Brno – Nutria Brno[36] was established whose aim was to guarantee, from both legal and technical point of view, a smooth process of the centre building without any hindrances and make sure all deadlines would be met on time.[37] The co-investors' association commissioned a new landscaping-architectural and traffic project for the new centre. In 1967, The Chief Architect's Office [38] was commissioned by the council of the National Committee of the City of Brno[39] to choose the building site and according to the subsequent selection, the architects decided to build the centre at Skořep and Koliště.

32 Kos, Lukáš (2016): "Brněnské regionální centrum – "*nové srdce města dvacátého století*"", *Brno v minulosti a dnes*, 29. 359–404.

33 Útvar hlavního architekta města Brna, ÚHA

34 Ruller, Ivan (1967): *Urbanistická a objemová studie obchodně administrativního a společenského centra v Brně, Brno*. Deposited in: Department of History of Architecture, Brno City Museum (Oddělení dějin architektury Muzea města Brna, MuMB), unprocessed collection of works of the architect Ivan Ruller.

35 Sirotek, Jaromír (1970): *10 let práce Státního projektového ústavu obchodu 1960–1970, (výstavní katalog SPÚO)*, Brno: Propagační tvorba SPÚO Brno.

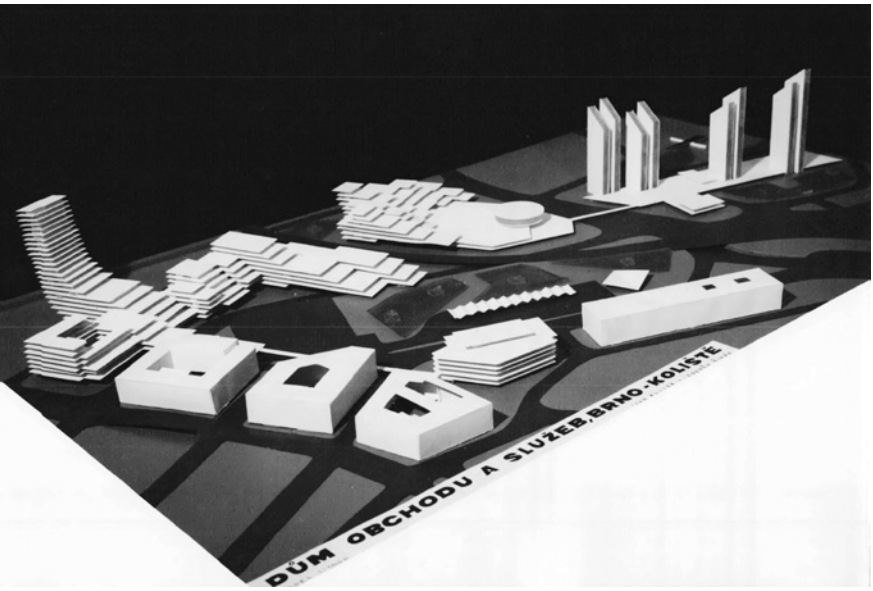
36 Zájmové sdružení spoluinvestorů výrobních a spotřebních družstev, národních podniků a služeb města Brna – Nutria Brno.

37 The form of grouping socialist organizations in the CSSR was established in 1966 by the government order no. 100/1966 Col. Based on the contract of association a new socialist organization could have been formed if the contracting parties agreed to it and if the central organ gave its permission. On the ground of this regulation, the Interest Association of the Nutria Brno cooperative co-investors was established on 27th April 1969, yet the association lacked legal personality.

38 Útvar hlavního architekta, ÚHA

39 Národní výbor města Brna, NVMB

THE SERVICES, SHOPPING AND TRAVEL INDUSTRY CENTRE – BRNO KOLIŠTĚ



Brno regional centre model, 1969, Source: Department of History of Architecture, Brno City Museum (Oddělení dějin architektury Muzea města Brna, MuMB), unprocessed collection of works of Zdeněk Řihák.

Another study of the Brno shopping[40] centre emerged in September 1969 in the studios of the State Project Institute of Trade Brno.[41] Almost instantly, the project gained support of an array of investors, especially thanks to the idea of concentrating all required services and a wide range of products at one place and allowing the customers to take the purchased goods home in their cars which would lead to a quick and practical satisfaction of all their needs. After four investment studies had been made, a preliminary zoning covenant was issued. The authors of the project proposed in 1969 were the architects Ivan Ruller[42] and Zdeněk Řihák, whereas issues of traffic were tackled by Milan Záhorský, Stanislav Prok and Jan Říha.

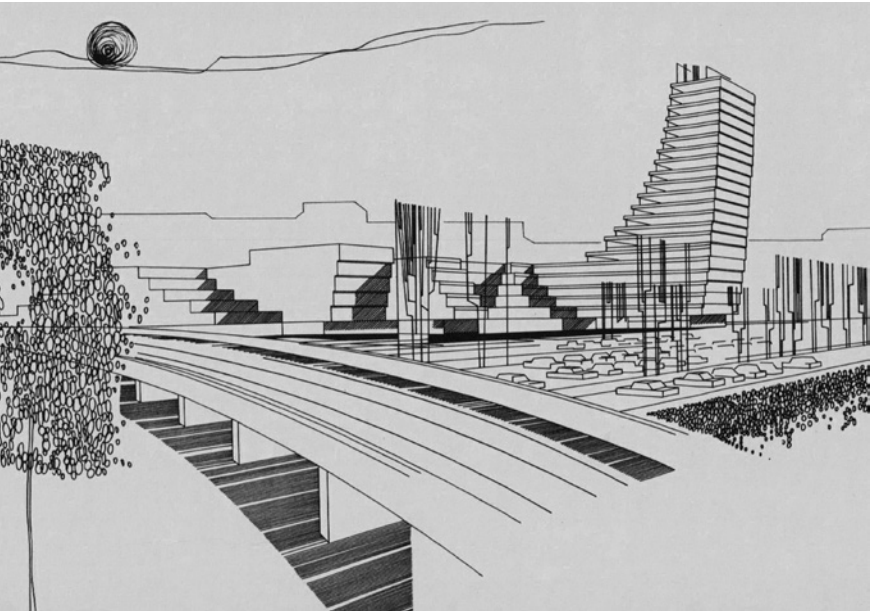
The building site for "*The services, shopping and travel industry centre"* in Brno was chosen from eight different alternatives, and the selected location through its expected functionality followed the

40 Ruller, Ivan and Řihák, Zdeněk (1969): *Dům služeb obchodu a cestovního ruchu v Brně – urbanisticko–architektonická a dopravní studie*, Brno. Deposited in: Department of History of Architecture, Brno City Museum (Oddělení dějin architektury Muzea města Brna, MuMB), unprocessed collection of works of Zdeněk Řihák.

41 Státní projektový ústav obchodu Brno, SPÚO Brno

42 Kudělková, Lenka; Mizerová, Alena eds. (2003): *Architekt Ivan Ruller*. Brno: Vysoké učení technické v Brně, VUTIUM, 33.

development of the communication network and its logical south-east orientation between the streets Vlhká, Gottwaldova and the 1st May Avenue. Gradual expansion of the regional centre further south, planned for the years 1973–1979, was to facilitate the relocation of the rail transhipment facility (today's undeveloped area next to the parking lot in front of the hotel Grand). The building of the new bus terminal and the redevelopment of the buildings along Vlhká street was to take place between the years 1975 and 1977. The building of the centre itself was planned to be realized between 1972 and 1980 when it was to be erected in the imaginary geometric centre of the future Brno traffic network including underground trams, linked with the regional rapid transit to Líšeň 1979–1980. The last stage of the project was to be carried out between 1980 and 1987 and involved moving the passenger railway station by 700 m to the south and building a double-storey parking lot with the railway and the main service route above.[43] Such plan tried to solve the problem of the city traffic in the most efficient way and provide the city and the region's inhabitants with an easier access to the new shopping centre, both on foot and by car.[44]

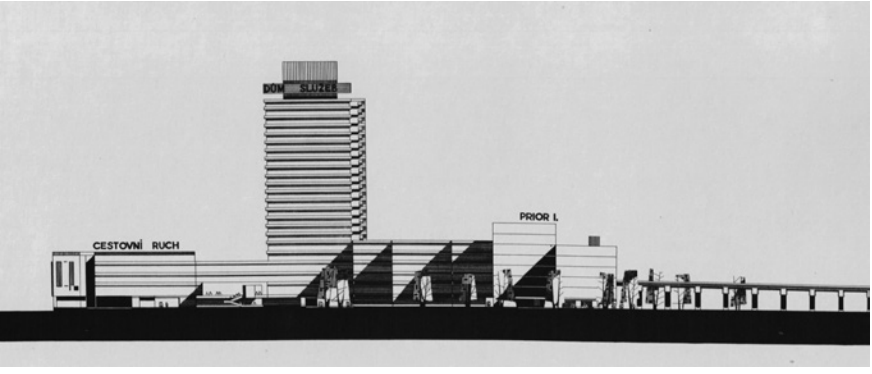


Brno regional centre - parking lots project, 1970, Source: Department of History of Architecture, Brno City Museum

43 Promotional, one-page material relating to the company of the investors of the Brno regional centre Nutria Brno: *Dům obchodu a služeb Brno – Koliště*. Deposited in: Department of History of Architecture, Brno City Museum (Oddělení dějin architektury Muzea města Brna, MuMB), unprocessed collection of works of Zdeněk Řihák.

44 Musil, Jiří (1968): "Problémy velkoměsta", *Výstavba a architektura*, 7, XIV.. 13–17.

In its architectural development, the city of Brno subordinated to its needs even its historical centre. Its reconstructions were intended to connect it with service roads and also with a newly built highway connection. In the imminent vicinity of the historical centre a shopping-social centre was to emerge, connected with the most frequented streets like the 1st May Avenue and Gottwald street as well as the newly constructed inner city circle – Koliště with outward roads to the future new railway station and the bus terminal. The local plan suggested the centre be placed at the Gottwaldova, Vlhká and Koliště streets with the possibility of further development of the city in the southern direction. According to the September 1969 study, the project's investors were the department stores Prior and the Interest association of co-operative society co-investors, national companies and services of the city of Brno. The investment intentions of both subjects expected the building of a modern shopping unit providing customers with a wide range of products and all the necessary services including restaurants, a nursery, repair service, car hire, etc. The big complex provided the opportunity to use the most recent technical equipment as well as progressive methods both during its construction and in the technical equipment of the department store itself. The aim of the constructed centre was to offer complexity, speed, comfort and a cultivated shopping environment which would ensure maximum social effectiveness of the financial means spent on this investment. The individual numbers give an idea of the demanding character of the project: according to the plan, the department store Prior was to cover the area of approx. 45000 m^2; the Interest association services, shopping and travel industry centre approx. 50000 m^2. The intended investment was thus to reach the unbelievable sum of 1 billion Czechoslovak crowns.[45]



Brno regional centre model - The services, shopping and travel industry centre, 1970, Source: Department of History of Architecture, Brno City Museum

45 Ruller; Řihák, *Dům*, 2.

OPERATING AND LAYOUT SOLUTION

Based on the knowledge gained from previous studies, the volume of the department store building and the terraced division of the part of Koliště was adjusted to fit the inner and outer operational relations of the whole complex. Regarding the layout of the centre, the architects came up with three different variants involving the modification of the first basement with the "*drive in*" shop for drivers and with approach ramps leading to the parking lot. Escalators were to lead to the floors above and moving pavements were planned there for pedestrians, to ease the transport for the customers as well as their shopped goods. Each plan variant of the basement storey offered a different distribution of the handling halls, car hires and the office of the Rekrea travel agency. These were incorporated into the floor plan in different ratios in order to achieve the best solution of organizing the space where the shops were to operate. Business premises and apprenticeship workshops were to be placed on the first floor. The upper storeys were designated by the architects to contain a restaurant and common rooms. The most lucrative premises at the top floor with terraces overlooking the city were meant to contain offices of the property management and shops selling luxurious goods.[46]

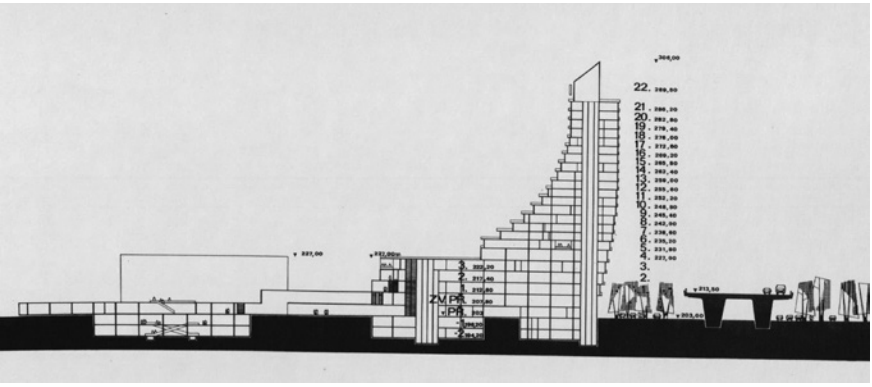
All vertical communications such as stairways, lifts and escalators were placed in the centre's nodal points to provide the

Brno regional centre - shops, 1971, Source: Department of History of Architecture, Brno City Museum

46 Ruller; Řihák, *Dům*, 9–13.

highest possible optimization of the inner relations of its operation. The customers and the employers were thus able to move quickly in space which was facilitated also by public passageways next to the ground floors which were connected with the already mentioned terrace. The higher floors were to be accessible during opening times only.

The Services, shopping and travel industry centre was designed by the leading project architects Zdeněk Řihák and Ivan Ruller as a high rise with 22 floors and a horizontal base which comprised five terraced, gradually receding aboveground floors. According to the project, the whole complex was connected by a bridge leading as far as the former goods station. Under the terrace and the shell of the railway, parking lots were to occupy five underground floors. The concept of the building itself required a division into 4 construction parts: high-rise, horizontal, connecting bridge (terrace), and garages. To achieve the optimum division and to clear the inner space, the architects required the load-bearing skeleton of the 9x9 m module system with an appropriate static load capacity for commercial and operating premises.



Brno regional centre - an architectural cut of the main building, 1971, Source: Department of History of Architecture, Brno City Museum

THE STOCKHOLM VISIT EXPERIENCE

According to the extant written documents, the overall concept of the Brno regional centre was influenced by experience the architects Zdeněk Řihák, Ivan Ruller and Jindřich Kumpošt, Jr., gained at the international congress "*Commerce et urbanisme*" in Stockholm which took place between 18th and 25th May 1969. Here the architects became acquainted with the issue of building new shopping centres in European and American cities which included the advantages and the disadvantages of building shopping centres

in or outside the historical centre and also compared, among others, how the issue of traffic was solved in Stockholm and Brno.

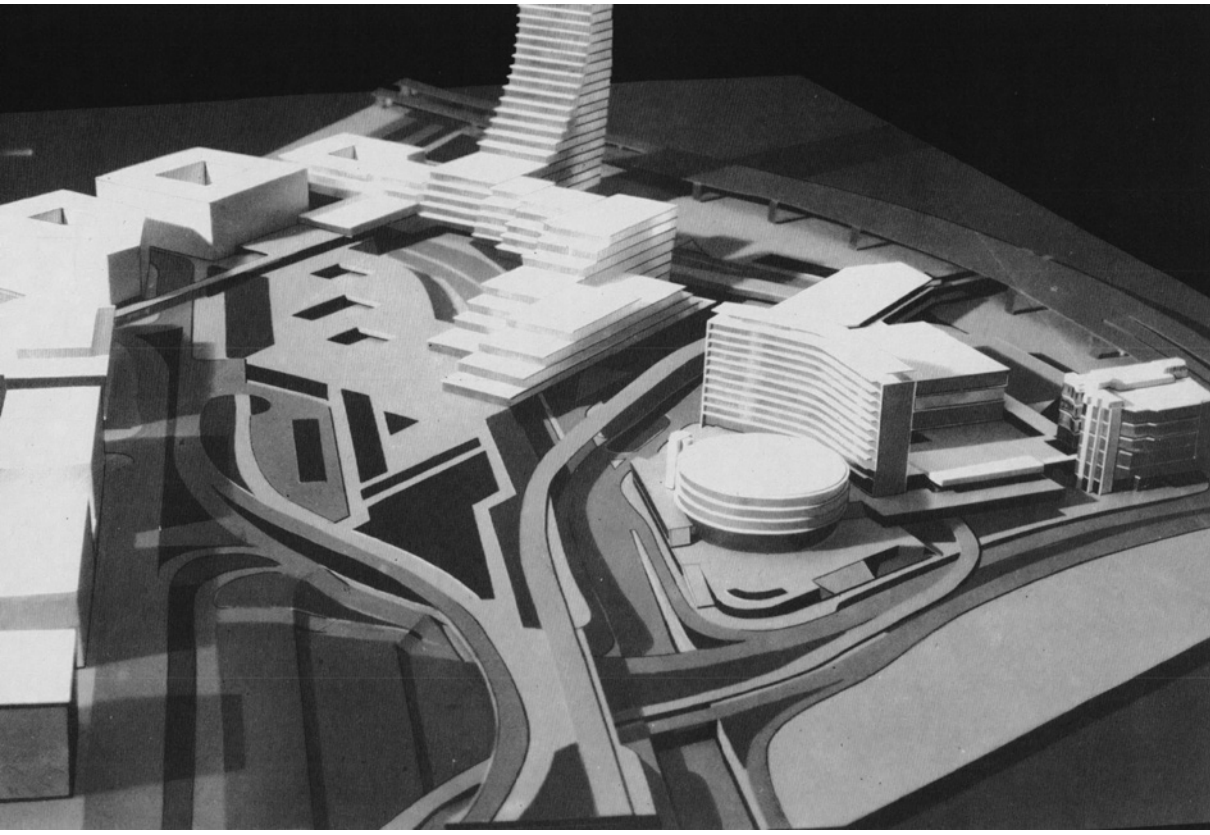
Due to a shortage of parking space in the historical centre of Brno and its surroundings, a decision was made to include a large-capacity car park in the Services and shopping centre project. This car park was to be built under the railway and was designed to provide several thousand parking places and thus solve the issue of traffic which could have otherwise escalated in the future and caused serious problems. Apart from the shopping centres mentioned so far, the congress attendees also focused on the shopping centres Ikea, Obs, Skärhomel, Hötorget, Täby, Hogdalen, Farsta[47] where they collected a considerable amount of photographic and film data. After their return, the architects used the acquired knowledge to carry out the plans of the Brno regional centre and thus improved its operation solution and layout. The building's appearance is based on a characteristic terraced layout which culminates in the smallest and the highest floor at the top. Large-scale longitudinal windows copy the concrete ribbing of the individual floors whose load-bearing parts the architects intended to cover with white opaque glass or aluminium suspension panels. The construction concept of the building was logically based on building in stages by means of elevated ceilings, and other designing preparations were to be secured by the supplier according to his abilities only after mutual agreement had been reached with the architects.

SHOPPING CENTRE BRNO – KOLIŠTĚ (STUDY OF THE BUILDING COMPLEX) 1971

A more complex version of the regional centre project was presented in Ruller's and Řihák's custom-made binding study from 1971 carried out at the centre 01 of The State Project Institute of Trade Brno[48] in cooperation with Jindřich Kumpošt, Jr. Apart from the Interest association of investors of the Shopping, culture and travel industry centre Nutria, the Prior department stores with corporate headquarters in Bratislava became the direct investors of the project. The role of a supplier company was again taken over

47 Pass, David (1973): *Vallingby and Farsta – from Idea to Reality: The New Community Development Process in Stockholm*, Cambridge, UK: MIT Press.

48 Ruller, Ivan and Řihák, Zdeněk (1971): *Obchodní centrum Brno – Koliště, studie souboru staveb*, Brno. Deposited in: Department of History of Architecture, Brno City Museum (Oddělení dějin architektury Muzea města Brna, MuMB), unprocessed works of Zdeněk Řihák.



Brno regional centre model, 1971, Source: Department of History of Architecture, Brno City Museum

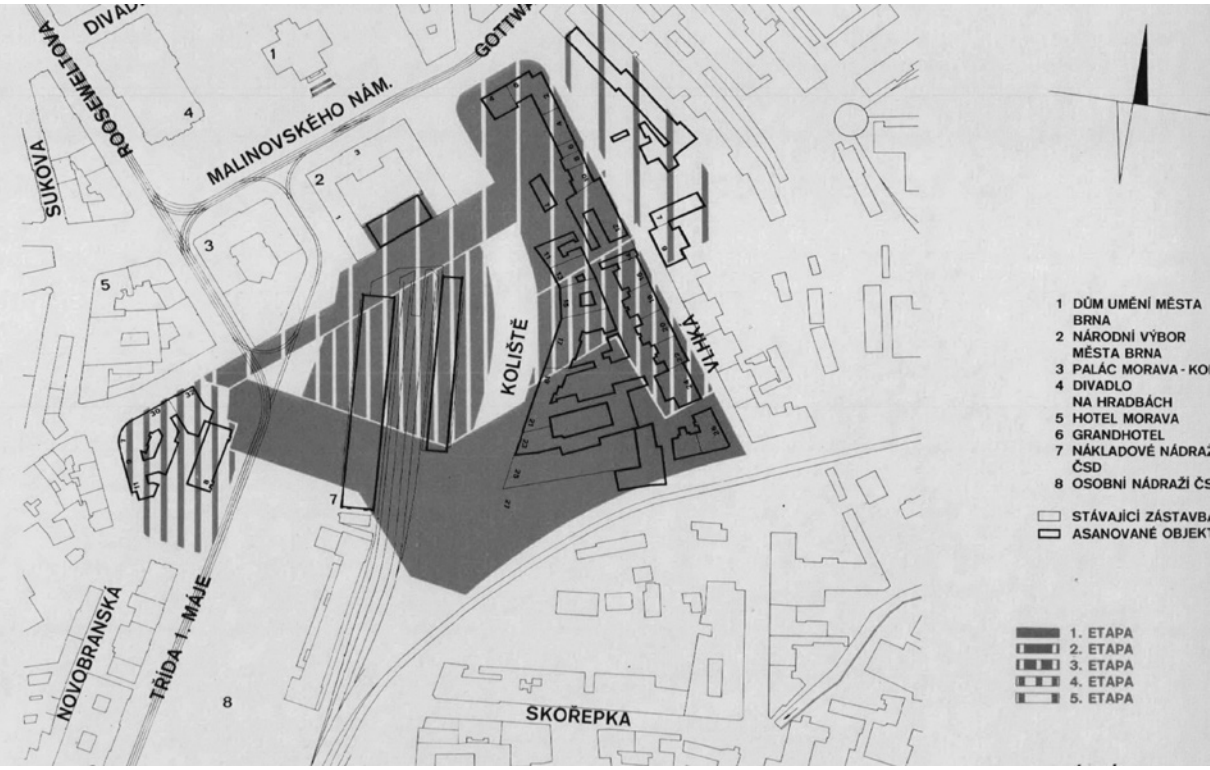
by Building Structures Brno. Due to the project's appeal, the said interest association increased to 85 investors, and also the required size of the production and selling area increased from the original 20 000 m^2 to 168 800 m^2.

According to the planned construction works, the developed space was divided by The State Project Institute of Trade Brno into three generously developed units. The first building site was to be located between the 1st May Avenue (today's Eduard Beneš Avenue) and Novobranská and Orlí streets which were selected for the Prior II department store offering a specialized range of goods aimed at young customers.[49]

The construction was planned to take place between 1974 and 1980. Immediately to follow was the building of the department store Prior I, offering a full range of goods, with a 23 meter high roof, measured above the terrace. It was to have eight aboveground floors and two underground ones with the 54 x 130 m ground plan

49 Ruller; Řihák, *Obchodní centrum*, 30.

arrangement. A bridge construction was selected for a possible realization of this part of the project due to the graded terrain of the terrace which, according to the project, was connected with the department store at the second aboveground floor. The module of the building was 9 x 9 m; the roof reached the height of 23 meters. The terrace planned on the site of the former goods station housed small shops and 150 x 70 m garages at the 3rd underground floor. At the 4th floor, there was to be a 54 m wide bridge above the Koliště street leading to newly built grounds which was to provide access for the visitors of the Services centre. According to the architects' plans, the main entry to the Prior I building was to be located at the place of the former goods station; another entrance was planned from the Koliště street from the railway rapid transit linked to the route to Česká Třebová at the 4th floor level.



Brno regional centre - the stages of urban renewal, 1971, Source: Department of History of Architecture, Brno City Museum

Bratislava_The Hotel Kyjev and the Prior department store by Ivan Matušík et al., 1960–1973, Source: Department of History of Architecture, Brno City Museum

In the then Czechoslovakia, it was the centre of Bratislava with its commercial and social complex[50] at Kamenné námestie together with the Hotel Kyjev and the Prior department store (1960–1973) by Ivan Matušík et al. which was considered the model of a successfully planned and constructed shopping centre. Apart from Paris, Zdeněk Řihák and Ivan Ruller found inspiration, e.g. in the realization of the shopping and administrative centre in Moscow consisting of high rise buildings in the town district Arbat (realized 1962–1969) projected by the architect Michail Vasilievich Posochin or Vällingby (realized 1947–1950) and Farsta (1950–1952), Stockholm suburbs projected by the architect Sven Markeli.[51]

BRNO PRIOR

The building of the Prior department store (today's Tesco building behind the main railway station) concludes the extensive project of the local regional centre building and is at the same time its last realization. In 1974, architects Zdeněk Řihák and Zdeněk Sklepek carried out an extensive project task at the State Project Institute of Trade Brno.[52] The Prior department store was built to facilitate centralized selling of industrial and food products using complex facilities. According to the previous studies, the building

50 Sirotek, Jaromír (1969): "Obchodný dom na Kamennom námestí v Bratislave", *Architektura ČSSR*, 6, 351–355.

51 Westerman, Allan (1966): *Swedish Planning of Town Centres – Exhibition catalogue*, Stockholm: The Swedish Institute, 32–35.

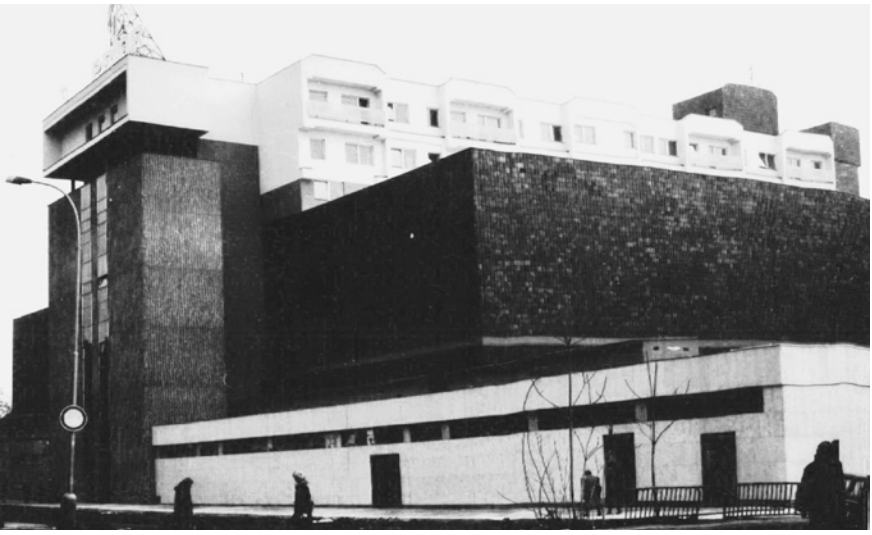
52 Riedl, Dušan (1974): "Nový obchodní dům Prior v Brně (První etapa rozšíření centra města)", *Architektura ČSR*, 10, 471–473.

Zdeněk Řihák in Moscow - a model of the New Arbat Street, 1966, Source: Department of History of Architecture, Brno City Museum

site was to be situated south from the historical city centre between Uhelná and Trnitá Streets. The building of the Prior department store itself was realized only at the beginning of the 1980s and given its extensive documentation, it deserves an independent study.

CONCLUSION

Building of the Brno regional centre commenced with the construction of the Prior department store and the pedestrian underpass which led to the corner of Josefská street. Other studies of the new centre were carried out by The Chief Architect's Office and The State Project Institute of Trade Brno in the 1970s when the architectural competitions related to this area took place. The authors of one of the volume studies became the architects Zdeněk Řihák



Brno regional centre - The building of the Prior in Brno (realized), 1982, Source: Department of History of Architecture, Brno City Museum

and Zdeněk Sklepek who created an audacious project[53] consisting of a simple concept of the block high-rise buildings already following the principles of Czech branch brutalist architecture.[54] Like the previously mentioned studies even this one subordinated its architectural layout to the needs of the complicated traffic situation.[55] It was especially the railway, tram and the passenger traffic which played a decisive role in the final version of the projects. None of the presented projects was eventually realized, nor the project task of the new centre came to fruition.[56]

Most likely, it was the political situation which prevented the project from being carried out. The Soviet army occupied Czechoslovakia in 1968. In 1970, the board of the Union of Czechoslovak Architects, led by Jaromír Sirotek, condemned the occupation. Ivan Ruller and seven other architects stood by Sirotek, which unfortunately meant the end of their professional career for a long period of time. Despite the restrictions, Ivan Ruller succeeded in resuming his design works in the 1970s, but the project of the regional centre was never fully implemented.

53 Denk, Zdeněk (1976): Problematika regenerace centrálních částí města Brna. In kolektiv autorů (ed.): *Regenerace centrálních částí velkých měst (sborník referátů a příspěvků)*, Praha, ČVTS – Dům techniky Praha, 108–121.

54 Řihák, Zdeněk and Sklepek, Zdeněk (1978): *Objemová studie – Obchodně společenské centrum: regionální centrum Brno*, Brno. Deposited in: Department of History of Architecture, Brno City Museum (Oddělení dějin architektury Muzea města Brna, MuMB), unprocessed works of Zdeněk Řihák.

55 Hruška, Emanuel (1974): "Centrum Brna – Soutěž na rozvojové území městského centra", *Architektura ČSR*, 5, 237–244.

56 Kubíček, Zdeněk (1971): Směrný územní plán města Brna, *Územní plánování – Bulletin pro územní plánování a stavebně správní praxi*, 1–2, V., 3–11.

BUDAPEST / HUNGARY

Gergely HORY

Gergely HORY was born in Debrecen (HU) in 1989. He studied architecture at the Budapest University of Technology and Economics (BME) and at TU Delft (NL). After receiving his MSc degree in architecture from Budapest in 2013, he began his PhD studies at the Department of Urban Planning and Design at BME. His research focuses on the spatial potentials in unintended creative uses of urban space. He recently published a research paper about the unplanned functional transformation of historic downtown apartment buildings of Budapest into budget-oriented lodgings. In addition to his academic projects, he pursues an architectural praxis at PRTZN Architecture, also in Budapest.

EPHEMERAL METAMORPHOSIS OF THE CITY: BULKY WASTE COLLECTION IN BUDAPEST

The aim of this paper is to present a spatial analysis of the phenomenon of bulky waste collection in Budapest, exploring the different types of use that are capable of transforming existing spaces and creating new ones. These will be called *space-producing uses.* There is plenty of literature covering the creative potential of use in the formation of the built environment in architectural theory[1] and other disciplines such as design, art theory and philosophy. According to Jonathan Hill, for instance, architecture is produced through design and use. Based on this thought, he introduces the term *creative user*[2] and defines five modes of creativity (mental, bodily, physical, constructional and conceptual). With a quite similar approach, Jeremy Till and his co-authors of *Spatial Agency*[3] work out a perspective of practicing architecture by relying mainly on human activities and a wide range of social aspects. Karen A. Frank and Quentin Stevens[4] focus on the creative space-producing potential of human behaviour when they explore the phenomenon of *loose space.* In their view, urban spaces, either with or without intended uses, can be changed or redefined by unconventional, unusual modes of use. *Everyday Urbanism*[5] is another widely cited source about small-scale, direct human activities that can change the built environment and produce new spaces. Uta Brandes's work[6] shows similarities to this concept in the field of product design. She regards the non-intentional

1 A comprehensive history of architecture in the 20th century that focuses on use can be found in the following publication: Cupers, Kenny ed. (2013): Use matters: An alternative history of architecture. London, Routledge.

2 Hill, Jonathan (2003): Actions of Architecture: Architects and Creative Users. London and New York, Routledge. 1.

3 Awan, Nishat; Schneider, Tatjana and Till, Jeremy (2011): Spatial Agency: Other Ways of Doing Architecture. Abingdon, Oxon, Routledge, 29.

4 Franck, Karen A. and Stevens, Quentin eds. (2007): *L*oose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life. London Routledge, 1-33.

5 Chase, John; Crawford, Margaret and Kaliski, John eds. (1999). Everyday Urbanism (with writing by John Chase), New York, N.Y.: Monacelli Press.

6 Brandes, Uta; Stich, Sonja and Wender, Miriam (2013): Design by Use. The Everyday Metamorphosis of Things Berlin. Basel: Birkhäuser.

use of objects as a form of design that brings about metamorphosis of things. Within the field of architecture, the creative potential of human use of the built environment has been proposed especially since the 1960s – for example, in the theoretical and practical works of John Habraken,[7] Herman Hertzberger[8] or Lars Lerup.[9] Almost all the concepts emphasizing the role of human activities in the formation of space rely on the thoughts of Henri Lefebvre, discussed in *The Production of Space*, which is regarded by Adrian Forty[10] as the most complex and comprehensive critique on space. According to Lefebvre, space is a social product that is continuously produced by the members of society through their everyday activities, thoughts and lived experiences.[11] He identifies various modes of production: *domination*, *appropriation*, *co-optation* and *détournement*.[12] This was also the central notion of *Situationist International*. These concepts are of great importance in the understanding and evaluation of *space-producing uses*.

Based on the abovementioned sources, a system of inquiry has been developed that will be used during this analysis of *space-producing uses* that appear during bulky waste collections:

- How *space-producing use* changes the socially accepted role of a certain space in terms of availability. It will be seen that some uses make spaces more public, while others produce exclusivity and privacy.
- The second aspect of analysis concerns the physical extension of the altered space, discussing the physical dimensions of a certain use. There are uses that affect only the direct environment of a human being, while others can be alter a whole street or district.
- Temporality will be dealt with, too. There are uses that are performed on a regular basis, while others occur suddenly and cannot be repeated.
- The fourth aspect of analysis focuses on the means of space production. Three categories will be differentiated:

7 Habraken, John N. (1972): Supports: An Alternative to Mass Housing. London, Architectural Press.

8 Hertzberger, Herman (1991): Lessons for Students in Architecture. Rotterdam: Uitgeverij, 010 Publishers, 176-189.

9 Lerup, Lars (1977): Building the Unfinished: Architecture and Human Action. Beverly Hills, Calif: Sage Publications.

10 Forty, Adrian (2000): *Words and Buildings:A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture.* New York: Thames & Hudson, 270-275.

11 Lefebvre, Henri (1991): *The Production of Space.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

12 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 164-169.

use without physical intervention, use with spontaneous or ad hoc intervention and use requiring complex organization and planning. Means of space production will be assessed according to Hill's terminology[13] of creative use as well.

— Finally, they will be evaluated in relation to Lefebvre's concept, whereby it will be discussed whether a certain *space-producing use* should be regarded as *appropriation*, *détournement*, *domination* or *co-optation.*[14]

In the following, *space-producing uses* will be presented that are able to change and redefine the usual, formal order of the event. Data was collected through on-site observations documented by photos taken in three historic districts of Budapest (2nd, 5th and 8th). During the research, three relevant uses were identified that are to be dealt with in the coming sections under the following titles: *urban play*, *scavenging as hobby*, and *professionally organized scavenging*. I shall reveal the properties of these *space producing uses* that are present during bulky waste collection, which has become a controversial, widely-discussed, yet undoubtedly characteristic feature of Budapest over its nearly fifty-year history**.**

13 Hill, *Actions of Architecture*, 86.

14 For a summarized explanation of the Lefebvrian modes of space production, see the following book: Kärrholm, Mattias ed. (2015): Urban Squares, Spatio-temporal studies of design and everyday life in the Öresund region. Lund, Sweden Nordic Academic Press, 89.

Bulky waste collection on Telepy Street, 1975. Source: www.fortepan.hu

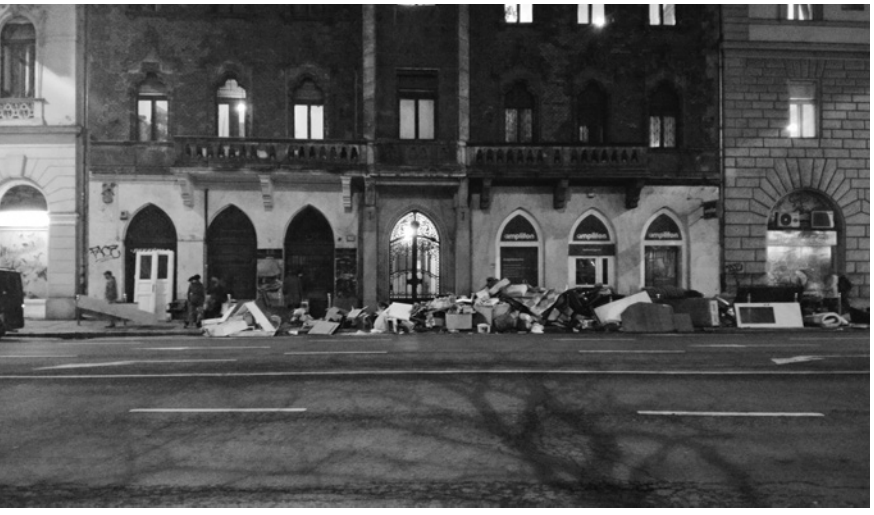
INTRODUCING THE PRACTICE OF BULKY WASTE COLLECTION IN BUDAPEST

During the annual bulky waste collection service, which was first introduced in Budapest as a pilot project in 1969 and became a regular practice in 1972, the Metropolitan Public Domain Maintenance Corporation (In Hungarian: FKF, Zrt.)[15] offered to collect and remove all large-scale waste placed in front of housing blocks free of charge on an officially announced date. Discarded items were to be placed on the street in the evening, and they were to be transported the next morning. At such times, streets become crowded with old cupboards, sofas, chairs, video tapes, ski suits, televisions, record players and other items that have been stored in cellars for a long time. This creates an uncommon situation, since, on account of their proportions, these objects cannot be put into plastic bags. Thus, pieces of furniture that usually constitute a domestic interior are placed into the public realm, which is an unfamiliar context for them. These are the items that make a home cosy and

15 I shall refer to the company as FKF throughout the text.

personal, so their presence in the alienating urban public space derails the usual perception of the street. This unusual pairing of objects and context produces a subversive effect in the experience of the environment.

The practice of bulky waste collection, which became regular in the 1970s, reflects the dominant political ideologies of the era. The service is free of charge, thus accessible for the members of the Communist state. Also apparent is the operation of control by a caring state that aims to satisfy an idealized community instead of the individual. The practice implies a spatial concept of a centralized, powerful state with a strong top-down approach. Municipalities nowadays usually come up with plans to change the practice of bulky waste collection: instead of a collective service carried out on a designated day, inhabitants could order bulky waste collection service individually any time. The aim of this change in the service is to reduce the amount of mess appearing regularly on the streets. The proposed alteration would favour the individual instead of the community. This approach shows an idea that prioritizes private territory, the liberation of the individual's opportunities unrestricted by any communal effects. The present practice, which is a legacy of the Communist system, is tailored to the passive man exposed to the support of the state. The proposed alternative, however, conjures up a seemingly pro-active and lonely individual who is nonetheless forced to consume. In spatial terms, the former could be attributed to the shared, collective space; while the latter could be characterized as private, divided and atomized.



Bulky waste collection on Üllői Avenue, 2017. Source: Author

APPEARANCE OF SPACE PRODUCING USES

Urban play: bulky waste collection as playground

The type of use currently under discussion could be observed mainly in the 5th district, which is frequented by young tourists looking for entertainment. It is characteristic to these people anyway that they use the urban fabric more freely than local residents, since they do not use it in a regular basis. Hence, they experience their time spent in the city as an adventure in a place different from the one they are used to. Another aspect that should be taken into consideration is the transport system of the area. The relatively high ratio of pedestrian zones also has the capacity to extend the usability of the environment.[16]

Discarded furniture and other domestic products placed on the street cease to be private property. Until removed by the FKF, they become literally available for anyone.[17] Bulky waste collection also creates a very characteristic visual effect due to the amount and variety of objects covering the streets. It is a special, extraordinary event temporarily disrupting the city's usual order of operation. In this environment, the practice of play appears, which manifests in phenomena such as spontaneous "*acceleration races*" on discarded office chairs. Other activities that are physically less active can be found as well.A quite usual one is referred to as *contemplation.* This is when people stroll through the streets covered with waste heaps and entertain themselves by browsing through discarded videotapes, photos and old newspapers. During this activity, people hardly collect anything; the main motivation for them is to have fun. Though being a more passive practice than the former one, however the relationship of people toward the city loaded with bulky waste is the same: the altered public space provides opportunities for entertainment, transforming it into a space of amusement and play. Beyond transportation, consumption and leisure, which are the most common and predictable activities on urban streets, exploration and play also emerge as a result of the appearance of unexpected objects. During bulky waste collection, one may observe the character of *"Homo Ludens"* ─ or *"the man at play"*─ first conceived by

16 Gehl, Jan (1987): *Life between Buildings: Using Public Space*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 33.

17 According to a law that was introduced in 2012, discarded items that are placed in the public area during bulky waste collections constitute the property of the coordinating organization (FKF). This means that if someone picks up anything from a waste heap, it is officially regarded as a crime. The law was made to reduce the presence of groups who collect waste for a living; however, in reality, professional scavengers did not disappear and continue their operations.

Huizinga[18] and adopted by Constant[19] and Stevens.[20] The presence of Homo Ludens can be observed in the spontaneous uses that are neither motivated by necessity nor any other exterior forces except joy, amusement and the will to explore. Insight that can be garnered from observing people using bulky waste collections as playgrounds bears many similarities with conclusions that Hill made while observing people skating on a frozen lake.[21] According to him, the frozen, slippery surface temporarily suspends the usual rules of discipline, and new situations and unexpected experiences emerge. The order of everyday routines ceases during bulky waste collection as well. It is hardly predictable what kinds of objects will appear on the streets and what sort of creative uses and situations they will produce.

Urban play can be linked to the idea of *carnivalisation* introduced by Bakhtin.[22] Similar to an urban festival, during bulky waste collections, usual behavioural patterns are temporarily suspended, while chaos and humorous situations produce an unconventional environment. Nevertheless, this comparison can

Bulky waste collection as an urban playground, use of discarded office chairs, 2017.
Source: Author

18 Huizinga, Johan (1949): *Homo Ludens:A Study of the Play-Element in Culture.* London, Boston and Henley Routledge & Kegan Paul.

19 Nieuwenhuys, Constant (1974): *New Babylon,* The Hague, the Haags Gemeetenmuseum (published for exhibition catalogue).

20 Stevens, Quentin, (2007): *The Ludic City: Exploring the Potential of Public Spaces.* London, New York, Routledge, 34-35.

21 *"The most creative occupations of architecture occur neither in a building with an obvious nor an undefined use, but in the one in which the accidents of space are at their most seductive. The ice rink is such a place…"* Hill, Jonathan (1998): *The Illegal Architect.* London, Black Dog Publishing, 50.

22 Bakhtin, Mikhail M. (1981): *The Dialogic Imagination.* Trans. Emerson, Caryl and Holquist, Michael. Austin, University of Texas Press.

only be fully correct if bulky waste collection is analysed from the aspect of play as a *space-producing use*. In reality, this type of activity is usually marginalized by other uses that are also unusual in the everyday life of the city; although instead of chaos and humour, they can be characterised by the restructuring of space and high organisation.

Pedestrian zone suspended from its regular operation by bulky waste collection in the 8th district, 2017. Source: Author

In summary, during bulky waste collection, there is a form of use that transforms the environment into a space of play. Use is performed in a public space, while the streets along with the discarded objects are being *appropriated* for users' own purpose. In this case, the phenomena of *détournement*, which is hereby regarded as a special form of appropriation, can be experienced too, since displaced objects lose their original function and are endowed with new uses through play. The *détournement* of items brings about non-intentional uses on the streets, leading to the *détournement* of the urban environment as well. Using bulky waste collection as a space for play serves as an example of the phenomenon of loose space.[23] Following the terminology of Hill,[24] in the case of play during bulky waste collection, the phenomenon of creative use can be identified that is capable of producing new space. This type of use can be labelled as *bodily creativity*, since no physical interventions are experienced. The environment is altered simply as a result of the temporary use of waste for leisure. Regarding temporality, play can be seen as a spontaneous, non-repeatable action. In terms of spatial

23 Franck and Stevens, Loose Space, 1-33.
24 Hill, Actions of Architecture, 86.

extension, the phenomena may be present simultaneously in multiple territories consisting of one or more streets.

Scavenging as hobby: bulky waste collection as space of historic values

The practice of scavenging is a more usual practice during bulky waste collection. In the following two sections, I shall distinguish two types of scavenging with different uses. Thus, they produce different spaces. There is scavenging for personal use, referred as *hobby*, and there is also *professional scavenging*.

Among hobbyist scavengers, who collect items for personal use, one can find local residents who look for a piece of furniture for their homes, or artists who are in search for material for a project. There are also researchers who browse through items with a special research concept in mind. For example, the first pieces in the widely-known digital photo archive Fortepan[25] were collected during bulky waste collections in Budapest. The open source collection, consisting today of more than 83,000 photos, provides a valuable source of data for researchers and the wider public, too, who need information

Hobbyist scavengers in action, 2017.
Source: Author

25 www.fortepan.hu

about everyday life in Hungary from the end of the 19th to the end of the 20th century. As a result of the practice of scavenging, waste is transformed into a source of value, and discarded objects are redefined as archaeological research territories and sources of data. Hence, bulky waste collection itself becomes a site of historic research. According to scavengers, the selection of research locations is not carried out randomly, either. They choose territories according to the type of items they are seeking. For this, they need to be familiar with the history of various parts of the city and possess knowledge about the social backgrounds of past residents in different eras. In addition to physical space, orientation of scavengers takes place in a socio-historic space as well.

As a result of the hobby scavengers' activity, streets are transformed into research areas, and waste heaps become potential sources of value. The phenomenon of appropriation can be defined in accordance with Lerup's understanding.[26] Through individual use, new space is produced. During space formation, no physical intervention occurs. Thus, following Hill's terminology, this practice can be an example of mental creativity,[27] since waste is redefined as a source of value. Moreover, the phenomenon can be regarded as bodily creativity, too, since non-intended, unusual activities are performed in the form of archaeological practice. Similar to play, this practice also has the ability to loosen space. People act in their environment in an unexpected way, and, as a result, they alter it. Regarding the temporality of this practice, it can be noted that it is regularly repeated. Collection for the Fortepan archive, for instance, started at the beginning of the 1980s. In association with its physical extension, one may observe that research-oriented scavenging is present mainly in the historic districts of the city. Nonetheless, in recent years, this practice has been highly influenced by professional scavenging, which takes place simultaneously.

Professional scavenging: bulky waste collection as work area and market

At the beginning of the 1990s, rates of unemployment started to rise in Hungary. As a result, masses of unqualified people needed to find alternative ways to make a living. The appearance of scavenging

26 Lerup, Building the Unfinished, 129-132.
27 Hill, Actions of Architecture, 86.

as a family enterprise is also a reaction to this phenomenon.[28] Scavengers, most of whom come from rural areas, regularly collect items at bulky waste collections in Budapest and other cities in Western Europe. Then, they sell them at second-hand markets or various waste depots.

Professional scavengers marking their occupied territory (text on the top of the van: "reserved by scavenger"), 2017. Source: Author

Nowadays, the activities of professional scavengers dominate the use of bulky waste collections in Budapest. Their actions come with significant and clearly visible spatial consequences. By dividing urban space among themselves, groups of scavengers create an alternate system of private territories. Members of groups occupy various areas days prior the bulky waste collection event.
The marking of territories even has physical manifestations: signs placed on scavengers' trucks, hand-made banners, and texts written on the facades of buildings inform groups whether a certain area is already occupied. Urban public space is divided into a system of informal private spaces. On the day of bulky waste collection, a well-organized, systematic process commences. A guard is set on every dump heap, while other members of the group comb them one by one and collect sorted items in a truck. Thus, after appropriation of the streets, appropriation of dump heaps takes place. It is important to differentiate between the meaning of *appropriation* in this case from the one used during the previous analysis of hobbyists. In this current case, appropriation can be defined as the possession of items and of

28 Kovács Ernő; Bacsi Zsuzsanna; Bokor Ibolya and Loke Zsuzsanna Katalin: *Lomizók és lomok az Európai Unió perifériáján -A szegénység fogyasztói társadalma. [Junk and Jumble Pickers in the Periphery of the European Union - The Consumer Society of Poverty]*, OTKA project report. Available from the internet: http://real.mtak.hu/1955/, accessed 25 February 2017.

a certain territory as one's own, whereby the owner has the privilege to benefit from the property. This understanding of appropriation is close to the definition by Bourdieu,[29] who regarded appropriation as a form of spatial domination. Previously, the term *appropriation* was applied following the interpretations by Lefebvre, Lerup or Hertzberger. In the current sense, when people appropriate a space, they inhabit it or intervene, in order to make it liveable and develop a personal relationship. This meaning of appropriation is present in the practice of professional scavenging. Safeguarding dump heaps may last long hours or even days, so in the meantime, guards start to inhabit their direct environment and adapt it to their basic needs. In other words, they appropriate it. Discarded pieces of furniture become waste the very moment they are placed on the street.

Temporary pots of scavengers preserving a dump heap formed by reusing discarded furniture, 2017. Source: Author

However, when professional scavengers take possession of them and create their temporary posts, chairs, armchairs and tables are put to use again for a short time. During the occupation of a waste heap, scavengers not only preserve their property from rival groups, but they also form an ad hoc market, where items are sold to hobbyists and any other "*customers*" for money. Thus, bulky waste collection does not only function as an operational area for sorting items, but as a spontaneous second-hand market as well.

29 Bourdieu, Pierre ed. (1999): *The Weight of the World – Social Suffering in Contemporary Society.* Cambridge, Polity Press, 127.

Van of a professional scavenger group adapted for the practice of scavenging, 2017. Source: Author

The activity of professional scavengers significantly affects the everyday reality of bulky waste collections in Budapest. They are represented in the highest number, they carry out actions in a highly organized manner, and they are equipped with infrastructure adapted to their needs. Their professional practice, executed with special tools and vehicles, transforms the streets into an operational area. Discarded objects do not represent any use or theoretical value, but only exchange value. From this aspect, the practice of professional scavengers shows similarities with domination theorised by Lefebvre. As a consequence of their activity, free and chaotic space uses are replaced by a system constituted by products, merchants and customers. They transform dump heaps into their private property. This phenomena can be regarded as an imposed and highly organised, though informal appropriation of public space. This practice is present in almost all the areas where bulky waste collection takes place, and it is repeated every year as a well-organised enterprise. Hence, urban areas loaded with bulky waste collection are transformed into both work area and informal markets. According to Hill's terminology, bodily creativity is present in the form of preservation, selling and combing through discarded items. Nevertheless, an ad hoc, physical form of space production can also be observed when those safeguarding the dump heaps create work

stations for themselves by rearranging discarded items. Analysing the activity of professional scavengers in relation to the theory of loose space, one may observe that, although the use of public space is disrupted, its usability is neither liberated nor extended by the new unintended and informal use. On the contrary, a rigid system with strict rules is imposed upon the other groups of users.

Dump heap turned into marketplace. Hobbyist buying photographs from a professional scavenger preserving a dump heap, 2017. Source: Author

CONCLUSION

In the previous chapters, space-producing uses that occur during bulky waste collections in Budapest were introduced. Based upon data collected on-site, three different types of use were differentiated: *urban play*, *scavenging as hobby* (which also included research), and *professional scavenging* for a living. These different uses are present simultaneously, and they affect each other. It turned out that the activities of professional scavengers dominate the others. Urban play is marginalised, and hobbyists become customers. Dump heaps turn into preserved, private territories, where discarded items are transformed into products for sale. During bulky waste collections, an ecosystem emerges, wherein participants develop their own spatial practices and rules of operation, producing an alternate territorialisation of the urban space. This ecosystem completely disappears when the waste collection is concluded, and streets become the scenes of everyday life again. Then, the following year, the same spaces are transformed once more by those participating in the bulky waste collection for a few days.

BRATISLAVA / SLOVAKIA

Peter HORÁK

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BRATISLAVA'S CHANGING URBAN FABRIC AFTER WORLD WAR II[1]

At the end of the 19th century Slovaks represented a minority of multiethnic Bratislava. The Slovak territory was characterized by its rural orientation in the 19th century. This situation changed due to the arrival of the industry, but only in some cities and individual ranges. A large part of the traditional economy comprised not only viticulture but also wine-growing in Bratislava. The vast vineyards are stretching at the foothills of the Little Carpathians. Wine from these areas was also a precious commodity for the Vienna market. Due to the development of new economic models, the traditional form had gradually disappeared. In 1900, only 5,2% of the population was employed in wine growing.[2]

The number of the inhabitants of Bratislava before World War I was 78 000. Bratislava maintained good relations with Vienna, what confirms the existence of the tram link between Bratislava and Vienna from 1914 onwards.[3] This route lasted until 1945, when the political situation separated Slovakia and Austria.[4] Until the end of the World War I Bratislava was part of Hungary, then it was occupied and taken by the Czechoslovak army. Defence bunkers were built around Bratislava after the war. The establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic dates back to 30th of October 1918.[5] In 1919, Bratislava became the seat of the Czechoslovak Ministry for the administration of Slovakia. Since then, Bratislava had been taking a new function of a political, economic and cultural centre of Slovakia. Its importance arose, apart from the ministry and central offices there was an increase of education and cultural awareness. Because of the high number of rural immigrants Bratislava was nicknamed "*the largest village in Slovakia*". However, it was a place without

1 This text was also created thanks to the research project VEGA 2/0074/17.

2 For more details about the economic situation in Bratislava at the beginning of the 20th century see Šášky. Read Šášky, Ladislav (1970): *História mesta na Dunaji (History of City on the bank Danube)*, Bratislava, Národný výbor hlavného mesta Bratislavy, 124-126

3 Ibid

4 Perrault, Dominique; Bogár, Michal; Ľubomír Králik; Ľudovít Urban et. al, (2014): *Bratislava Metropolis*, Bratislava, Spolok Architektov Slovenska, 90, 94, 98

5 Šášky, *História mesta na Dunaji*

a seat of the Royal Court, which was in Vienna. Since the Middle Ages, Bratislava had been considered as a younger sister of Vienna.[6] According to Moravčíková et. al., spatial planning at the beginning of the 20th century was regulated by partial regulation plans. This has partially replaced planning on the level of the city.[7] Nevertheless, the year 1918 represented a new level in construction – up to that point more than half of the houses in Slovakia were covered with straw.[8]

In 1918 the territory of Petržalka was annexed to the First Czechoslovak Republic. Even in that period, urban development and its visions did not reflect the potential of this territory.[9] After the World War I, Bratislava became the capital of Slovakia. The war did not have a significant economic impact, despite the great brain drain of the Hungarian and German population from the city. Their capital was replaced by Czech, Slovak and Jewish capital. This allowed stimulating the development of the city and building a winter harbour. The European river concept of Danube, Rhine, Elbe and Oder connections is also emerging at this time. Bratislava thus becomes the centre of a huge river transportation conception in Europe. After the World War I, the development of education and cultural life also took place. Since the architects arriving in the 1920s had almost exclusively studied at Czech schools, a strong connection with Czech architecture emerged.[10] Between 1919 and 1924, after the national liberation, the economy was temporarily stabilized. This period is also characterized by complex economic and political conditions. Developing progressive directions, the consolidation of the Slovak architectural scene took place, gradually resulting in a unified line of functionalist works. In 1925 the first houses with flatroofs were built.[11]

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6 Perrault et. al., *Bratislava Metropolis*

7 Moravčíková, Henrieta a kol. (2013): *Moderné alebo totalitné v architektúre 20. storočia na Slovensku (Modern or Totality in Architecture in 20th Century in Slovakia)*, Bratislava, Slovart, 203–204

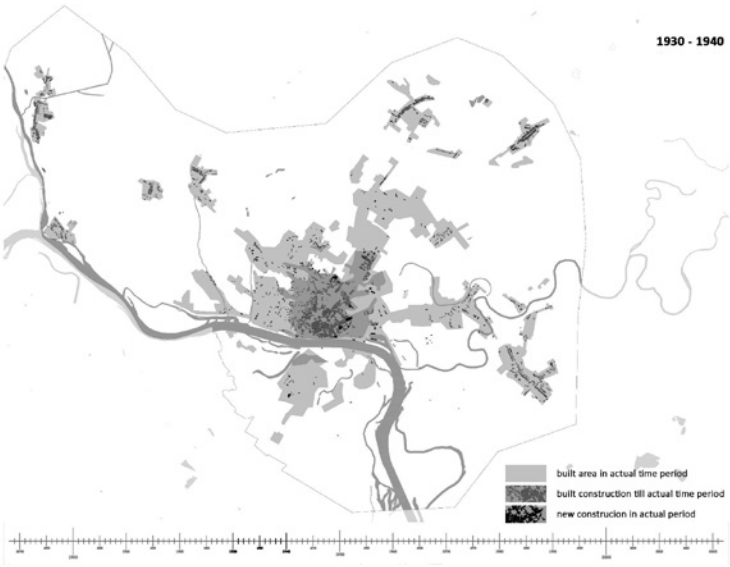
8 See Kusý for the demonstration of the quality of houses and construction in Slovakia at the beginning of the 20th century. Kusý, Martin (1971): *Architektúra na Slovensku 1918 – 1945 (Architecture in Slovakia 1918 – 1945)*, Bratislava, PALLAS vydavatestvo SFVU, 112–115

9 Kováč, Bohumil; Horák, Peter (2016): 50 Years since the International Urban Competition for the Territory of Bratislava - Petrzalka, 4th International Multidisciplinary Scientific Conference on Social Sciences and Arts SGEM 2016. Book 4 Arts, Performing Arts, Architecture and Design, vol. 1, STEF92 Technology Sofia, Bulgaria, 217–218

10 Kusý, *Architektúra na Slovensku 1918 – 1945*

11 Ibid

BRATISLAVA IN 1930–1940



Development of the structure of Bratislava in the years 1930 – 1940. Source: Author

In 1930 the Slovak and Czech nationality formed the majority of the population of Bratislava. A large part of the population consisted of immigrants from Slovakia and the Czech Republic, while the percentage of the original population was declining. Bratislava was a city of many nationalities, consisting mainly of Slovak, Hungarian and German inhabitants.[12] The need for residential houses resulted in high construction activity.[13] Nevertheless, state mass housing construction was weakening before the World War II. Workers had no stable earnings at the time of economic instability, so they did not want to bind themselves to the place of construction. However, much of the residential construction also represented dwellings of urban paupers and industrial workers. The quarters were built on unhealthy, disadvantageous places, often from waste material. This construction expanded predominantly at the time of economic crisis in 1929–1934. As a result of the economic crisis, industrial production focused on war industry.[14]

12 Perrault et. al., *Bratislava Metropolis*

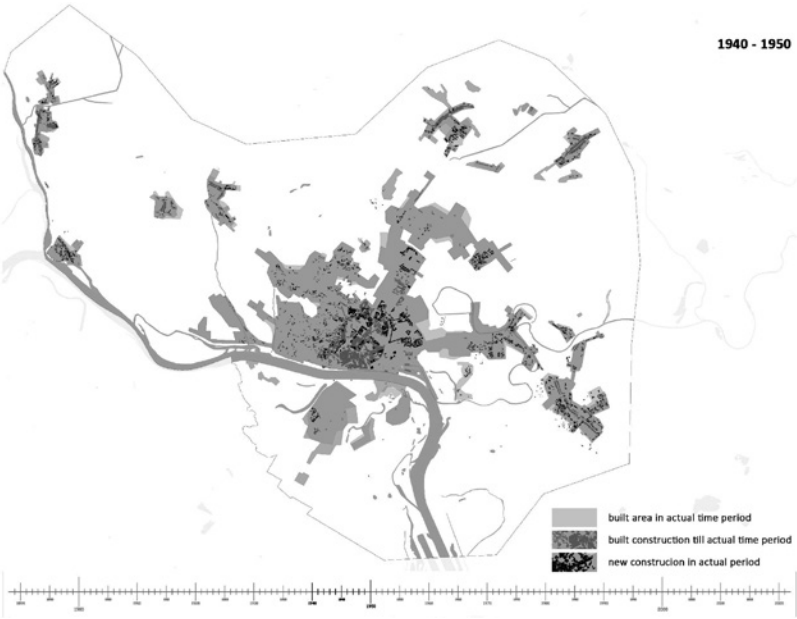
13 More information about the first residential prefabricated houses in Bratislava are available in: Moravčíková, Henrieta; Topolčanská, Mária; Szalay, Peter; Dulla, Matúš; Ščepánová, Soňa; Toscherová, Slávka; Haberlandová Katarína (2012): Bratislava Atlas sídlisk (Bratislava Atlas of Mass Housing), Bratislava, SLOVART, 32–34, 50

14 Kusý, *Architektúra na Slovensku 1918 – 1945*

In 1936, Kamil Gross writes a reflection on urban policy, asserting that a planned economy is the victory of science over the individual[15]. From 1939 to 1940, he is studying the adaptation of the new Danube riverbank in Bratislava - the International Danube Fair.[16]

1940–1950

In 1943, the area of Karlova Ves was added to the cadastral territory of Bratislava. In 1943 the number of inhabitants was 143 227. In 1946, 8 municipalities were added to Bratislava - Devín, Dúbravka, Lamač, Petržalka, Prievoz, Trnávka, Rača and Vajnory.[17] There is an increase in the territory of the city from the original 68 km2 to 187 km2, with a minimal population increase[18]. The associated territory is an ideal place for the emergence of new concepts dealing with the urgent housing issues.[19]



Development of the structure of Bratislava in the years 1940 – 1950. Source: Author

15 Ibid

16 Ibid

17 Horváth, Vladimír (1990): *Bratislavský topografický lexikon (Topographic Lexicon of Bratislava)*, Bratislava, Tatran

18 Graphical interpretation of the cadastral territory of Bratislava is available in: Horváth, *Topographic Lexicon of Bratislava*

19 Dušan, Kedro (1988): *Sedemdesiat rokov územných plánov Bratislavy* (Seventy Years of Spatial Planning in Bratislava), čas. Projekt 1/88, ročník XXX., číslo 1/313/88, Obzor, Bratislava, 4 – 9

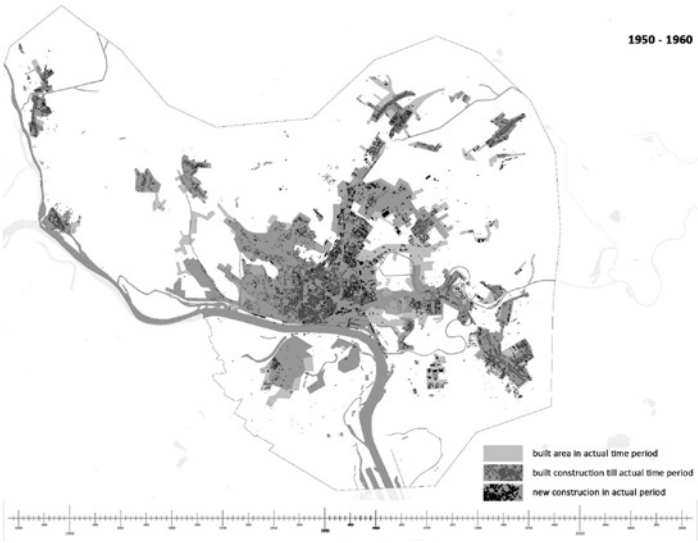
The emergence of a new political and economic power in the years 1944–1945 contributed to the development of cities in Slovakia: on May 10th1945, the architectural committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia began the stage of a development of the socialist conceived construction. In Slovakia, however, the war period influences architectural development in a very negative way. The wave of fascism and warfare causes the brain drain of architects of Czech origin from Slovakia. Architects of Jewish origin are deported. Those who remain are oppressed, unable to influence architectural development.[20] These all manifest not only in the reduction of construction, but also in the reduction of its quality. Although Nazi architecture has penetrated into Slovakia, it had not been taken up due to its short duration and small number of promoters. In terms of urban planning, competitions are being launched for the construction of representative parts of the city. However, these competitions are not reflecting reality and the current economic situation. Three international competitions are launched. One focuses on the University Campus at the Castle Hill, the second one on the Government Quarter at Gottwald Square and the third on the Danube Fairs.

1950–1960

The modern avant-garde stimulated the development of fast and cheap mass housing construction. This is causing housing and sanitary shortage of the residential units.[21] But also a lack of finance, the massive implementation of unification and prefabrication characterize this period.[22] The authoritarian regime, the government of one party is also reflected in the country's economy. The state owns land and both industrial and agricultural production. The economy is centralized, there is no real estate market and furthermore, the process of metropolisation of Bratislava begins. The pressure on the creation of new housing was also conditioned by changes in land-use planning. During and after the World War II, the Slovak architectural scene was isolated from the international, which was most evident during the 50´s.[23] The National Economic Plan is characterized by 5 annual planning periods. In the years 1949–1953,

20 Kusý, *Architektúra na Slovensku 1918 – 1945*
21 Moravčíková at al., *Bratislava Atlas sídlisk*
22 Moravčíková at al., *Moderné alebo totalitné v architektúre 20. storočia na Slovensku*
23 Moravčíková at al., *Bratislava Atlas sídlisk*

the first 5 year economic plan was developed, in the years 1956 - 1960 the second, according to the regulations of the Communist Union of Czechoslovakia in 1956.[24] Since 1950, housing construction has undergone typification and normalization. The period of the first 5-year period is characterized by the backwardness in architecture, resulting in spatial and aesthetic deficiencies. Attempts are being made to create urban units with districts that would serve 2–3 thousands of inhabitants with a residential function complemented by amenities.[25] The modesty of the construction of the architectural expression is largely responsible for the departure of many architects and designers abroad, who disagreed with state-socialist construction and the principles of frugal building. This has resulted into dissatisfaction manifested not only by architects but also by the whole society. [26]



Development of the structure of Bratislava in the years 1950 – 1960. Source: Author

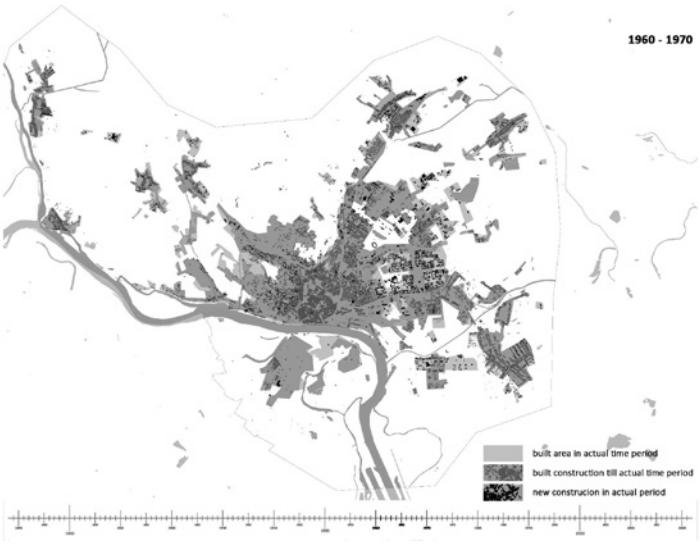
1960–1970

In the years 1961–1965, the third economic Five-Year Plan went on, then in 1966–1970 the fourth. The 60´s are characterised by subtle and light architectural style. Then a new style comes with more massive and solid shapes. Compact monoblock mass forms are proposed, shortening longitudinal shapes, approaching English

24 For more details about the National Economic Plan see Dulla, Matúš; Zalčík, Tibor (1982): *Slovenská architektúra 1976–1980* (Slovak Architecture 1976 – 1980), Bratislava, SAV, 101–103.

25 Kusý, Martin (1975): *Architektúra na Slovensku 1945–1975 (Architecture in Slovakia 1945 – 1975)*, Bratislava, Pallas, 86, 123–124, 173

26 Ibid



Development of the structure of Bratislava in the years 1960 – 1970. Source: Author

brutalism from the 1950´s.[27] In the first half of the 70's a project for the largest and most significant settlement in Bratislava - Petržalka for 150,000 inhabitants is being built.[28] A competition was launched for this city district but the first and second prize was not awarded; the third prize received 5 proposals, which became an inspiration for further planning.[29] Since the mid-1960s, progressive business buildings have been established in Bratislava. For instance, the store on the street Februárové víťazstvo, or the Slimák store house on Hostinský Street were built. Since then, there has been strong progress in the further construction of commercial buildings.[30] Before 1970 there were significant disproportions between the apartments and the civic amenities. The lack of day-to-day sales items, the inflexibility of layout solutions, and the lack of space for services are negative signs during this period. Positive elements, however, are the procedures for the construction of schools and ambulances.[31]

1970–1980

In the years 1971–1975, the actual Five-Year Plan is underway, during which the largest number of flats is built. Some constructions

27 Dulla, Zalčík: *Slovenská architektúra 1976–1980*
28 Kusý, *Architektúra na Slovensku 1945–1975*
29 Moravčíková at al., *Moderné alebo totalitné v architektúre 20. storočia na Slovensku*
30 Kusý, *Architektúra na Slovensku 1945–1975*
31 Dulla, Zalčík: *Slovenská architektúra 1976–1980*

also continue in the next 5 year period, like for example Petržalka[32] In 1972, the cadastral boundaries of Bratislava are extended thanks to affiliation of the municipalities of Čunovo, Devínska Nová Ves, Jarovce, Podunajské Biskupice, Rusovce, Vrakuňa, Záhorská Bystrica.[33] This opened new possibilities for further urban development. The cadastral boundaries of the city have not changed since then. In 1973 an ideological conference of the Union of Slovak Architects in Bratislava was organized, in which the importance

Development of the structure of Bratislava in the years 1970 – 1980. Source: Author

of socialist architecture was communicated.[34] At the beginning of the 70´s, 50% of the population of Bratislava is inhabited in mass housing areas. Due to continuous high pressure on the construction of new flats, new standards of prefabricated housing are developed. The negative aspect of this process is putting the criticism of such constructions into a stalemate, what leads to the accumulation of other shortcomings in construction.[35] Standardization pressure is also strongly present, no unique solutions are produced at this time. Fear and caution, prefabrication, typization and the use of standards limit the creativity of architects.[36] In 1976–1980, the 6th stage of the

32 Dulla, Zalčík: *Slovenská architektúra 1976–1980*
33 Horváth, *Bratislavský topografický lexikon*
34 Dulla, Zalčík: *Slovenská architektúra 1976–1980*
35 Moravčíková at al., *Bratislava Atlas sídlisk*
36 Moravčíková at al., *Moderné alebo totalitné v architektúre 20. storočia na Slovensk*u

Five-Year National Economic Planning is taking place. The variation of architectural objects and forms is richer, but it is still based on standards, typization and prefabrication. A gradual, conscious process of urbanization is emerging. Industrial development, especially engineering, is being strengthened.[37]

1980–1990

After 1981, the postmodern architectural style appears in Slovakia.[38] A new generation of architects is rising; the architecture of state-socialist normalization is receding. Postmodernism has gradually manifested itself in the steps of humanization of mass housing areas, renovating urban blocks, in the structured complexity of an architectural work. Postmodernism has resulted in the verification of urban contexts, the exploration of links to the environment, the search for long-term patterns and spatial contexts. It was a reaction to disturbed environments. This created the beginnings of a tolerant, humane and ecological planning.[39] Interventions in the centre of Bratislava disrupted the original appearance of the urban structure during the 70s and 80s[40]. For example, this caused the construction of the SNP[41] Bridge or the shopping centre on SNP square. Large representative buildings were also built at the expense of housing construction. These were built for political and representative reasons as a manifestation of power and control in the city. However, the lack of finance has affected the reduction of the representative form of public buildings.[42] In the meantime, the development of residential construction had as a consequence that in the 1980´s 90% of the population of Bratislava lived in mass housing estates[43]. This led to the return to the panel construction debate. Not only construction but also the whole state-socialist regime was criticised. In 1982–1995, the last panel apartment buildings were built; in 1989 the construction of

37 Dulla, Zalčík: *Slovenská architektúra 1976–1980*

38 Dulla, Matúš; Moravčíková, Henrieta (2002): *Architektúra Slovenska v 20. storočí (Architecture of Slovakia in 20th century)*, Bratislava: Slovart, 168–173

39 Ibid

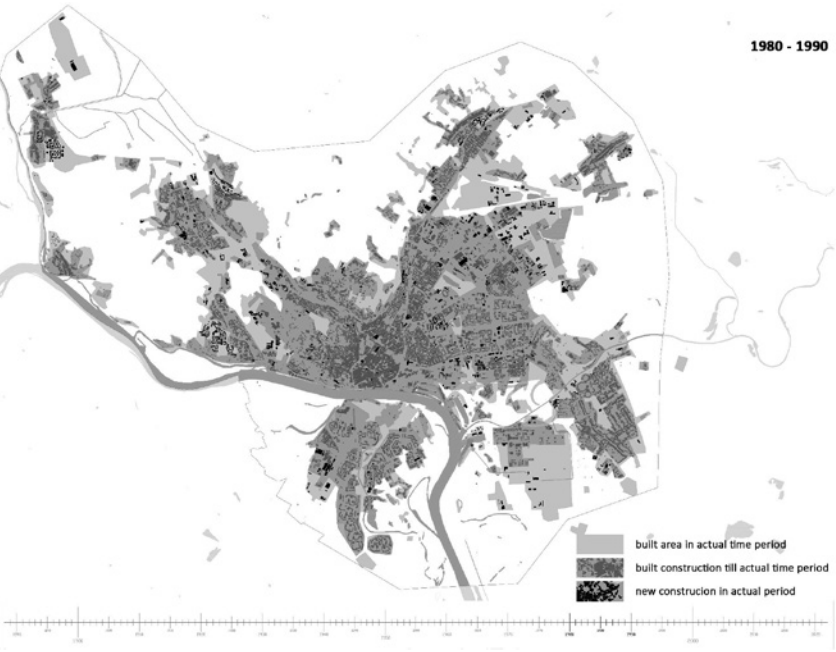
40 Parts of historic centre were destroyed to create place for emerging new concepts of state-socialist architecture. This interrupted original homogenity of some historic places.

41 Slovenského národného povstania (Slovak National Uprising)

42 Moravčíková at al., *Moderné alebo totalitné v architektúre 20. storočia na Slovensku*

43 More detailed informations about mass housing construction is available in "Bratislava Atlas of Mass Housing" by Moravčíkova et. al.

new mass housing areas was stopped.[44] In 1989 there is a political breakthrough, a change of the regime, and the opening of borders. Slovakia is still struggling for the basic definitions and determination of its identity.



Development of the structure of Bratislava in the years 1980 – 1990. Source: Author

1990–2000

The beginning of the 90´s characterises the end of the large state construction of mass housing areas. In architecture, this marks a return to the original concepts of residential buildings. In the 1990´s, postmodern eclecticism in Slovakia has been gradually applied in most of standard architecture. Architectural creation is positively influenced by the conversion of large companies into small architectural studios. Liberalization takes place; a professional chamber of architects emerges. After the gigantism of the 70's and 80's, during this period high-rise buildings are constructed.[45] On 1st January 1993 a separate and independent Slovak Republic was established. Interestingly, During the state-socialism the leadership originally wanted to extend Bratislava to Trnava. Even though Bratislava was developing during state-socialism, the city was not

44 Moravčíková at al., *Bratislava Atlas sídlisk*

45 Dulla, Moravčíková: *Architektúra Slovenska v 20. storočí*

creating any foreign connections and cross-border capital flows. After Slovakia became independent, the importance of Bratislava, its new capital city, was rising fast. The city has become the seat of the parliament, the government and the president, as well as of foreign embassies, central offices, universities, and cultural institutions. Diplomatic relations were strengthening, foreign companies such as IBM, Siemens, Dell, and the automotive industry Volkswagen was developing. Domestic financial groups and businesses were also developing. The weakness of the city, however, was the absence of strategic goals and weak cross-border understanding.[46] In the 1990s, according to the analysis of the construction of the mass housing areas, the problem was not only the incompleteness and poor quality of the execution, but also the very principles of the proposals.[47] These problems initially originated from the Athens Charter, with a low differentiation of functional spaces, the absence of a hierarchy of public spaces and recreation areas, poor connections within the settlement and its establishment in the surrounding area. The new forms of buildings also led to the loss of a traditionally conceived space consisting of streets and squares.[48]

Development of the structure of Bratislava in the years 1990 – 2000. Source: Author

46 Perrault et. al., *Bratislava Metropolis*

47 Moravčíková at al., *Bratislava Atlas sídlisk*

48 Brath, Jozef (1993): *Revitalizácia a humanizácia urbanistických priestorov v nových obytných súboroch (Revitalization and Humanization of Urban Spaces in New Residential Units)*, Bratislava, Projekt 35, 6, 24 – 25

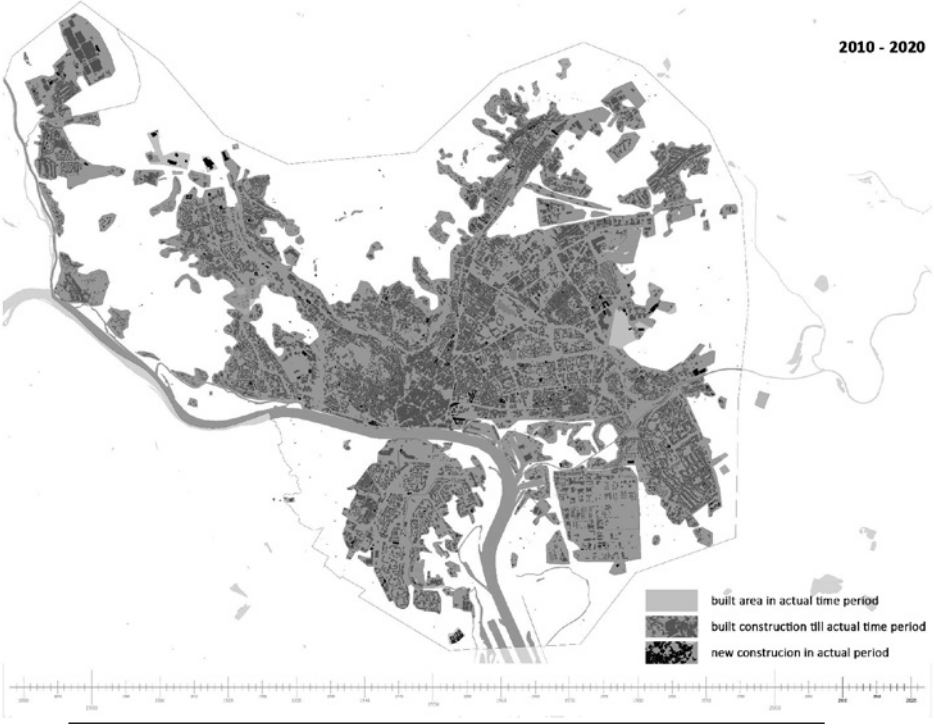
2000–2010

The 2007 Bratislava spatial plan, which is still in effect today, is criticized for its inadequacy arising from its individual interpretation and the lack of more detailed documentation in the form of zoning plans. There is no clear strategy for the development of the city and its parts. A more detailed land-use planning documentation for the headquarters is also missing. After 1989 a healthy growth of the city was expected, involving the analysis and correction of problems created during state-socialism. However, since 1990 a pressure of developers and investors has led construction into inadequate positions with inappropriate functional and compositional principles. After Slovakia's accession to the European Union, some of its urban problems have been globalized. 2007 saw the beginning of a global economic crisis, which fully manifested itself in 2009. It caused a decline in construction activity, which has resulted in the suspension of some of the projects. This has limited the function of many architectural studios and the development of the city for several years.

Development of the structure of Bratislava in the years 2000 – 2010. Source: Author

2010–2020

Building development in Bratislava is characterized by the densification of the city and the increase in building height. In contrast with socialist principles of construction, new objects are built on undeveloped areas of the city, creating a compact urban fabric with high-rise buildings. This period is also characterized by the use of new types of architecture, new landmarks in the form of shopping, residential and administrative centres. These buildings fully emphasize the strength of the investor as an opposite to previous decades when power was held solely by the state. Besides new development projects, which mainly represent housing and administrative complexes, reconstructions of older properties have also occurred. In the early 2010s approximately 70% of the whole Bratislava population lived in mass housing areas.[49] These dwellings are constantly sought after for their affordability. Due to the high demand for such affordable residential units, there was no demolition or major reconstruction, as in other countries. Instead revitalization has become the solution. Since 1990 revitalization has been applied in various forms and different ranges. Negative aspects of recent development in mass housing areas were adding new residential



Development of the structure of Bratislava in the years 2010 – 2020. Source: Author

49 Moravčíková at al., *Bratislava Atlas sídlisk*

housing units without appropriate public transport, pedestrian and bicycle connections, without necessary amenities and services like groceries, small shops, cafes, restaurants etc.

CITY DEVELOPMENT

Due to changes in political regimes, economic situation and planning, the urban fabric of the city evolved in diverse ways and without a long-term integrated concept. This has resulted in a number of problems that have persisted to these days. Some of the city's problems can be eliminated by changing the spatial planning concept, by adding to planning more detailed zone plans. Zone plans are already partially applied, but for the remaining parts of the city they are missing. Implementation of zone plans can help creating an urban environment that is more compact and aesthetic with a specification to the height of the buildings, their placement, colours, facades etc.

In history, zonal plans were not regular part of development, but there were specific plans regulating the construction of buildings. Those plans determined places where to build, what sizes should buildings have, what services have to be included and where, where should streets and pavements be etc. These plans were only partially completed. Meanwhile city plans were focusing only on the new development areas, creating large areas for one dominant function. Therefore a new city plan based on a new concept emerged in 2007, creating more detailed areas of urban development. The negative aspect of this solution is a lack of a greater vision of development and at the same time the impossibility to specify urban development in higher detail. This caused unexpected and unhealthy development also in the mass housing areas. New buildings were constructed in inappropriate places, without necessary bicycle, pedestrian and public transport connections. Many times development in such places is mono-functional, what deepens their already existing problems.

CONCLUSION

Therefore, what is needed in actual planning is a comprehensive vision of the city, a determination of its conceptual development, the setting up of clearer rules of construction, a flexibility of planning, determination of the city's height composition scheme, and more

Actual view of Petralska, source: https://www.google.com/maps/@48.149267,17.109034,792a,35y,178.69h,65.99t/data=!3m1!1e3 [14.08.2018], edited by Author

precise definition of the volume of construction. The city should also respond to the latest trends in urban planning, including more sophisticated implementation of new transport modes such as car-share, use of park and ride methods, combining different forms of transport, building a clear network of cycling routes, changing the hierarchy of city transport, applying ecological transport modes, introducing more electric propulsion both for collective and personal transport and supporting it by using charging stations. Due to the city's traffic problems it is also important to establish centres, sub-centres, smaller service centres of the city with facilities with good connectivity to residential areas and workplaces. This can lead to the elimination of unnecessary traffic. Equal distribution of functions combined with the implementation of different transportation modes can markedly help to eliminate the negative traffic problems in the city. The city should also respond to pedestrian needs and clarify the concept of attractive public spaces. It should also consider the use of alternative energy sources like solar and wind power. The issue of efficient alternative energy generation should be dealt strategically in terms of placement of objects and their height conception. Recycling of waste and building materials should also be part of the planning concept, because both of these can positively affect the ecological and economic aspect of the city.

In the process of improving planning, the research should also focus on the topics mentioned above in order to apply the results into practice, to unite the city officials with investors, architects and residents. It is necessary to engage the interests of investors and the city, the vision of architects, the requirements of residents, respecting the concept of the city and thus creating a suitable harmonic environment.

TBILISI / GEORGIA

Tinatin GURGENIDZE

Tinatin GURGENIDZE lives and works in Berlin. She has studied architecture and urban design in Tbilisi and Barcelona. Currently, she is working on her PhD thesis concerning the (Post-)Soviet mass housing settlement Gldani that is located in Tinatin's hometown of Tbilisi. Tinatin's work concentrates on the sociological approach towards architecture and urban space. In her work, she tries to understand what has happened within the Gldani neighbourhood during the Transition Era, after Georgia became a country independent from the Soviet Union. Tinatin is the author of several publications, lectures, and she is also one of the Founders of Tbilisi Architecture Biennial, which is planned to take place for the first time in October 2018.

THE POST-SOVIET GLDANI HOUSING NEIGHBORHOOD IN TBILISI

"[In Georgia,] *more than in any other former Soviet Republic, […] the stark reality of Late-Soviet social and political life is revealed*"[1]

The urban population dwells in the cities surrounded by the built environment. Certainly, the built space has an influence on citizens and can direct the ways they may inhabit a certain urban area. On the other hand, residents keep influencing their built space in order to create the best suitable living conditions for themselves.

The discourse in this field of architecture and individuals has had its seasons. Many scholars have been interested in studying this relationship over the past centuries, and it is still very much alive in current academics. It is very important to know how people live, how they adapt to the different living conditions and how they create their own space of habitation. As Lefebvre mentions in his book *Production of Space*, *"In a broad sense, humans as social beings are said to produce their own life, their own consciousness, their own world."* [2] According to Danish architect Jahn Gehl, we form cities first, and then they form us. This also applies to buildings. First, we shape the buildings; then, they shape us. Is this statement applicable to different situations, time periods, places and cultures? How does the same building live and become part of an urban environment in various places and realities? Sigfried Giedion refers to architecture as an independent organism: *"Architecture is not exclusively an affair of styles and forms, nor is it completely determined by sociological or economic conditions. It has a life of its own, grows or dwindles, finds new potentialities and forgets them again.*"[3]

The following paper explores the influences and interrelations between the built space and living environments found in (Post-)

1 Wheatley, Jonathan (2005): *Georgia from National Awakening to Rose Revolution,* London and New York, Routledge, 34.

2 Lefebvre, Henri (1991): *The Production of Space,* Cambridge, Mass. and Oxford: Blackwell, 68.

3 Giedion, Sigfried (1941): *Space, Time and Architecture,* Harvard University Press, 23.

Soviet micro-districts (or micro-rayons). The work concentrates on the periphery settlement of Gldani that was built during 1970s and 1980s in Tbilisi, in former Soviet Georgia. It questions the expression of the society as reflected in the physical environment during the transition period from planned to market economy after the break-up of the Soviet Union. It is interesting to observe what happens when the everyday life of the inhabitants is standardised, their lifestyle controlled and by some means directed by the building where they live. The paper discusses the processes of alteration affecting the Gldani residents and tries to understand the way they have adapted to their living space. The intention is to understand how the architecture and urban space are used as a medium to document a process of societal change summarising the visible and invisible transformations in the physical environment of the Gldani neighbourhood.

GLDANI: A BRIEF HISTORY

"The territory of Gldani was empty before its construction, being considered an industrial zone. Since the previously constructed Temka settlement did not meet the housing needs of workers, it was decided to construct an additional new settlement. My plan included a main spine and a 'micro-rayon' system of 500x500 meters. Each 'micro-rayon' was supposed to house about 12,000 residents. In total, Gldani should have provided living space for 147,000 new inhabitants."[4]

In order to understand the current situation in Gldani, it is essential to reflect on the history of housing in the former Soviet Union and particularly in Georgia. Since Georgian cities were not destroyed during World War II, the mass construction of housing in Georgia was associated with vast industrialisation and, consequently, a rapid urbanisation process. Between 1921 and 1991, Tbilisi expanded six times in terms of population and ten times in terms of incorporated territory. During the Soviet period, Tbilisi was transformed from a medium-sized settlement into a large industrial metropolis.[5] Gldani was named after the village where the neighbourhood was built and was the result of a master plan that the Soviet government prepared for Tbilisi in 1969, including new

4 Abstract from the interview held in 2012 with Gldani's architect Teimuraz Bochorishvili.

5 Salukvadze, Joseph; Golubchikov, Oleg (2016): "City as a Geopolitics: Tbilisi, Georgia — A Globalising Metropolis in a Turbulent Region," *Cities* 52, 39-54.

Model of the master plan.
Source: Nikoloz Lekveishvili

residential settlements or micro-districts (*micro-rayons*) in the north and north-eastern parts of the city.

The period, which mostly affected the mass housing production of prefabricated blocks in dormitory suburbs like Gldani, was

greatly influenced by Nikita Khrushchev (Secretary General of the Communist Party of the USSR, 1953-1964), who denounced Stalinist monumental architecture and called for architects, planners and engineers to develop "*Cheaper, Better and Quicker*" construction methods. The main task for the architects and engineers of Khrushchev's period was to develop new techniques for standardized plans and construction methods that would increase the speed of construction and reduce costs, while providing more equal living conditions for everyone. By Khrushchev's rule, industrialized construction methods advanced rapidly in just a few years. The houses were no longer built in situ, but mass-produced in factories, using prefabricated panels to assemble multi-storey buildings. The construction of the Gldani neighbourhood began in the 1970s, the period when standardized building and planning methods were already under criticism for their monotonous style and poor quality of construction. Along with other neighbourhoods of the same

The initial residents. Source: Teimuraz Bochorishvili private archive

Gldani today. Source: Teimuraz Bochorishvili private archive

kind, Gldani also reflected an attempt by the Soviet government to address the housing shortage. But it is important to emphasise that the industrialisation and standardisation of construction did reduce the housing shortage, but failed to fully eliminate it.[6] Moreover, the construction of such settlements was meant to urbanise larger areas in the Soviet Union and to foster the creation of certain type of society for common Soviet people with shared values.

According to architect Teimuraz Bochorishvili this Gldani housing estate for up to 147,000 inhabitants, it was an experimental project that came to ZNIIEP[7] in the late 1960s. As a young architect at the time, Bochorishvili was given an opportunity to work on Gldani's master plan. The Gldani master plan consisted of eight *micro-rayons* located on either side of the infrastructural axis, which divided the neighbourhood into two parts. A micro-rayon or micro-district was the basic planning unit in the Soviet period that consisted of residential housing blocks for 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants and provided necessary amenities like kindergartens, schools, health care, grocery shops and a few public facilities like a cinema or library. Some of the initial residents that settled in Gldani were factory workers who came from different regions to work in the city; others came from various older districts of Tbilisi. It should be stressed that most of the Georgian urban population started inhabiting cities during the Soviet period.

6 Gegidze, Mariam; Manjavidze, David; Opel, Nicole (2016): "Everything Not Forbidden is Allowed", *ARCH+* 225, 72-75.

7 "ЗНИИЭП" (Zonal Research Institute of Experimental Planning in Soviet Union).

Many believe that, because of the lack of funding, the original master plan for Gldani was not completely realised and several urban and architectural ideas never left the drawing board. Although Bochorishvili denies this theory, and it is a fact that many micro-rayons in USSR were built without basic facilities and were often converted into simple dormitory settlements.

Extensions. Source: Tako Robakidze

GLDANI UNDER THE TRANSITION PERIOD

"During the construction of Gldani, which took almost 20 years, the existing land was state property. But when land appropriation started, the understanding of common space among residents became very difficult. There were no collective interests anymore, only private ones."[8]

The Transition Era, also known as *Perestroika* in the Soviet Union, had already begun in the late 1980s. During this period, the

8 Abstract from the interview held in 2012 with Gldani´s architect Teimuraz Bochorishvili.

Communist regime was just a façade rather than a reality.[9]
After Georgia gained its independence in 1991, a severe political, economic and social crisis struck the former Soviet republic. Tbilisi, like other ex-Soviet cities, stepped on the post-Communism transition treadmill. The city turned away from centrally planned development in favour of spontaneous private real estate markets.[10] One can say that Tbilisi stopped functioning as a city, and Georgia both state and a society ceased to exist. The city emerged as unprepared for the new condition, unable to purchase raw materials, fuel or machinery at market prices in the quantities required for an urban settlement of such size.[11]

This situation had a massive effect on the *micro-rayon* neighbourhoods as well, since these residential districts were planned and had always functioned according to Soviet rules and regulations. In Gldani, the society that had formed in Soviet times found itself in a new reality and a new system, dealing with new challenges. The most significant events occurred during the Transition Era, when the state's lack of control created conditions of near anarchy. In this period, new self-made constructions appeared on the façades and patios of old Soviet blocks of flats. One of the most significant "*do-it-yourself*" constructions was the extension of flats. In 1989, the Soviet government of Georgia actually permitted the construction of vertical extensions[12]– sometimes called "*vertical slums*" – on multi-storey buildings, which are clearly visible on Gldani's blocks today. It was officially allowed to attach "*loggias, verandas, balconies and other auxiliary spaces to the state and cooperative houses at the cost of the dwellers/tenants*".[13] This action was taken in order to solve the existing housing problems and to calm the anxious residents, who ambitiously protested for independence. The dwellers could extend their flats at their own expense; however, residents interpreted the

9 Wheatley, 2005, 19.

10 Salukvadze and Golubchikov, 2015.

11 Gachechiladze, Revaz (1995): *The New Georgia: Space, Society, Politics*, London: UCL Press, 164.

12 The law, published on 18 May 1989, allowed apartment owners to use private funds to build *"recessed balconies, verandas, balconies and other ancillary areas on the rear facades of state-owned and cooperative buildings with a maximum of nine stories."*

13 HYPERLINK "http://journals.sagepub.com/author/Bouzarovski%2C+Stefan"Bouzarovski, Stefan; HYPERLINK "http://journals.sagepub.com/author/Salukvadze%2C+Joseph"Salukvadze, Joseph and HYPERLINK "http://journals.sagepub.com/author/Gentile%2C+Michael"Gentile, Michael (2011): "A Socially Resilient Urban Transition? The Contested Landscapes of Apartment Building Extensions in Two Post-Communist Cities", *Urban Studies 48*, 2689-2714.

law according to their own needs, trying to overcome the living space problems by making an unprecedented number of self-made extensions in all shapes and forms. As a consequence, the Soviet blocks have been entirely reshaped – in some cases, even losing their original façades. The neighbourhoods' urban areas have been transformed as well through an assembly of new self-made constructions like garages and kiosks. In spite of creating total architectural chaos in the city, this process has partially solved living space and social problems.

Apart from above mentioned changes, it should be emphasised that, by the late 1990s, almost the entire housing stock in Tbilisi was privatized. The construction sector, which was already unstable, literally collapsed, causing a drastic increase in the housing shortage. Also important to mention is that, during the early 1990s, both Tbilisi and Gldani district saw a massive in-flux of population of so-called IDPs[14] from Abkhazia and South Ossetia who settled mainly in public buildings like schools and kindergartens. The IDPs adaptation strategies have involved changing these buildings to accommodate their everyday needs, adding extensions, and illegally occupying the surrounding open spaces.[15]

GLDANI TODAY

Tbilisi is a globalising city of a small nation,[16] the largest city in Georgia with an estimated population of 1,078,297 for the year 2014.[17] The city is divided into six administrative districts, and Gldani forms one of the largest neighbourhoods with an estimated number of 300,000 inhabitants. Nowadays, Gldani is often referred to as a separate city, a micro-town situated in the north-eastern periphery of Tbilisi.

While observing Gldani's physical environment, it is possible to detect the remains of transformations that occurred during the 1990s and 2000s. External extensions on residential blocks, communal buildings transformed by IDPs, and new self-made structures in public space form the actual urban landscape of the Gldani neighbourhood. The apartment extensions and garages have

14 IDP = internally displaced person.

15 Salukvadze, Joseph; Sichinava, David and Gogishvili, David (2013): "Socio-economic and Spatial Factors of Alienation and Segregation of Internally Displaced Persons in the Cities of Georgia", *Studia Regionalia* 38, 45–60.

16 Salukvadze and Golubchikov, 2015

17 GeoStat, 2015

Balconies.
Source: Tako Robakidze

remained mainly untouched, the majority of these new spaces have been privatised over the past years and owner residents have carried out most of the changes that can be observed in Gldani. But there are some cases like the Gldani Park, which was constructed by the city government back in 2006. The park is situated in the middle of the Gldani district and is an important entertainment and leisure spot for the neighbourhood residents. The interesting fact is that, as the park was being constructed, external extensions and self-made structures like garages were removed from the buildings and patios situated

near the park. The residential blocks have been painted. The reason for this action was to create a design unit with an artificially “nice” view from the park without any extra disturbing elements. The demolition of the extension took place in just few days, and the owners did not receive any compensation for it.

Once referred to as a dormitory suburb, Gldani has definitely emerged as a vibrant liveable area with all the necessary infrastructure. Despite the fact that Gldani offers all the necessary amenities for the population, some residents still miss the urban side of the neighbourhood and describe the estate as a modernized village rather than a part of the metropolitan city area. Others are fed up with the monotonous architecture of Soviet blocks and would

Ground-floor extension. Source: Author

prefer to live in different type of building. Still another portion of the population enjoys living in Gldani and would never leave the neighbourhood to live in another district. Nowadays, Tbilisi and, especially, peripheral neighbourhoods like Gldani are mostly populated by rural inhabitants that are second-generation urban-dwellers who still maintain connections with their relatives in the rural regions of Georgia. Truly, rural ways of life are still clearly visible in Gldani, often when residents translate their previous living habits, which mostly took place in one-family houses, into multi-storey apartments.

CHANGING THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

In Gldani, several physical changes can be observed. One of the most significant changes are external extensions or self-made constructions on the multi-storey buildings – like balconies, loggias, ground floors areas – and in the urban spaces of the neighbourhood – for example garages –, which emerged during 1990s and 2000s.

Balconies

Due to climatic and cultural reasons, balconies are traditionally basic elements in a Georgian house. There are different types of balcony extensions to be observed in Gldani. In some cases, residents extend the existing balconies, in other cases new balconies are

Ground Floor Extensions. Source: Author

collocated on the residential blocks. Nevertheless, in some examples residents transform existing balconies in order to gain more space in the apartments.

Loggias

In order to extend the living space, the dwellers often add external loggias to their apartments. Most of the self-made extensions in Gldani were produced in 1990s and early 2000s, using any available construction material.

Ground Floors

The extended or transformed ground floors are very common in the Gldani neighbourhood. Normally, all ground floors lack light and privacy, but the residents of Soviet blocks, like those in Gldani, have found a way to compensate for this disadvantage. Almost all ground-floor dwellers have claimed the land in front of their apartments as theirs. As a result, ground floors are sometimes converted into private areas or even into commercial spaces like shops or kindergartens.

Garages.
Source: Tako Robakidze

Garages

According to architect Bochorishvili, parking areas were part of the original plan for the neighbourhood, but they were never fully implemented. The construction of garages in Gldani emerged in the 1990s. Residents simply claimed the land in front of their residential blocks and constructed garages out of whatever material was available. Back then, garages had a security reason, since criminality was high, and cars were often stolen. Nowadays, most of the owners do not even park their cars inside garages. These spaces have been transformed and gained new use, in some cases becoming an extension of the private living area or a room to achieve some additional income source for the owners.

CONCLUSION

The Transition Era had diverse consequences on Soviet cities; each case is different according to its socio-cultural, geographical context. The example that has been discussed in this paper shows how the society, which in constant flux, creates and shapes its urban environments and comes up with new residential logistics. On one hand, the inhabitants of Gldani alter the existing urban environment according to their own needs; on the other hand, existing architecture allows and influences these changes. In the examples shown, the inhabitants do not bow to the demands that the inherited modern building places on them, but keep influencing the built structure around them. Through the examples, it becomes clear how socialist architecture somehow "*forced*" the inhabitants to become active in the design and production of their surroundings. In spite of long years of influence that these buildings may have enjoyed, the state was unable to achieve the ideals foreseen in Communist ideology. This can be connected with the fact that, in the planning and design of these districts, the state did not consider the previous spatial and cultural background of the residents. Thus, they used immediately the opportunity to transform social relations and space usage. Arguably, in most of the peripheral residential settlement like Gldani, the city and the countryside overlap, and rural dwellers never really learn to live in an urban context. On the contrary, they try to bring the rural ways of living into their residential panel blocks, especially those who live on ground floors.

LVIV / UKRAINE

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(POST-)IDEOLOGICAL MASS HOUSING LANDSCAPES: TRANSFORMATIONS WITHIN THE SYKHIV DISTRICT IN LVIV

"*When smashing monuments, save the pedestals – they always come in handy.*"[1] This aphorism by satiric Polish writer S. J. Lec was interpreted in different ways in the Ukrainian press during *Leninfall*, a mass overthrow of monuments to Lenin that occurred all over the country after a precedent in *Bessarabs*'ka *Square* in Kyiv, December 2013. Three years later, a non-profit, non-state platform for cultural initiatives, Izolyatsia, announced an international contest for the best proposal of a temporary art intervention on the former site of the monument. The project "*Inhabiting Shadows*" *by Mexican artist Cynthia Gutierrez won* first prize. According to her concept, the installation "*allows people to transit up the stairs, step on the pedestal and occupy the empty space for a few moments […]. [It is] a sort of monument in construction where everyone is a part of the identity that changes through time and with people.*"[2]

Inhabiting Shadows, art installation of Cynthia Gutierrez, 2016. Source: Valeriy Miloserdov. Courtesy of IZOLYATSIA

1 Lec, Stanisław (2006): *Myśli nieuczesane, wszystkie*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

2 Gutierrez, Cynthia (2016): Inhabiting Shadows. Available from the internet: http://cynthiagutierrez.com/inhabiting-shadows/, accessed 15 July 2017.

Empty pedestals after Leninfall in many Ukrainian cities foster discussions on Soviet heritage, followed by a declaration of de-Communization by the Law on the Condemnation of Communist and National-Socialist (Nazi) Totalitarian Regimes in Ukraine and Prohibition on Propagation of their Symbols, adopted in spring 2015.[3] The object and means of de-Communization, as stated in the law, were debatable[4] and frequently misinterpreted, which activated bottom-up initiatives advocating the preservation of artistic and architectural Soviet legacy, in addition to initiatives calling for immediate implementation of the law, mostly according to their own interpretation of it. In such circumstances, the greater public's attention was drawn to Soviet legacy and post-Soviet cityscapes.

The overriding narrative on Soviet cityscapes was created at the intersection of ideology and functionality. To a certain extent, a city as such was treated as a monument: a holistic, defined, representative structure. It should be Soviet not only in content, but also in form. A system of architectural dominants – be it a single monument or an ensemble – constituted the ideological coordinates of the city and Soviet open spaces *"[lacked] the basic freedoms of self-expression"*. Formally, they belonged to everyone; however, in practice, it was a *"controlled place for collective actions"*. The notion public space was not used in Soviet discourse. In official documents, it was replaced with the more formal expression open architectural space.[5]

Functionally, a modernist city was considered a *"closed system"*, based on a set of very clear norms where everyday practices should be spatially pre-defined according to the idea of the *"System of Stepped Services"*.[6] In this setting, the micro-rayon (or micro-district)

3 Про засудження комуністичного та націонал-соціалістичного (нацистського) тоталітарних режимів в Україні та заборону пропаганди їхньої символіки: Закон України від 09.04.2015 р. № 317-VII, Available from the internet:: http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/317-viii, accessed 15 July 2017 [On the Condemnation of Communist and National-Socialist (Nazi) Totalitarian Regimes in Ukraine and Prohibition on Propagation of their Symbols: Law of Ukraine dated 09.04.2015 № 317-VIII, Available from the internet: http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/317-viii accessed 15 July 2017]

4 Шліпченко, Світлана (2017): *DECOM JOB: Кілька загальних міркувань щодо специфіки процесів декомунізації у просторах міста.* Місто: історія, культура, суспільство 1 (2), 160 [Shlipchenko, Svitlana (2017): *DECOM JOB: A Few General Reflections on the Specifics of the Decomunisation Processes Whithin Urban Spaces.* Misto: Istoriia, Kultura, Suspilstvo 1 (2), 160]

5 Zhelnina, Anna (2013): *Learning to Use 'Public Space': Urban Space in Post-Soviet Petersburg.* The Open Urban Studies Journal 6, 31-32.

6 Шквариков, Вячеслав ред. (1971): Жилой район и микрорайон. Пособие по планировке и застройке, Москва, Строийздат [Shkvarikov, Viacheslav ed. (1971), Residential district and micro district. Manual for Planning and Construction, Moscow, Stroyizdat]

as a self-contained unit should be a structural element in the social and urban planning organisation of a residential area. Discussions about the mass housing landscapes in the Ukraine are only just beginning. It is possible to argue that city landscapes still remain in the *"post-"* period, insofar as their transformations are reactive or counteractive to the previous urban setting. Despite the everyday practices of citizens in most Ukrainian cities connected with Soviet legacy, in most cases, modernism as a phenomenon (including modernist cityscapes) is not reflected upon and buried under layers of preconception. Sometimes these cityscapes are regarded as an unwanted inheritance, sometimes as an outdated modernity.

Modernism VS Heritage

Similar modernist design and planning principles are associated with different political ideas in different countries, thus multiple modernities generated multiple modernisms.[7] Definitions of heritage and approaches to preservation also vary from case to case accordingly. Still, controversies in intentions, contradictions in realisations, and shifts in perception within a particular manifestation of modernism make the preservation of its legacy quite difficult. The idea of heritage as such is hardly applicable to modernist architecture, since one aspect of modernism was the *"creative destruction"* of old parts of the cities, eradicating their identities and local knowledge.[8] Besides, according to the concept, modernist buildings were intended for a certain period of time, until they became outdated. Afterwards, they should be transformed or substituted by more progressive ones.

On the one hand, it is impossible to analyse modernist architecture without consigning it to a certain context; on the other hand, it is necessary to consider modernism as part of the wider architectural process, outside the ideological determinations that sprang up all over Europe and beyond. For example, S. Marshall states that *"modernism is an intellectual tradition that […] [can] be traced back to ancient Greece. Indeed, in The Politics, Aristotle refers to Hippodamus's grid planning as modern"*. He continues, *"In its broadest interpretation, modernism can be regarded as a belief in the possibility of progress through rational action. City planning is*

7 Therborn, Göran (2003): Entangled modernities. *European Journal of Social Theory, 6, 293–305.*

8 Urban, Florian (2011): *Tower and Slab: Histories of Global Mass Housing.* London: Routledge.

intrinsically modern in the sense of being a conscious action of the betterment of cities."[9]

Along with approaches of preservation through functional improvements, K. Snopek introduces his idea of intangible heritage, which is formed by *"events or living traditions, ideas or beliefs, artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance, being inseparably connected with the architectural environment where it emerged."*[10] Additionally, consideration of a mass housing landscape as a generator of community living patterns and social innovations helps to tackle another aspect of the intangible heritage. The non-material component could be both a reason for preservation of the built environment, as well as an obstacle to its fulfilment.
L. C. de Lille and M. Guest coined the term banalization in an attempt to explain *"a trend in transformation of the urban space of the post socialist cities, which occurs through double process of loss and gain: on the one hand, there is a loss of ideological value (the socialist one), […] and on the other hand, these urban objects also gain other functions, other values, a greater social acceptance […]."*[11] In their terms, loss of the ideological intangible component helps to preserve the material structure by changing attitudes toward the object or area.

In general, in addition to the functioning of mass housing, it is possible to point out two non-material aspects of the physical structure: (1) modernist architecture's principles and the way they transform – as an intellectual heritage; and (2) intangible outstanding value – as cultural and social heritage.

COMPONENTS OF THE MASS HOUSING LANDSCAPE OF SYKHIV DISTRICT

The modernist mass housing landscape is not heterogeneous in terms of ideology and functionality; therefore, it is advisable to distinguish a few following categories and scales of the built environment, which might require different approach for understanding and preserving. in a Ukrainian context: (1) monumental art within the architectural space, (2) buildings and

9 Marshall, Stephen (2009): *Cities Design and Evolution.* London: Routledge

10 Snopek, Kuba (2016): *Belyayevo Forever: A Soviet Microrayon on its Way to the UNESCO List.* Berlin: DOM Publishers

11 De Lille, Lydia Coudroy; Guest, Milena (2010): *Towards Banalization? Transforming the Legacies*In A. Kliems - M. Dmitrieva (eds): *Post-Socialist City,* Jovis, 201034-51

spaces with unique values, and (3) mass housing landscape. Such three categories will be considered for the case study of the Sykhiv district in Lviv.

Housing estate Sykhiv from the Lvivs Ring Road. Source: Author

Sykhiv is the biggest socialist large-panel housing estate in Lviv. It originated as a settlement for 120,000 workers of the industrial hub and covers the area of 390 hectares. Sykhiv was planned according to the *"System of Stepped Services"* and arranged into 12 microrayons (micro-districts). The construction of almost all residential buildings was completed, but many public facility projects remained unimplemented due to the economic crisis that began in the late 1980s[12]. Today, the post-socialist district of Sykhiv is one of the most dynamically developing in the city at the moment.

12 Черкес, Богдан; Мисак, Наталя (2013): Р*озвиток і трансформація житлового району «Сихів» у Львові.* Вісник Національного університету Львівська Політехніка, Видавництво Львівської політехніки, 757, 54-61 [Cherkes, Bohdan; Mysak, Natalia (2013): *Development and Transformation of the residential district Sykhiv, Lviv.* Visnyk, Scientific periodic publication of Lviv Polytechnic National University, 757, 54-61.]

Travelling Lunar Park in the main public space of Sykhiv. Source: Author

Micro-district M18, Sykhiv. Source: Author

Monumental art

Modernist monumental art was subordinate to architectural environment as a functional element, but in the Soviet Union, functionality was complemented with a strong ideological component, making it the most politically-charged element within the modernist cityscape. Taking into account the fact that today it is hardly treated as art, but as former *"state-commissioned*

propaganda",[13] many Soviet monumental paintings, mosaics, reliefs, etc., came under threat after the adoption of the "de-Communization" law. Art critic E. Moliar[14] points out three types of de-Communization: *ideological* – when the law is used by certain individuals for their own political promotion; *people's* – when the community itself changes or substitutes problematic symbols; and *routine* – destruction of monumental pieces of art during renovation and construction work by self-sustained municipal organizations.[15] Additionally, state institutions very frequently focus on the Soviet legacy, and most of the information is available from public sources, created mostly by enthusiasts and independent researchers. Moreover, urbanist S. Shlipchenko argues that some of the objects intended for de-Communization should be treated as testaments to their times – or unintentional historical monuments, in the terms of A. Riegl.[16]

In Sykhiv district, there are just a few examples of monumental paintings, but their situation reflects to some extent the general attitude to such heritage. On one monumental painting, located on the sidewall of the typical residential building, there is a dynamic composition of a man holding a dove in one hand and

Sykhivska Street.
Source: Author

13 Nikiforov, Yevgen; Balashova, Olga; German, Lizaveta (2017): *De-Communized: Ukrainian Soviet Mosaics.* Berlin: DOM Publishers

14 Моляр, Євгенія (2015): *Парадокси декомунізації.* Життя: Українська правда, 18 червня.Available from internet: https://life.pravda.com.ua/columns/2015/06/18/195806/, accessed 15 July 2017. [Molyar, Yevheniia (2015): *Paradoxes of decommunication.* Zhyttia: Ukrainska Pravda, 18 June. Available from internet: https://life.pravda.com.ua/columns/2015/06/18/195806/, accessed 15 July 2017]

15 Ibid

16 Шліпченко, 160 [Shlipchenko, 160].

a stylized hammer and sickle in another. Part of the painting was shield by the fragmented thermal insulation of the façade, made by the private initiative of the residents of one apartment. It worse to mention that such improvements is a popular practice among inhabitants of the large-panel housing in Sykhiv and in Lviv in general, that in many cases turns a façade into a “patchwork”. In this case, residents, who insulated their apartment, decided to preserve the sidewall image, and renewed the insulated part of the painting by their own initiative. At the same time, after the adoption of the

Painting on the sidewall of a residential building. Source: Author

de Communization law, other residents of the building, confused by the stylized image of the hammer and sickle, made a request to the district administration. The administration employees, in turn, requested an expert opinion regarding the painting. The opinion was divided. Some stated that *"the picture is morally outdated, does not have any artistic and aesthetic value, and new composition should appear in its place."* Others pointed out that the painting *"is idealized, but not aggressive; it is the heritage of a historic period and should be preserved"*, and demands only some modification on the part where the symbol is depicted.[17] There was even an attempt to organize art contest for the proposal of the modification of the painting. In the end, representatives of district and city administration contacted an artist, who was doing monumental painting in the church in the main public space of Sykhiv. He proposed minimal interventions into the sidewall paintings that turned image of the sickle into abstract form. Even though it does not contribute to the understanding of the soviet legacy, it helped to *"preserve"* the sidewall painting physically.

Buildings and spaces

As an author of the project on Soviet mosaics, Y. Nikiforov, who traveled to many Ukrainian cities in search of modernist heritage, states that most distinguished modernist buildings *"are being demolished, wallpapered with ads or tastelessly renovated – undermining the integrity not only of discrete architectural complexes, but of the cityscape."*[18] Such a description is also applicable to Sykhiv, where a set of public buildings was constructed according to the individual projects with improved design, but remains in unacceptable condition now. Among them, there are a few trade and service centres. Under the circumstances of newly manifested capitalism, in the absence of any critical narrative or implementation of preservation practices outside the *"historic"* centre, private owners transform their property solely according to their needs and do not at all consider the architectural or urban value of a building or public space.

17 Панчишин, Оксана (2016): *На стіні будинку на Сихові художники замалюють комуністичну символіку*. Zaxid.net, 24 лютого. Available from the internet:, https://zaxid.net/na_stini_budinku_na_sihovi_hudozhniki_zamalyuyut_komunistichnu_simvoliku_n1383825, accessed 15 July 2017 [Panchyshyn, Oksana (2016): Artists will paint over the communist symbolic on the wall of a building in Sykhiv, Zaxid.net, 24 February, accessed 15 July 2017]

18 Nikiforov; Balashova; German, 10.

Trade centre, micro-district M12 of Sykhiv. Source: Author

As an illustration of these trends in Sykhiv, we can point to the transformation of the trade centre, which forms the core of micro-district M12's public centre, built according to an individual project in 1986. The mix of different functions in one complex was treated in a distinctive way, as *"individualization of the public buildings"*. In 1987, it was recognised as one of the best examples of a public centre and was awarded first prize in the Republican Competition. Since then, the set of functions of the complex has significantly changed and expanded. As a result, even the outlines of the buildings are hardly recognisable due to chaotic and fragmentary reconstructions, advertising banners and signboards. A similar process concerns not only buildings and complexes, but also open spaces, which after the collapse of the Soviet Union *"slid into private hands without a chance of becoming public platforms"*.[19] Thus, the area around the public space and trade centre of micro-district M18 (which acquired the name Santa Barbara under the market economy) was filled chaotically with small architectural volumes.

Additionally, tension among different interest groups arose there in May 2014, when residents of nearby buildings opposed to the construction of a 4-storey office building in the square, shared by a trade centre, a school and a 16-storey residential house. Indignant with the fact that the space for their everyday use was being taken away, and strongly suspecting the legitimacy of the construction, they removed the construction fence without

19 Nikiforov; Balashova; German,8

authorisation. According to some activists, it happened under the impetus of *Euromaidan* – i.e., events in winter 2014, when people were, as one of the Sykhiv activists mentioned, "*ready to act together for the common good*". Subsequently, in 2015, this square officially obtained the name *Square of Dignity*, referring to the other name for

Square near the trade centre in Santa Barbara (micro-district M18) after the renovation. Source: photo by Markiian Maksymiuk

Euromaidan – the *Revolution* of Dignity. Characteristically, right after the community claimed the space, they installed a religious sculpture in the square, which has been integrated into the renovation project, but lately subjected to vandalism. Since the beginning of the conflict, the lawsuit in the court between the developer, residents and city officials has dragged on. Meanwhile, a participatory process for the square's reconstruction was developed by a grass-roots initiative of architects together with active residents. The first stages of the renewal were financed from the city budget (with the exception of a disputed private construction plot) and by the donations of the nearby buildings' residents. Also, on the basis of a group of active residents, an NGO was founded that began working on other common issues within the district.

Cityscape

The preservation of heritage of mass housing landscapes undoubtedly needs a specific approach which should consider material structure as one that accumulates or/and generates intangible value. From the moment of its construction until now, the Sykhiv cityscape has undergone a few stages of transformation. Hence, it is

Residential yard in Sykhiv. Source: Author

problematic to distinguish precise periods, but it might be possible to draft general trends.

Initially, on the one hand, Sykhiv was planned according to modernist principles as a workers' settlement, which was intended to reduce daily migration from suburban areas. On the other hand, in the press, it was conceptualised as an ideological landscape: an exemplary Soviet settlement and a monument in itself. Controversially, instead of manifest modernisation, the district evolved into an area associated with the rural environment in the 1980s and 1990s. New residents, some of whom moved to the district from nearby villages, brought with them their everyday practices and kept a connection with their previous homes. At that time, Sykhiv was perceived as a separate district, usually opposed to Lviv. As writer I. Melnyk[20] said, *"Sykhiv stopped at the halfway point between the village to the city"*. Along with the urban/rural functional contradiction, there was also a contradiction of perception.
Being initially described as an exemplary settlement, in 2010, Sykhiv appeared on the top-10 list of the most deprived residential districts in the Ukraine – probably based on the stigmatisation as post-Soviet "dormitory" districts. Along with people from nearby rural areas,

20 Обух, Н. (2012): *Сихів зупинився на півдорозі до Львова: Інтерв'ю з Ігорем* Мельником. Новий погляд. Available from the internet: http://pohlyad.com/, accessed 15 November 2015 [Obukh, N. (2012): *Sykhiv stopped at the halfway point between the village to the city: Interview with writer Ihor Mel'nyk.* Novyi pohlyad. Available from the internet: http://pohlyad.com/ , accessed 15 November 2015]

Sykhiv was inhabited by the residents of Lviv from other parts of the city, re-settlers from the Chernobyl Exclusion Zone, military and others. By now, it is a socially mixed area with a dominance of young families. Gradual social integration has occurred along with spatial integration. Infrastructure development strengthened the accessibility of the districts: the construction of the Sykhivskyj Bridge in 2004 and the introduction of the new tram line No. 8, which was put into operation in 2017.

Religious manifestations in the Sykhiv cityscape became very visible in the public space after the end of the Communist officially atheistic period. Transformation of the district's main public space is an example of ideological loss and gain[21] in terms of L. C. de Lille and M. Guest. The multifunctional central square with the ideological complex of administrative buildings was not completed because of the general crisis at the end of the 1980s. Yet, the pedestal remained empty just until 1993. The construction of a

Densification of the micro-district M22 with new housing. Source: Author

big church at the intersection of the main streets became a symbolic act for the district, in which the community actively participated. The Monument to Pope John Paul II and a park named after him appeared sometime after his meeting with the youth that took place near the new church.

Along with the transformation of the grand narrative, there were also some more ordinary and less visible transformations of

21 De Lille, Lydia Coudroy; Guest, Milena (2010): *Towards Banalization? Transforming the Legacies*In A. Kliems - M. Dmitrieva (eds): *Post-Socialist City,* Jovis, 2010, 34-51

the cityscape. A combination of factors concerning the existence of developed infrastructure for daily needs – a certain number of undeveloped areas in Sykhiv, on the one hand, and the need for new housing, on the other – caused new construction without any planning strategy, especially in the mid-2000s. It might be suggested that it unintentionally reproduced some of the Soviet cityscape features in the new social context. Contemporary housing projects were an *"improved"* version of Soviet typologies, even though the technology change and they were not built with large prefabricated elements. Their distinctive feature is the new envelope, which stylistically refers to classic architecture or visually reiterates separate elements of contemporary Western housing.[22] In this way, the modernist method of construction was somehow substituted by the pre-modernist notion of style.

Finally, it is possible to suggest that, even though residents do not see much value in the architecture, in many cases, they appreciate the experiences of living in the district and the acquired social networks. In opposition to many cases in other European cities outside the former USSR, Sykhiv is distinguished by its active citizenship, socially integrated into the city and permanently developing, although it faces many *"post-"* complications.

CONCLUSION

Taking into account the multiplicity and controversies of modernisms, there are different approaches to modern urban heritage. In this respect, non-material values of modernist cityscapes are crucial. They can become a reason for preservation or an obstacle in this aspiration. The situation of Soviet legacy in the Ukraine is symbolised to some extent by the confusion over empty pedestals, and it calls for a critical and non-emotional approach. Considering non-material values, it is possible to point an additional two: 1) intellectual heritage, as a set of modern architecture principles; and 2) cultural and social heritage. Moreover, modern mass housing landscape and its heritage is not homogeneous; it is composed by the following: monumental art objects, buildings and spaces with unique values, and cityscape.

22 Мисак, Наталя (2016): *„Надмірності" в архітектурі багатородинного житла у Львові від 1956 року і дотепер: трансформації при зміні контекстів.* Liublin, Rocznik Lubelski T. XLII, 165-177 [Mysak, Natalia (2016): *"Superfluities" in the Architecture of Multi-Family Housing in Lviv from 1956 until the Present: Transformation in Changing Contexts.* Rocznik Lubelski, T.XLII, 165-177.]

Modern legacies very frequently become a *focus of the state organisations in the Ukraine. Therefore, after the adoption of the "de-Communization" law, many* informal initiatives appeared to support the discussion with polarised opinions. In particular, questions regarding monumental art were usually posed in a very emotional way. It could be assumed that approaches to preservation of public buildings and spaces through (inertial) loss of the ideological component and (intentional) change of the system might be effective. The main complications for this approach in the Ukrainian context are a lack of strategic planning and regulations, on the one hand, and the numerous owners as consequences of the privatisation realised after the political change, on the other hand. The private owners transform their property solely according to their needs and do not consider the value of the existing buildings or surrounding public space at all. As result, tension among different interest groups is a peculiar feature of the post-socialist cityscape. Euromaidan events in 2014 questioned the ideological issues of Soviet legacy in different ways, but also provided motivation for the empowerment of the bottom-up movements.

In terms of mass housing landscapes, it is difficult to distinguish precise periods and single identities; yet, understanding general trends in this process might help to define their main values. The example of Sykhiv shows its controversial development, which initiated with the ideas of a workers' settlement and exemplary Soviet district. It continued with a substitution of manifest modernisation by rural identities and an image as one of the most deprived residential districts in the Ukraine. According to the principle of the ideological loss and gain, emblematic sites of the Soviet settlement have acquired a new identity, sometimes without any construction even taking place, as active re-sacralisation occurred following the atheistic period. The Sykhiv actual cityscape reproduces some of the former Soviet cityscape features through the construction of *"improved"* versions of Soviet typologies. In this manner, the modern notion of method was substituted by the pre-modern notion of style. Application of the aesthetic approach became a key feature of these *"post-"* processes, by the efforts of de-Communization or decoration handling of (post-) Soviet housing types. Nevertheless, the case of Sykhiv indicates opportunities the active development of post-socialist landscapes, as well as many "post-" complications. Viewing modern urban landscapes as intellectual heritage today is of the great importance for the contemporary generation of architects in the Ukraine to acquire a sense of self-understanding.

VARNA / BULGARIA

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TOWARDS A PARTICIPATORY REGENERATION OF THE TROSHEVO HOUSING ESTATE IN VARNA

On 10 November 1989, a political revolution struck down Todor Zhivkov, President of the Popular Republic of Bulgaria and General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party for 35 years. More than 40 years after the World War II and the Kingdom of Bulgaria's fall, the country abandoned the promises of communism and entered a period of transition which led Bulgaria to become part of the European Union in 2007. After decades of isolation, the Communist world's collapse projected the Eastern European countries onto the international stage. The slow restructuring of the former Socialist republics, weakened by Moscow's patronage, met the reversal of programs that had been the backbone of Socialist societies during the 20th century: land collectivization, planned economy, mass supervision, etc. The collapse of the regime in Eastern Europe resulted in land retrocession, new political regimes, market-based economy and also new social fractures within post-socialist communities. Thereby, modern utopias disappeared and dissolved into the contemporary world. Opportunities have multiplied, and time has accelerated since the grand experiment foundered on the rocky straits of Central and Eastern Europe's new challenges.

As a European Union member since 2007, Bulgaria today must face three main challenges in order to develop new prospects: the problems of shrinking cities and demographic decline; the non-recognition of modern legacies, especially socialist ones, as part of urban policy; and a housing stock in need of renovations, currently serviced by private owners[1]. Confronted with these challenges and considering the tangle of social and urban problems in contemporary Bulgaria, how can we initiate participatory rehabilitation process of Bulgaria's modern housing stock?

1 World Bank Group (2017): *Cities in Europe and Central Asia: Bulgaria.* Washington D.C, World Bank Group. Available from the internet: http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/322891511932837431/Cities-in-Europe-and-Central-Asia-Bulgaria, accessed 24 June 2018.

Research by design elicited the following hypothesis. In order to develop rehabilitation programs on modern housing units in Bulgaria, it is important to define the theory of "*modern ordinary legacies*". This theory can be constructed by articulating the history of modern architecture in Bulgaria and a social aesthetic (the transformations of modern architecture by inhabitants). It leads to an understanding of the complexity of modern housing in Bulgaria, in order to reincorporate it successfully within Bulgarian urban policy.

To develop the question of participatory rehabilitation of Soviet-era housing, this paper focuses on three topics. First, it repositions the question of architectural modernity in Bulgaria by presenting socialist urban planning in Varna during the 20th century. Second, it explores the case of Troshevo, a small *microrayon*[2] inside the *gilorayons* of Mladost, composed of 11 slabs and towers in Varna to understand the contemporary transformations made by inhabitants. Third, it describes Green Troshevo, a project of participatory renovation inside this neighbourhood, made with the support of Veolia Energy Varna, the Municipality of Varna and the French Embassy in Bulgaria. The conclusion guides us towards the prospects for a participatory renovation of modern neighbourhoods in Eastern Europe, based on knowledge of socialist-period planning and knowledge of the social aesthetic woven by inhabitants.

Varna's plan 2015.
Source: Author

2 *Microrayons* and *gilorayons* are the technical terms used to describe the production of mass panel housings in Bulgaria in the late 60s. These neighborhoods units were designed to be autonomous systems with residential areas connected to industrial zones, shopping centers and public facilities.

SOCIALIST URBAN PLANNING IN VARNA: A BRIEF HISTORY OF CONTINUITIES AND RUPTURES

In order to understand the development of socialist architectural and urban heritage in Bulgaria, the article focuses on the urban planning history of Varna, an eastern city of Bulgaria along the Black Sea's shores. Comprehension of the architectural and urban history of this milliner city aids in the understanding of how and why inhabitants continue to transform Soviet-era spaces and precisely what impact urban policies have on modern districts.

Varna was renamed Stalin in 1949, after Fatherland Front's[3] rise to power with the Red Army's help. A seashore city of prime importance under Boris III's regime and his predecessors, Varna is the principal face of Bulgaria on the Black Sea. Upon consolidating power over Bulgaria, Fatherland Front started a radical transformation of urban planning in Bulgaria, linking it to economic planning via the five-year plans. Urbanism became not only a way to control and educate the population in Marxism-Leninism, but also the result of a quantitative goal set up by Fatherland Front. If modern Bulgaria has always used urban planning as a way to consolidate the power of the emerging state upon the ruins of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans, we must note that linking urban planning to the external ideology of Marxism-Leninism introduced a new orientation for urban planners and architecture. Aside from the radical transformation of urban planning via land collectivisation and seizure of all the previous institutions, the new Communist power aimed to define the principles of the ideal socialist city by importing the conceptual, but blurry idea of Socialist Realism[4] (the idea of architecture that is national in form and socialist in content).

To conform to this new aesthetic and prepare Varna for the next step in its modernisation, architect Kiril Yaremov was asked to draft a design for the extension of Varna-Stalin. Implementing the principles of Socialist Realism in Varna-Stalin was no easy task, thanks to the blurry outline of this aesthetic. In order to fulfil the task, Kiril Yaremov designed a master plan based on the 1930s work of the famous Bulgarian urban-planner Lyuben Tonev, who was, in the 50s, already occupied with the design of Dimitrovgrad,

3 Fatherland Front is now called the Bulgarian Communist Party. Znepolski, Ivaïlo (2008): *Bulgarian communism: Socio-cultural aspects and power trajectory*. Sofia: Ciela.

4 Robin, Régine (1986): *Le réalisme socialiste : une esthétique impossible.* Paris : Payot.

the flagship of Bulgarian Communism's new towns. The extension plan of Varna, confirmed as conforming to the principles of Socialist Realism, was basically the redrawing of Tonev's former 1930s plan, which foresaw the city's urbanisation into polycentric neighbourhoods around the historical city (like the concept of a Garden City, famous in pre-socialist Bulgaria).

Just after the death of Stalin, the personality cult was heavily criticised among the representatives of all the Communists parties in Eastern Europe. Following the process of de-Stalinisation initiated by Nikita Khrushchev, Bulgaria began to reprove architects working on the various master plans based on Socialist Realist ideals. As a result, Lyuben Tonev was removed as the designer of Dimitrovgrad for and replaced with Petar Tashev; while, in Varna, Kiril Yaremov saved his position.[5] This new master plan had the same orientations as the former one, but proposed a more ambitious vision for the industrial areas, since Bulgaria was entering a new stage of modernisation, following in the footsteps of the USSR. However, despite Varna's efforts to regulate the urbanisation and the emergence of slums, it experienced rapid growth and the arrival of a massive rural exodus due to land collectivisation. This spurred the conception of new measures to address the housing's crisis.

The construction of *gilorayons* began in Bulgaria in the middle of the 60s, a decade after Khrushchev's announcement on 7 December 1954.[6] During this decade, Bulgaria mustered all its forces in the creation of a heavy industrial sector able to sustain the construction of the socialist ideal in the country by creating concrete prefabricated panels. To withstand the rapid urbanisation during this decade of preparation (caused by rural exodus, provoked by the actions and policies of the Bulgarian Communist Party), the state continued to promote the former pre-socialist system of housing cooperatives, used during the 20s in Bulgaria. However, due to a lack of impetus, funds and qualified workers, the process of modernisation, even aided by the housing cooperatives system, could not satisfy demand for housing in a timely manner. Varna opened its first panel factory in 1964, in the area of Devnia, which became the biggest industrial zone in the region to begin the construction of prefabricated mass housing. Assisted by the experience of architects who had tested the new construction systems and housing typologies

5 It is not clear why Yaremov maintained his position during the political purge. We can assume that the region of Varna was not threaten by the destalinization during this period and that Kiril Yaremov had the opportunity to continue his work freely.

6 Parusheva, Dobrinka and Marcheva, Iliyana (2010): "Housing in Socialist Bulgaria: Appropriating Tradition", *Home Cultures*, Vol. 07. No. 01. 197-215.

in Sofia during the previous decade,[7] Varna began construction of its own first *gilorayons*: Chaïka.

Alongside the development of prefabricated housing based on the experiences of Russian and Bulgarian architects[8], the Bulgarian Communist Party published a directive in 1964, which continues to have a significant resonance today in seashore urbanisation. This directive was a series of schemes aimed at developing and specialising the different regions of Bulgaria, especially the seashore between Bourgas and Varna. The main concept was to divide the seashore into two areas. The coastal area received the emblematic and monumental constructions of Socialist Modernism, to prove the glory of its ideals to the tourists and develop leisure activities from north to south. Meanwhile, the panel factory would continue to produce *gilorayons* from east to west, from the cities to the provinces, providing average and low-cost dwellings for workers. As a result, typologies of prefabricated housing were adapted to the local constraints and climate conditions; and several Varna's gilorayons like Chaïka, Levski, Troshevo, Mladost and Vladislavovo were created from the mid-60s until the end of the 80's. Unfortunately, lack of public support and funds left these *gilorayons* underequipped. Most of the public equipment was not build, infrastructure was not connected to the main roads, pipes were missing, and public spaces were made from the mud of construction sites.

These trends continued through the 80s, when the new master plan, created in 1982, attempted to coordinate previous realisations on a larger scale. After the collapse of Communism in 1989, a new planning document was made in 1991, to synthesise all the urbanisation made during the Communist era and to prepare for the process of retrocession, as well as to control urban planning in a dramatically changing country. Unfortunately, this master plan became obsolete just after its implementation due to desegregation of public services.

In 2012, a new master plan was spearheaded by the former office for urban planning in Varna, the TPO[9], which survived the collapse. This master plan mainly focused on the development of Varna's

7 Slavova, Petya (2002): "L'architecture bulgare en transformation. De quelques aspects organisationnels. " *La Nouvelle Alternative*, Vol. 57. 39-50.

8 Frank, Carter (1990): Housing policy in Bulgaria. In Sillince, John (ed.): *Housing policies in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.* New-York: Routledge, 150-227.

9 Territorial Design Office - Териториална проектантска организация – Teritorialna Proektantska Organizatsia – was created in 1959 in Varna. It is the former communist design office of Varna. It has been bought by Holding Varna AD in 2006, the former Varna Privatisation Fund AD created in 1996 during the land restitution.

1964's development scheme for the Black Sea.
Source: Author

seashore and the promotion of tourism in the territory. The *gilorayons* and collapsing industry were abandoned to private companies and inhabitants, designating some *laisser-faire*[10] territories on Varna's periphery. The Black Sea's tourism has become, in recent years, the principal sector of activities, generating prosperous incomes to the detriment of the *gilorayons* and their inhabitants, which were abandoned by public policy. Thus, *laisser-fair* has become an institutional status, made legal by the lot's status (a special status of public ground left to the use of private owners). However, this policy of *laisser-faire* is double-edged. The absence of public policy permits inhabitants to improve their territories without constraint. At the same time, though, a dearth of public funds and political will leads these territories into urban decay due to the lack of maintenance.

Bulgarian urban planning in the 20th century is characterised by the transition between a strong political will, able to promote long-term urban planning in order to fulfil ideological and economical goals, and the restriction of urban policy to the tourism sector and development of Varna's seashores. Due to the lack of interest regarding Communist heritage and a lack of means to control the transformation of *gilorayons*, a *laisser-faire* policy has been implemented in those territories, prompting inhabitants to improve their living environment without any control. To prove this fact, we will now focus on the case of Troshevo, a small *microrayon* of Varna, and study how this policy of *laisser-faire* and the lack of political strategy has motivated inhabitants to take control of the private, collective and public space of modern socialist legacies.

10 Laisser-faire is a french expression meaning that the lack of public policies in microrayons leads people to organize themselves to take care of public and collectives spaces. This lack of regulation is a double-edged situation. By letting people organize themselves, the public autority can achieve social peace but at the cost of urban improvement

TROSHEVO : AN ORDINARY MICRORAYON

Troshevo's plan in 2015. Source: Author

After the presentation of the historical background, this paper focuses on the contemporary transformations of *gilorayons*, especially in the case of Troshevo, a small *microrayon* situated next to Varna's principal shopping centre. This *microrayon* is composed of the following blocks:

— Blocks 75, 76, 77, 78: 8-storey buildings with 4 staircases per block made of prefabricated concrete panels.

— Towers 79, 80, 81, 82, 83: 15-storey buildings made of concrete reinforced with steel.
— Blocks 1-9: 5- to 8-storey buildings with 5 staircases made of prefabricated concrete panels

The Troshevo area was occupied by bricks factories and a small village with agricultural lands. Most of the existing houses build in the first half of the 20th century were built with bricks recycled from the factories by the workers. In 1968, four years after the publication of the territorial schemes, the Ministry of Construction decided to implement a modern dwelling complex for Devnia's workers, the biggest industrial area in the western part of Varna. This ensemble was designed by the TPO, the official office for urban and architectural design in Varna, which used a catalogue of typologies created in the capital city of Sofia and checked by scientific institutes coordinated by the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Prefabricated building in the northern part of the site. Source: Author

Troshevo's *microrayon* construction began in 1968, with the construction of Block No. 77, which hosted the first workers. Prefabricated panels came on site, and the first inhabitants moved into the apartments in 1970. The five towers were constructed between 1973 and 1975, with special regulations for resisting earthquakes (7 on Richter's scale). The initial project did not include the block 1-9, which were only constructed in 1976, based on Kaysieva Gradina's typologies (another *microrayon* in the western part of Varna, inside the Vladislavovo *gilorayon*).

East view of Troshevo's towers.
Source: Author

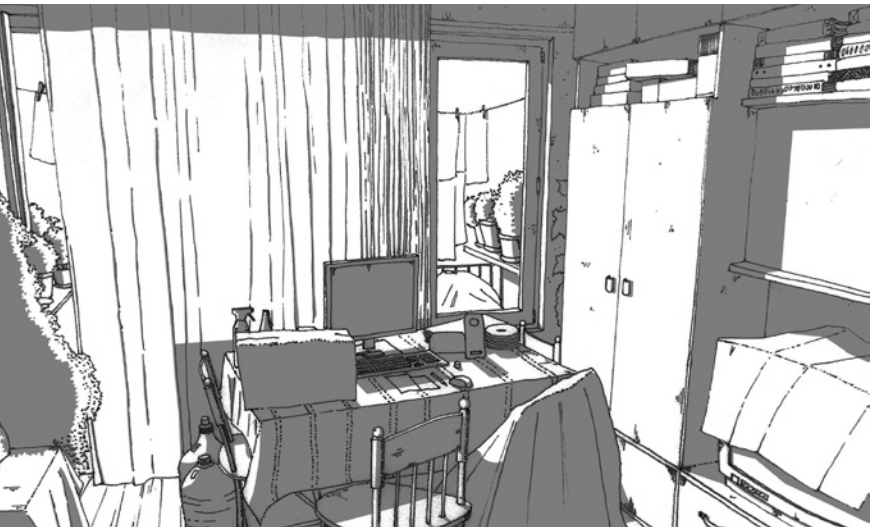
The prefabricated panels were of good quality, but were poorly assembled on site. The lack of qualified workers for steel joinery (most of them were inexperienced) gave rise to long-term problems that still plague the maintenance of these buildings today. In addition, the initial project did not operate on the concept of public spaces, and most of the water, electricity and ventilation network was not functional by the time construction on the *microrayon* was complete. Consequently, the first inhabitants had found several informal solutions for dwelling inside the unfinished panels buildings.

North view of the bloc 1-9.
Source: Author

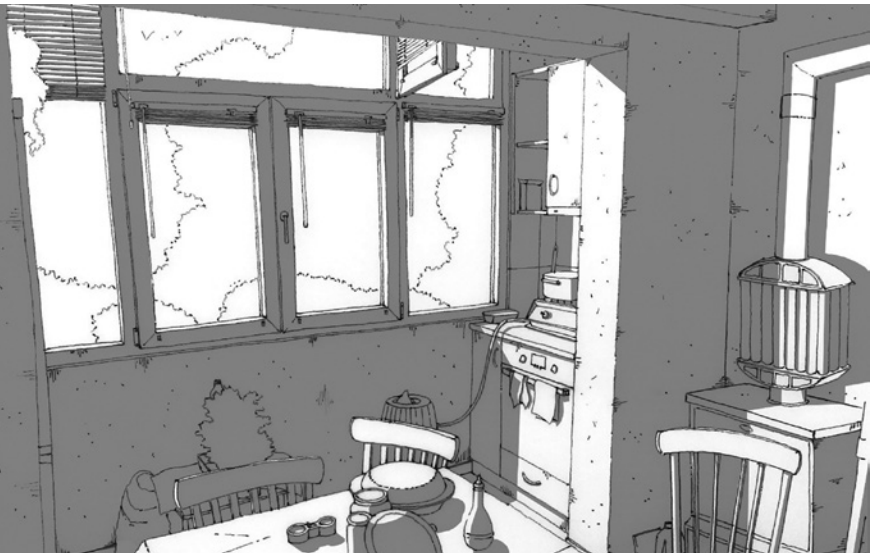
On account of the lack of public regulation and presence, inhabitants have taken charge of the Troshevo *microrayon*. Owners since 1974, in exchange for 20-year jobs within the construction firm in Devnia, inhabitants have lived in their own apartments created on land which still belongs to the municipality, but with a special status. This ground is public (with private apartments and collective private space in the staircases), but the public ground is relinquished for private use. This means that the municipality established *laisser-faire* status inside and in between blocks, permitting inhabitants to improve and fix common legacies by their own means. Consequently, they managed to create the sidewalks around the blocks and most of the existing playground, especially the basketball ground.
They profited from the lack of control to build up their own spaces in this special public space: wooden shacks for card games, small gardens in front of the buildings, informal parking spaces, and so on.

Cabin made by Block 76's inhabitants for meetings. Source: Author

These transformations not only appear in the public spaces, but also in the collective and private interior spaces. Collective spaces (private property shared by several owners, like the staircase) have become storage areas or sites for plants to decorate the staircases. To manage the staircase, inhabitants tend to create some informal rules. These help them to maintain a social structure throughout a staircase, to recycle unused common goods, and to create small shops on the ground floor of each building. These rules often include the question of cleaning floors and payment for renovations, but also the election of a representative who takes care of all the administrative paperwork. Recently, this kind of informal organization has become official with a special regulation for condominiums, which elect a representative for the entire block, not just for one the staircase.



Reconversion of a previous bedroom into a private office.
Source: Author



Interior extension on the loggia to extend the kitchen.
Source: Author

The most visible transformations, however, have occurred in private spaces, overflowing onto the façades of the buildings. The absence of any control or aesthetic regulation, combined with the property system and poor insulation, has driven inhabitants to improve their apartments themselves. In addition to the renovation of thermal insulation, inhabitants profited by extending their kitchens, living rooms or bedrooms onto the loggias or balconies, by enclosing them with new windows and additional concrete blocks. Since most of the inhabitants have really few funds to renovate their apartments, most of them tend to join forces and funds to renovate several storeys at the same time with the same materials.

A mosaic of appropriations from public to private spaces. Source: Author

Façade renovation and extensions result in a mosaic of appropriations, allowing us to understand, through mere spatial observation, the different consensuses, informal rules and strategies set up by inhabitants and how they deal with each other in the maintenance and improvement of Communist heritage. This permanence of social links and their expression in the transformation of the *microrayon* constitute what I call a social aesthetic.[11] This is an articulation of consensuses,[12] manifest in space, which shows how people have organised to find spatial solutions to their problems. This leads to a special line of inquiry within the study of modern heritage in Bulgaria but also in the different Eastern European countries like Hungary, or the former Sovietic Republics like Georgia or Ukraine, the question of contemporary appropriation as an aspect of these buildings' life histories.

11 Sandrini, Clara (2014) : *La médiation architecturale: une oeuvre en mouvement pour une esthétique sociale*, Toulouse : ENSA Toulouse. Available from the internet: http://lra.toulouse.archi.fr/lra/productions/theses-et-hdr-soutenues/hdr-soutenues/Clara_Sandrini, accessed 06 June 2018.

12 Ranciere, Jacques (2000): *Le partage du sensible: esthétique et politiques.* Paris: Diffusion Les Belles Lettres.

A participative workshop in the public space of Troshevo. Source: David Esteban

GREEN TROSHEVO: PROJECT FOR PARTICIPATORY RENOVATION OF A COLLECTIVE HOUSING

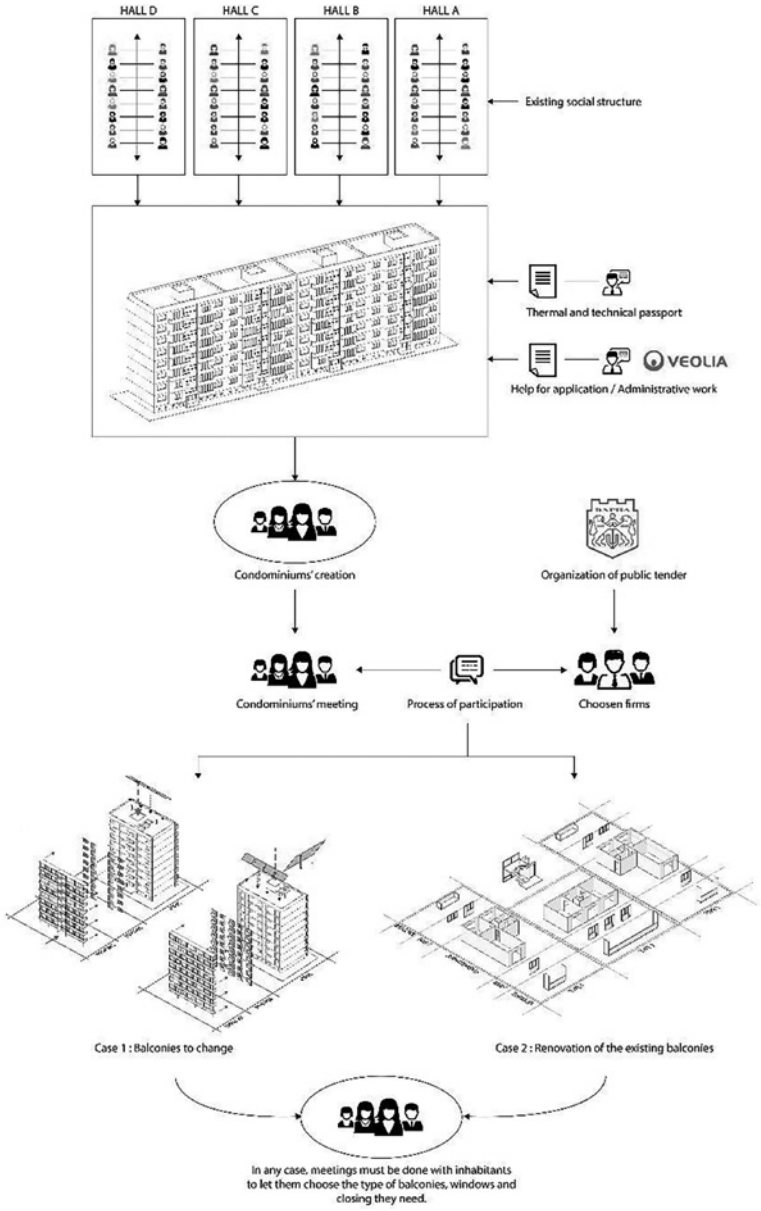
In June 2014, the research group F2S in the Architectural Research Laboratory of Toulouse was brought into contact with Veolia Bulgaria, through the aid of the French Institute in Bulgaria, to develop a participatory program to renovate the Soviet-era buildings in Troshevo. The main goal was to build up a renovation program from scratch which could be financed with the support of the Ministry of Regional Development and the Municipality of Varna. The program was special insofar as it aimed to provide a method of involving inhabitants in the design process and the research of energy efficiency both on an architectural and urban scale. Veolia Bulgaria, a firm specialising in urban heating systems, set up several strategies to strengthen its network in Varna. Its work with inhabitants led the company to develop a service to

provide administrative support for their clients. It also motivated the company rethink their heating system, changing the collective central heating system to one of individual devices connected by a pipe in the staircase of panel slabs and towers.

In April 2015, a workshop of architectural mediation in Troshevo allowed the research group F2S to present in front of the inhabitants, the Municipality of Varna, Veolia Bulgaria and the French Embassy in Bulgaria, the potentials for participatory renovation in Troshevo. This exhibition, made with the students of the National Superior Architecture School of Toulouse, shed light on Varna's urbanization, the municipality's urban strategies and the recognition of a social aesthetic in Troshevo. This event lent visibility to the different actors' strategies in Troshevo and lifted the veil from the taboo heritage of socialist architectural and urban legacy. In November 2015, the National Superior Architectural School of Toulouse was mandated by Veolia to extend the partnership with inhabitants and public actors to draw architectural and urban prescriptions to create a renovation program. The main goal was to develop prescriptions based on inhabitants' wishes by involving them in the process.

Just after this event, several recommendations (architectural and urban) were designed with the help of inhabitants and proposed to the different partners in order to create the framework of a public tender financed by the European Union. During a period of one year, this public-private partnership continued to work with inhabitants and construct a step by step program, in order to finance the renovation of Troshevo's 11 buildings. This project, named Green Troshevo, allowed the wishes of inhabitants to be gathered and combined them with energy efficiency goals and architectural and urban design. It also gave an official structure to the different social links between people by creating official condominiums for Troshevo's building management.

Unfortunately, due to a final decision of the municipality, the project was cancelled, leading to the disbanding of the partners. The project of renovating modern socialist legacy is still a complicated process in Bulgaria, even with the support of the Ministry of Regional Development and inhabitants linked with private companies. Nevertheless, this experience, forged with the support of the National Superior Architecture School of Toulouse, can be used as a first milestone for participatory renovation in Bulgaria, as well as for the recognition of modern architectural legacies in the country. At the end of the day, the



New process for Troshevo's participatory renovation. Source: Author

consideration of historical knowledge about modern dwellings combined with recognition of a social aesthetic has given rise to the concept of ordinary modern legacies in Bulgaria. It shined a light on the Communist architectural and urban legacy, which had been completely ignored by public policies and urban strategies. This question of evoking the concept of ordinary modern legacy

allows Bulgarian inhabitants to reconnect with a taboo past, the Communist era, by revealing the forgotten history of these buildings and how people improve them nowadays. If the project of Green Troshevo was not a success, it at least revealed the potential of modern architecture to be renovated and the possibility for inhabitants to be integrated into the process.

TOWARDS A PARTICIPATORY RENOVATION

Participatory renovation of modern Soviet-era mass housing in Bulgaria has still a long way to go.[13] The paper showed that socialist urban planning in Varna permitted the construction of *gilorayons* and *microrayons* which were not completed. Even when inhabitants owned the various apartments, the lack of public facilities and spaces only exacerbated the problems with these unfinished dwellings, further amplified by the collapse of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe. Afterwards, in Bulgaria, inhabitants continued to transform their environment in order to improve their living conditions. As a result, private space was altered with extensions, transformations and new thermal insulation – all of which reflect the social context quite visibly on the buildings' façades. Collective private space testifies to the social bonds woven by their inhabitants and their informal organisational system. Public space, abandoned by the municipality of Varna, acquired a new status, which allowed inhabitants to make their own appropriations at the ground level. All these transformations resulted in a social aesthetic, superimposed over the socialist heritage. Finally, this experience showed that a public-private partnership financed by the European Union and supported by inhabitants, public institutions and private corporations can result in a participatory program for energetic renovation in Varna. Although the program of Troshevo case study ended in November 2016, it succeeded in shedding some light on the potentials of ordinary modern heritage in Bulgaria, which are a great taboo in urban strategies. The research team hopes that this work could be the first step in the development of these kinds of programs in Bulgaria and, on a larger scale, throughout the European Union.

13 Dandolova, Iskra (1996): Les enjeux de la participation: la reconversion créative des immeubles de grands ensembles. In Pedrazzini, Yves (ed.): *Habitat créatif: éloge des faiseurs de villes*. Lausanne : Éditions Charles Léopold Mayer, 127-143.

SOTSGOROD / RUSSIA

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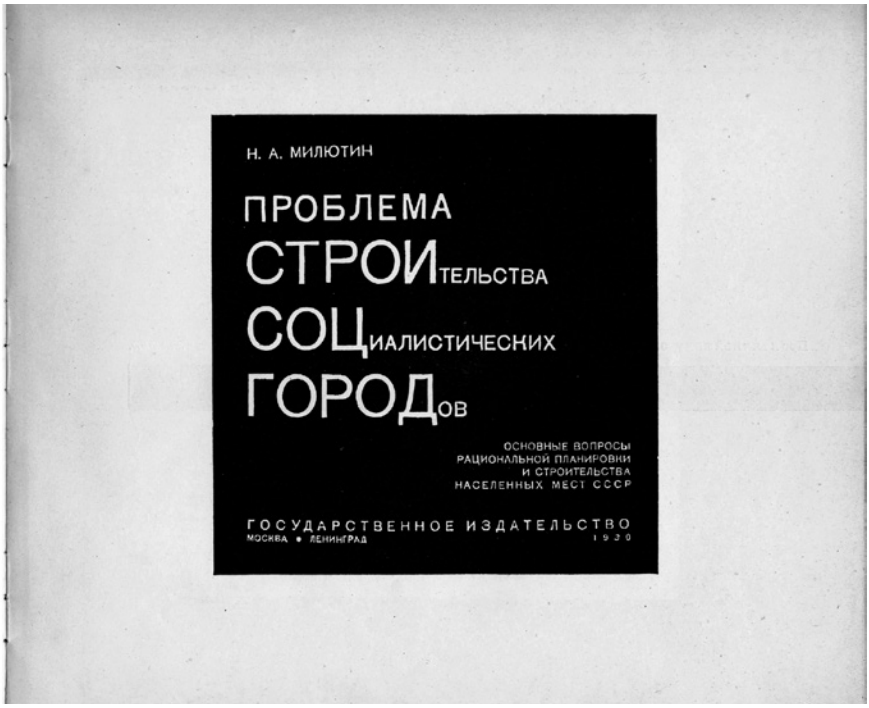
THE SOTSGORODS IN SOVIET URBAN LANDSCAPE

This paper focuses on the phenomenon of the *Sotsgorod*[1] – a state-socialist city conceived in Soviet urban planning and architectural practice in the 1930s-50s – which was quite different from Nikolay Milyutin's[2] concept[3] as he described it in his eminent book (1930). The sotsgorod not only inherited traditional Russian planning and social principles of the so-called "*sloboda*", but over the decades it has become an almost universal spatial unit of contemporary cities in Russia and many post-Soviet countries. Back in the middle of the 20th century, sotsgorod planning principles were a mixture of three key aspects and factors: a ministry-led and



Nikolay Milyutin "Sotsgord" Book Title Page, 1930. Source: Ekaterina Milyutina family archive

1 Milyutin, Dmitry Alekseyevich (1930) Sotsgorod; *The Problem Of Building Socialist Cities.* Moscow,
2 People's commissar of finance of Russian Soviet Socialistic Republic until 1930s.
3 Milutin's concept proposed linear city along industrial zone with almost total collectivisation with possibility of 'infinite' growth.

industry-based planning economy (including industrial complexes, the so-called combines), garden-city ideas adapted to the new social structure of communal living and the principle of architectural ensembles. Most of these developments were based on modern urban planning ideas of a "*designed society*" but were clothed in different architectural styles in accordance with the overall cultural policy of the 1930s-1950s.

A key implementation of these principles dates back to the pre-war and the first post-war decades (when they were exported abroad), involving both highly-developed areas and "*colonised*" territories like the Urals or Siberia. They were applied not only within the borders of Russia but all over the continent – from Central Europe to China where such urban planning principles form core parts of many industrial settlements which became more prominent in Post-World War II era. They were advocated by a now defunct school (even in Russia it has been completely replaced by international modern planning principles based on the Athens Charter) and had a part in the cultural, economic and political exchange in CMEA.[4]

Uralmash Sotsgorod General Plan, 1928. Source: Uralmash Museum, Ekaterinburg

4 Comecon (the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance), economic organisation under the leadership of the Soviet Union that comprised the countries of the Eastern Bloc (1949–1991).

Uralmash Apartment Buildings, Modern View, 2017. Source: Author.

In the architectural and urban history of many countries this is still a missing part due to the relatively recent existence of "*new*" and "*independent*" schools and in some cases, due to the political context affecting the overall assessment of Soviet heritage.

Notwithstanding significant differences in environmental conditions, economic sectors and starting situations, today sotsogorod can be considered as one of the basic urban planning units (not only of the spatial but also the social structure) in the former Soviet territories. These units form an almost universal typology. Larger industrial cities are made of a few such units, usually not forming a larger urban fabric but rather barely connected parts, similarly to the traditional division of Russian cities in medieval times. For dozens of cities it also forms a "*historical*" core of the settlements and it has been recognized as heritage only since the 2010s.

First, we need to briefly overview the sotsgorod phenomenon's place among the urban ideas and the social, economic and political landscape of the Soviet and Western Worlds. For the first quarter of the 20th century the main idea of European urban planning had been that of the garden city developed by Ebenezer Howard. After Howard it was developed by numerous planners and theorists like Tony Garnier and Arturo Soria-y-Mata[5]. During this time, the primary goal of garden city planners was to provide a solution to

5 Ovsyannikova, Elena Borisovna (2012) N. A. *Milyutin's Sotsgorod*. Moscow, Restavratsia-N

uncontrolled urban growth; it was actually more an idea aimed at des-urbanisation. It is also important that most of Howard's followers took his static approach as self-evident – in Soviet times it transformed to administrative efforts to limit the city's (projected) population, however such efforts always failed.

Milyutin's idea of a linear city was pretty simple – functional zoning: residential (such as communal house dormitories and other dwelling types), cultural, recreational and educational, political and service zones are placed in ribbons along the industrial plant (or combine's plants) assembly lanes and/or main interregional routes like railway tracks or rivers. Green belts are organised between the main industrial and residential zones where Milyutin proposes to place major public buildings – halfway between work and home. In the case of urban and production growth or in the typical Soviet case the population's growth following production growth, the city extends almost automatically along route lines. Based on this principle, in the 1960s the NER[6] group proposed a belt city along the Trans-Siberian railroad, but in the 1930s they worked with much smaller scales (typically tens of thousands of citizens, up to few hundreds of thousands).

STATIC OR DYNAMIC?

Milyutin's sotsgorod ideas were the first to be implemented to solve the problem of ever-growing cities in the Industrial age. It is hard to believe that Milyutin could doubt the efficiency of a planned economy but he put the principle of a growing city as a keystone of his work. His book is not solely academic but rather a building manual. Milyutin's linear (sequenced-flow) city was proposed for new or heavily reconstructed and modernised cities, usually with heavy industry. Of course, this was not proposed for metropolis scale settlements – the book was published at the time of a heated debate among Soviet planners and officials, nowadays referred to as the "*Discussion on Socialist Settlement*"[7], and the concept competition for the Moscow General Plan where another dynamic approach was

6 NER or New Settlement Unit (НЭР - Новый элемент расселения) – a project and architects and urbanist group name (A. Gutnov, A. Baburov, N. Gladkova, A. Zvezdin, I. Lezhava, N. Kostrikin, S. Sadovsky, A. Sukhanova, Z. Kharitonova), known for 1961 Moscow Architecture Institute diploma project. Later group members worked on future detalisation of the design and became famous within 1960s generation. Project has almost cosmic-scale futuristic approach, main revisions were made in 1968 (Triennale di Milano), 1970 (Osaka World Expo) and 2003 (City of 2100 competition).

7 Okhitovich, Mikhail (1930): *Notes on Settlement Theory.* Sovremennaya Arkhitetura, 1-2. 17-18.

presented – Nikolay Ladovskiy's famous "*Parabolic city*" proposal. Milyutin's idea was paramount in addressing the large scale growth of cities (with tens and hundreds of thousands of inhabitants) during the First Five-Year Plan (1929-1932), typically in the Volga, Urals and Siberian regions. For the Soviet planned economy, it was important to rely on economical zoning and industrial combines where the main assembly line could be surrounded with smaller lines of supporting industry and where the lack of public transportation and historical street networks required workers' housing within walking distance.

The most well-known and in many aspects infamous example of Magnitogorsk has been thoroughly analysed[8] in the last decades but we cannot say it shows the whole picture – rather, it outlines almost all typical problems both in designing and in the development of 1930s Soviet industrial cities. A coincidence of circumstances made Magnitogorsk the worst example despite the participation of many key planners such as Ernst May. With all respect to researchers who have brought to light several important documents, we have to say that many recent publications on the sotsgorod phenomenon are unfortunately ideologically-biased. We need to take another look at it in a more neutral way – taking into consideration historical, social, urban and geographical facts, and avoiding political judgement. The evolution of housing typology has become a subject of analysis for some decades now, but this process is not finished yet[9], retrospective view to industrial town-planning can be found in university textbooks, covering usually the whole history of the now-industrial regions of Russia[10].

LINEAR OR NOT?

In the middle of the 1930s the sotsgorod linear approach was successfully implemented in hundreds of cases at different scales up to Stalingrad – a city of nearly half a million in 1941 (now Volgograd has a metropolitan area over 60 kilometres long with more than

8 Konysheva, Evgeniya Vladimirovna; Meerovich Mark Grigorievich (2012) *Enst May and Designing of Socialistic Cities during First Five-Year Plans* (On Example of Magnitogorsk). Moscow, Leland.

9 Composite authors, Malinina, Tatiana Glebovna (concept). Mass Housing as Form of Creativity. The Role of Social Engineering and Creative Ideas in Designing Living Enviroments Experience of 20th Century and Challenges of 21 Century // Vassiliev, Nikolai (2015): *Evolution of Planning Typologies in Soviet Mass Hosing of 1920s-1930s*, 110-121. Moscow, BooksMArt.

10 Kolyasnikov, Viktor Aleksandrovich ed. (1995): *Regional Specific Of The Urals Urban Planning.* Ekaterinburg,

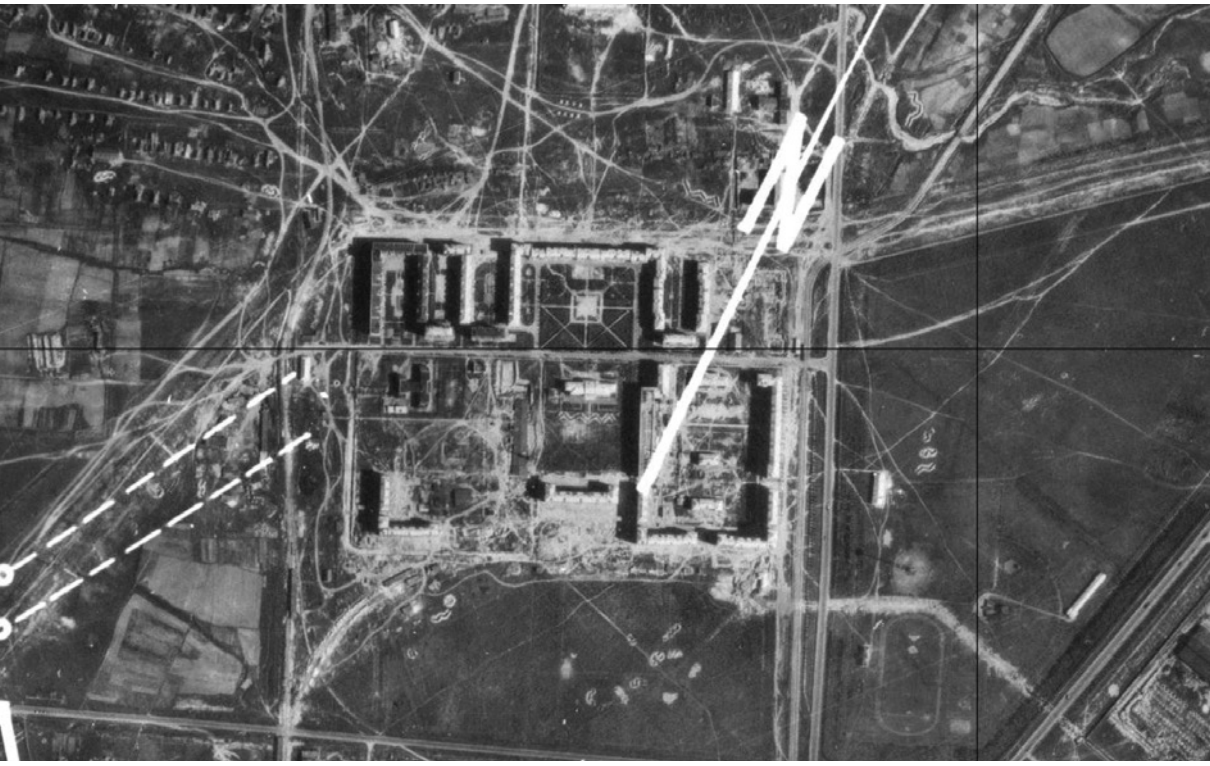
1 million residents). However, already before World War II the construction practice resulted in a very different urban system, and the sotsgorod lost its former mandatory linearity.

In the 1930s, not always with direct connection to the centralisation of cultural policy but rather influenced by more traditionally educated planners a new principle of spatial organisation emerged in Soviet cities. It was not symmetrically centred and applied baroque fan-shaped plans with the focal point representing the most politically important buildings or districts – the City Council, Palace of Culture and/or the main plant or factory entrance. We can observe it from Rastyapino (Dzerzhinsk) to Ivanovo-Voznesensk and in the Uralmash district of Ekaterinburg. Actually, one of the most important ideas was lost – plans became more static and much less suitable for expansion. Ironically, the development of one of the biggest state-socialist linear cities, the KhTZ (Kharkov Tractor Factory) concluded in the 2000s with the construction of a round square with a relatively dense residential district at the end of the "*infinite*" line, symbolising in particular the end of Soviet-era industry giants in Ukraine.

OLD VERSUS NEW?

If we look back to identify the traditional urban planning principles of Russian towns, we discover that baroque and classical

Kazan Aircraft Factory Sotsgorod, Modern View, 2014.
Source: Author.



Kazan Aircraft Factory Sotsgorod, Aerial View 1941. Source: www.sasgis.ru

ideas were used infrequently and usually only if the city had suffered from fire or some other disasters and had to be rebuilt in the second half of the 18th or during the 19th century. Of course, for cities that became governorate capitals by decree during the reforms of Catherine the Great, it was mandatory to build at minimum a centre with public and administrative buildings, a trio of avenues à la Saint Petersburg and a regular rectangular street network. Usually, regular plans were limited to the centre[11] and in the 19th century most of the residents actually lived as in the 16th century, in dispersed groups of buildings organised around local parish churches and settled usually by people of the same occupation or (sub)ethnicity. In Russian policy from at least the second half of the 1400s we know two main types of these settlements, called "*Posad*" and "*Sloboda*". The first literally means that the Tsar (or a Duke or other single or collective authority) ordered the people to live here – in most cases they had a military or

11 The Ural Region was an exception, [see Коляскников. Региональные особенности градостроительства Урала, 51-64] but in the 18-19th centuries regular plans for industrial and trade towns were fairly small for 1930s standards and at this time already lost their *"order"* due to the uncontrolled growth of the 1900s.

para-military occupation such as the Cossacks or they professed some important craft (for instance working in the Tsar's stables). In the case of Sloboda – which in most Slavic languages means "*freedom*", people settled themselves and in many cases received permission post facto. Sloboda is not only a residential part of the city; it featured special crafts and trade, or was home to a minority community – for instance Tartars, even if they were in official service, the Russian Tsar was not allowed to build a mosque anywhere except Tatarskaya Sloboda (many cities still retain this toponym, e.g. Tatarskays street in Moscow). Over the course of time various crafts emerged, some received special privileges from authorities and each economically active city had most of its territory divided into different sloboda districts. It was more prominent in places with more diverse ethnic landscape, such as in the former Tartar Khanate capital Kazan where from the late 1500s neither Tartars nor Russians or smaller Volga-region ethnic groups had absolute domination over the others.

From a historical distance after the end of the Soviet era, we can now see how the new state treated this system. It was not dismissed but adopted and re-used in a modern way, as a base for a state-socialist city, the sotsgorod, and of course with the utilisation of the achievements of modern planning and architecture. In contemporary cities of the former Soviet Union it is easy to recognize that vernacular urban areas usually coincide with specific borders of sotsgorod parts. Moreover, in many cases they maintain the same municipal division and structure. Only in the most economically dynamic cities with a significant change in the economic structure – usually the decline of heavy industry – we can see the replacement of former factories with new residential and commercial development. In this situation where there is a lack of working regulation and masterplans, the sotsgorod central areas with public facilities (like the palace of culture, district council building, department store, major transportation interchanges and so on) have become the "*historical*" part of the town despite its relatively young age.

Of course, planning structure and social infrastructure distribution has to a certain degree the over-centralised topology and "*vernacularity*" of each sotsgorod district (as in the huge industrial cities like Novosibirsk, Kharkov, or Kazan, to name a few), supported by dramatically decreasing quality and increasingly anisotropic coherence of the existing urban fabric – in many cases there are no connections with neighbouring districts except main streets or (usually) only streets (with excessive mileage).

PRINCIPLES OF SPATIAL STRUCTURE

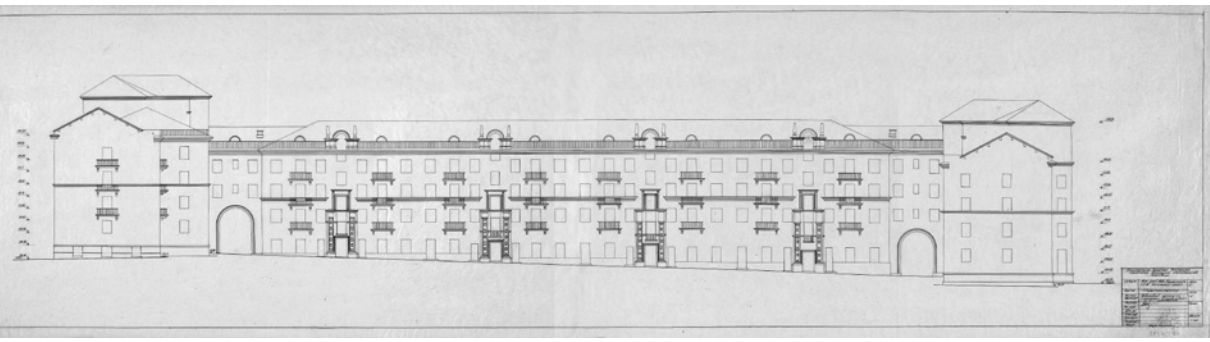
As if it was proclaimed by the theorists of "*disurbanism*", according to Nikolay Milyutin's concept the linear industrial city will have no particular centre – even the most important political and cultural places will be dispersed over the green belt between the residential and industrial zones. The real practice of new industrial urban development (including the new districts of existing settlements) was usually based on some mixture of both linear and garden-city ideas. Garden-cities were a very popular topic in Russia in the 1910s but only a few of them were built before the Revolution in places as far as Omsk in Siberia and Rostov-on-Don near Azov sea or in the outskirts of Moscow. The political and ideological concerns of the 1930s precluded any attempts at non-centric planning and even in linear structures always a more "*important*" central core was created, such as a square or boulevard between the main industrial site's entrance and a public building, typically a factory administration office, city-council, party committee or palace of culture – in some cases only one of these, in others a whole ensemble. The structure that was closest to the linear form was designed from one to three rows of rectangular blocks measuring up to 8-10 hectares along a main or a regular street with local infrastructure inside the blocks and district (city-) level services. Administrative and cultural buildings were located around one or two "*empty*" blocks that became the central (and the only) square, like in the Elmash part of Ekaterinburg (Sverdlovsk) created in the 1940s. Another approach was based on garden-city fan-shaped design with streets converging

Elmash Main Boulevard View, 1950s. Source: www.pastvu.com

at a square by the main factory entrance as in Sverdlovsk's Uralmash district (1930s).

However, if we take a closer look we discover that this layout was inspired not by historical precedents like classical facades but rather was based on well-known garden-city ideas – shifted and scaled-up. This is manifested by the fact that Vladimir Semenov, the key person in Russian pre-war planning gradually adopted Howard's ideas from the first projects of the 1910s in the general plans of "*Greater Perm*" from the late 1920s, the Moscow Reconstruction Plan from 1935[12], and the plan for Rostov-on-Don from 1937. Unlike original garden-cities, the settlements here are based not on private cottages (or in some cases very few of them for the highest-status residents) but on multi-apartment blocks – in many cases for the first builders and workers it was a one or two-storey wooden barracks**,** which gradually changed to brick buildings afterwards. This process took decades because until the late1980s the demands of industrial production and population growth were greater than actual construction speed. The third spatial type was a homogenous grid of streets within some distance of the production site (like the Kazan Aviation Factory Sotsgorod 1935-1938 or the Tkvarcheli coal mining town 1934-1952) – in this case it was relatively compact, relied on public transportation (usually tram) and had some hierarchical division applied for both building quality and service density.

During World War II many cities in the West of the USSR were destroyed and in 1941 hundreds of factories were evacuated to the East. In some cases, the latter were installed in existing industrial sites but often completely new sites had been established. Lack of resources including even architects and planners (they were strongly needed to reconstruct destroyed Stalingrad, Sevastopol, Minsk and



Novo-Kramatorsk Sotsgorod Apartment Building Design, 1938. Source: State Russian Museum of Architecture

12 Vasiliev, Nikolai Yurevich; Ovsyannikova, Elena Borisovna (2014): *Moscow on Reconstruction. Introduction to the facsimile reprint of the 1938 book.* Moscow, Restavratsia-N.

many other settlements ranging from small towns to the capitals of the union's republics) necessitated the use of pre-war plans and design methods under a significant increase of population density and housing supply that until the late 1950s was inferior to the 1930s. Moreover, some principles approved before the war were widely used, producing more consistent results – even a "*model*" capital's main street ensemble was built not in Moscow (were too many old buildings had to be preserved) but in Minsk totally destroyed during the war and other "*tabula rasa*" cities. And the same applies to sotsgorod towns and districts.

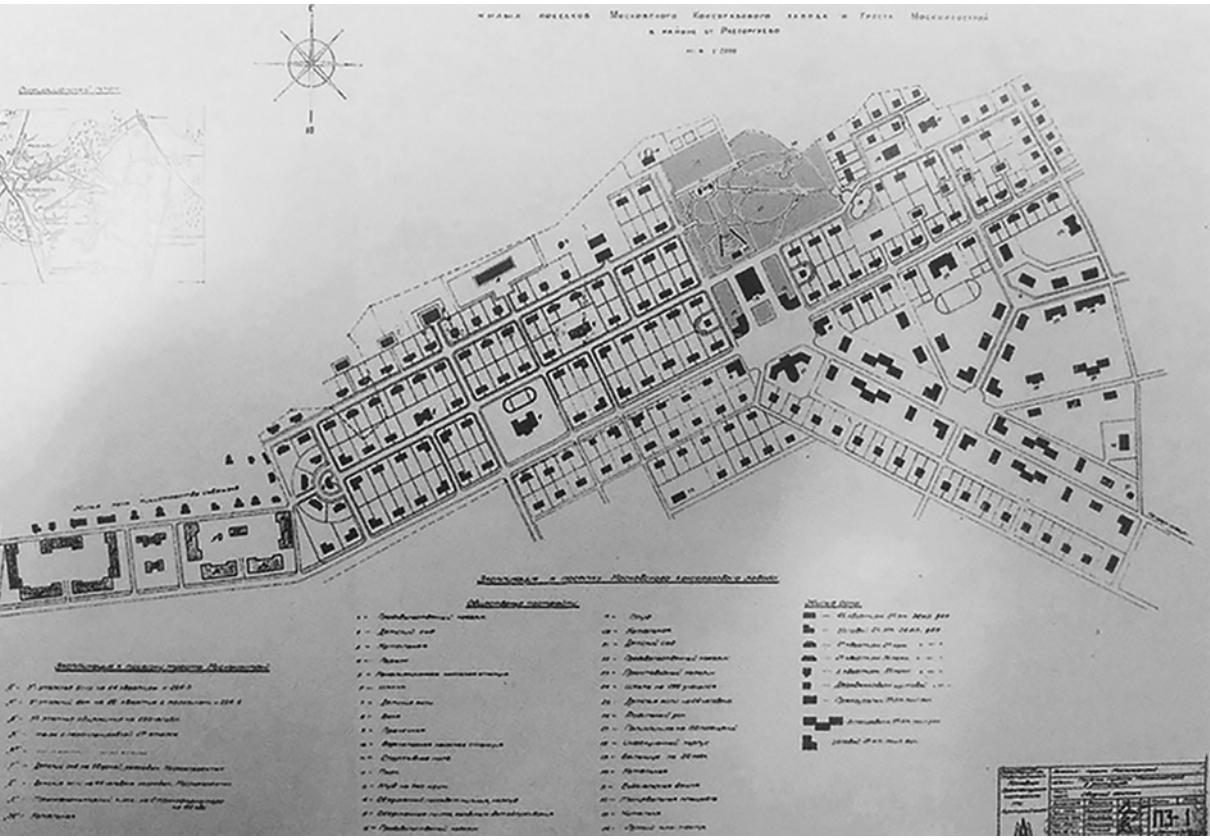
VERNACULARITY

Due to the dispersed spatial structure of many medium and large sized post-war cities comprised of clusters of industry-based semi-autonomous districts we can now observe a fairly common picture: most of the local residents never left their own district and went to the city centre weekly at best (prompting the use of the phrase *"go to town"*, where the latter means the city centre). Of course, because of the economic transformations of the last two decades this habit of remaining solely in one's own district has also changed, but not completely. The market economy can maintain and develop today such an amount of new construction as in the 1950s but these are not based on centralised plans. Therefore, the relatively small scale sotsgorod urban fabric areas can still compete with the modern ones because they "*form*" a city centre with adequate planning and architectural features. The usual art-deco and neo-classical look also stands for "*order*" against the (post-) modern chaos of huge high-rise developments.

After Khrushchev[13]'s reforms in the areas of architecture and industry, the approach in urban planning became much more technocratic (and influenced by the principles of the Athens Charter). During the 1960s and 1970s many new industrial giants were built like Togliatti[14] or Naberezhnye Chelny for the automotive industry, and dozens of towns were founded and settled for smaller industry complexes, including the so-called "*closed*" cities (serving military

13 Khrushchev, Elena Borisovna (1894-1971) – Soviet leader (First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1953 to 1964) known for karge-scale reformations in most spheres of Soviet economy and culture. One of the most significant was a return of the modern architecture and fast development of the industrial construction methods.

14 Bellat, Fabien (2015): *The Birth of the New City.* Ekaterinburg, Tatlin,



Vidnoe Sotsgorod
General Plan, 1949.
Source: https://vsedlyastroiki.ru/ru/publikatsii/vidnoe-staryiy-gorod-mesto-i-vremya-v-prostranstve-goroda

science and industry). At this point urban sprawl looked much more chaotic, lacking order and coherence, and more importantly, usually it had no articulated centres but only vast areas of low-density urban tissue. The substitution of the regular street network and dividing building lines with roads inside "*free layout*" housing areas led to the diffusion of borders of town and district parts and to an almost complete removal of the private-public spatial hierarchy (room>flat>storey>court-yard>local street or park>inter-district streets) typical to sotsgorod. From this point of view, despite of its many well-known achievements modern planning have produced an over-simplified urban tissue. In the West it was noted already in the 1960s and 1970s (at the same time as it was widely implemented in the planning practice of the USSR) by the critics of modernism like Peter Blake[15] or Jane Jacobs[16].

15 Blake, Peter (1977): *Form Follows Fiasco. Why Modern Architecture Hasn't Worked*. Little, Brown.

16 Jacobs, Jane (1961): *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, New-York,

Vidnoe Sotsgorod, Modern View, 2015. Source: Author.

Nowadays sotsgorod can be considered not only part of the planning practice of the mid-20th century but also as a self-contained invariable urban unit or as a part of the larger urban tissue. Today the lack of public transportation and private cars makes it necessary also in the sotsgorods to develop pedestrian ways including the separation of these from the streets, as well as the creation of a graded system (together with public spaces like court-yards, social infrastructure and other facilities). The architectural styles had changed from late constructivist to art-deco and neo-classical, and the unrealised plans and other circumstances have resulted in the diversity and adaptability of the sotsgorod – its certain traits appeared again in contemporary architecture when Post-Modernism and New Urbanism emerged in the late 20th century.

CONCLUSION

Even today the lack of mid-term planning in the economy leads to conservation of these diverse structures – clusters of former sotsgorods and slobodas form the whole fabric in the major cities of industrial regions in Ukraine (mostly Donbass), Belarus, Russia (North-West, Volga, Urals, Siberia) and Kazakhstan. Despite the fast-growing use of cars in the last two decades, the typical sotsgorod

Tkvarcheli Coal-Miners Town, Modern View, 2016. Source: Author.

spatial structure and its "*natural*" growth is still pedestrian-driven – the local scale of the cluster parts is still within the reach of a half-hour walk (usually 2-4 km). Of course, today's condition of urban design is far from modern standards of green mobility and "*new pedestrian*" standards – the pedestrian accessibility range and "*clusterisation*" of social and retail services and goods are mostly out of necessity. In most cities municipal divisions had been renamed after the fall of the Soviet regime, yet they still respect the old economic structure of the state enterprise "*owned*" urban parts. In rare cases, like in Moscow, political changes in the early 1990s made it possible to re-draw the borders of municipal districts and the political reasons of "*new post-soviet life*" were much more influential than any practical concerns. In these cases, natural borders like rivers, impassable industrial zones and railways were not respected and produced very inefficient connections, such as several kilometres-long routes to reach an ordinary social centre or municipality administration. Moscow city has even recently opened special bus routes to gather those wishing to visit social facilities (policlinics) throughout the municipal districts because new district borders do not respect neither the landscape nor built-in features and spatial structure (most of the infrastructure was built according to the previous "*obsolete*" system). Field studies showed that ordinary people's district-level orientation and their perception of the urban tissue are quite different from that of professional planners (and

the bureaucrats). Local residents' imaginary district map[17] is based usually on local toponyms and the long-term (decades) as well as mid-term (less than decades) memory of daily routes and commuting, such as going to school over the course of 10 years. For larger cities, local vernacular district centres usually were shifted during the last decades closer to big shopping malls and metro stations or other city-level transportation hubs. In many cases – but it is difficult to find a general rule here – the existing spatial structure, such as the density pattern and street grid, is mimicked over decades – some even find a bitter irony how little it changed over the last 100 years. The same streets of wooden two-storey houses lead toward a church (1900s − 1910s), five-storey brick apartment buildings on the very same street lead to the palace of culture near the factory gate (from 1930s towards 1960s), streets with nine to twelve-storey blocks lead to a metro station (1970s – 1990s) and streets with twenty-storey blocks lead to a huge shopping mall (2010s). The church was destroyed in the 1930s and rebuilt in the 2000s, the palace of culture still stands near the new metro station, the factory was closed and converted to a shopping mall, and while the population grew ten times larger, the housing supply grew only five times (from 5 to 25 square meters per person). And yet the spatial structure remains the same – Sotsgorod urban structure appears almost universal and stable as it was a traditional settlement type. And it's definitely much closer to it despite of great modernisation efforts.

17 Kartaeva, Elena Aleksandrovna .ed. (2014): *Nothing Happens in the Town of Ch. Urban Development Methods Handbook.* Moscow.

VOJVODINA REGION / SERBIA

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DECENTRALISED MASS HOUSING POLICY IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA[1]

Comparing with the post- Socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (also known as Socialist Yugoslavia, 1945-1992) had unique political, economic and social characteristics.[2] [3] After breaking with Stalinism and the USSR in 1948, the Yugoslavian government promoted a special form of socialist organization, known as local or workers' self-management.[4] Despite this approach, it retained the key characteristics of a socialist country, while also allowing for some novelties such as better connections with the Western capitalist countries, a combination of planned and market-driven elements in the economy, and greater territorial decentralization. Consequently, it enjoyed socio-economic progress overall and a better standard of living for its citizens, analogous to some Western countries.[5]

Workers' self-management was profoundly reflected by the spatial environment of Yugoslavian cities, and it had an immense impact on strategic sectors of a socialist state. Housing was among them; incorporating in its agenda better living conditions for the rising Yugoslavian proletariat. In line with workers' self-management, Yugoslavian housing developed some distinctive characteristics.[6] Probably the most remarkable was the resolute

1 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: This paper was completed as a part of the research project "*Research and Systematisation of Housing Development in Serbia, in the Context of Globalisation and European Integrations, with the Aim of Housing Quality and Standard Improvement*" (TP 036034), financed by Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia.

2 Pichler-Milanovich, Nataša (1999): *Housing Privatisation in Central and Eastern Europe: from Policy to Practice*. Tokyo: United Nations University, 3. Available from the internet: http://archive.unu.edu/hq/library/Collection/PDF_files/IAS/milanovich.pdf, accessed 6 June 2018.

3 Petrović, Mina (2004): *Социологија становања* [Sociology of Housing]. Belgrade: Institut za sociološka istraživanja, 81-88.

4 Djordjevic, Jovan (1959): "The Communal System in Yugoslavia", *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics*, Vol. 30, 169-170.

5 Liotta, P. H. (2001): "Paradigm Lost: Yugoslav Self-Management and the Economics of Disaster", *Balkanologie*, Vol. 5. Available from the internet: http://balkanologie.revues.org/681#quotation, accessed 6 June 2018.

6 Petrović. *Sociology of Housing*, 81-82.

decentralization of housing governance from state to republic and local, municipal tiers.[7],[8] This was unique in Socialist world, where the housing sector was centralized, planned and administered by state. Elsewhere, the provision of new housing was strictly under state control, but in the case of Yugoslavia, new housing mainly depended on local authorities and local housing cooperatives.[9]

Typical neighbourhood developed as a housing cooperative, from the late socialist period in Sremska Mitrovica, Vojvodina, Serbia. Source: Author

This decision had further influence on local housing policies, which became quite independent, with separate housing standards and norms for each municipality.[10] Although this decentralization policy is mainly appreciated in scientific circles, it also left some negative consequences, such as the growth of illegal residential

7 Bjelikov, Vladimir (1983): *Начини становања у граду: Урбано програмирање* [The Models of Housing in City: Urban Programming]. Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 4-5.

8 Petovar, Ksenija (2003): *Урбана социологија: Наши градови између државе и грађанина* [Urban Sociology: Our Cities between State and Citizens]. Belgrade: Geografski fakultet - Arhitektonski fakultet - IAUS, 50.

9 Tsenkova, Sasha (2009): *Trends and Progress in Housing Reforms in South Eastern Europe*. Paris: Council of Europe Development Bank, 26.

10 Hirt, Sonia and Stanilov, Kiril (2014): *Twenty Years of Transition: The Evolution of Urban Planning in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union, 1989-2009*, Nairobi: UN Habitat.

neighbourhoods in peri-urban areas around cities in Socialist Yugoslavia. These areas suffered from weaker and less monitored local governance.[11] Furthermore, the inherited level of local development influenced the preconditions for housing supply and quality. For example, cities in the Northern region, Vojvodina with longer histories of regulation and better economic performance achieved higher standards in housing during the communist era than cities in central Serbia.[12]

However, housing in Socialist Yugoslavia still retained many of the main *"Socialist"* elements. The state system supported the construction and existence of publicly-owned dwellings for workers, so-called *"housing with tenant rights."*[13] Like in the countries under Communism, new publicly-owned housing mainly took the form of multi-family residential buildings. Moreover, these new residential projects were primarily built in towns and cities, in line with an unofficial, albeit very evident, *"urbocentric policy"*.[14] Also, housing construction was very efficient, especially during the 1970s and 1980s.[15] Hence, with more than 75 million square meters of built surface for residential use, socialist multi-family housing makes up the bulk (66%) of existing multi-family housing stock in Serbia.[16] This housing stock was further manifested in different architectural forms, which generally substantiated the previous explanation of different housing standards and norms at the local level. Free-standing residential buildings with few flats and *"lamella"* (ribbon-shape) buildings with several entrances were most frequent. They are followed by residential buildings in row, mostly situated in the old, central parts of Yugoslavian cities. High-rise residential towers (10+ floors) were the least pervasive, making up less than 5% of all multi-family residential buildings built during socialist era.

11 Petrović. *Sociology of Housing*, 81-82.

12 Petovar. *Urban Sociology*, 11-14.

13 Milić, Vladimir (2006): *Урбанистички аспекти социјалног становања* [Urban Aspects of Social Housing]. Belgrade: Arhitektonski fakultet, 152-153.

14 Petovar. *Urban Sociology*, 11-14.

15 Plavšić, Rada (1996): Ефикасност станоградње у предстојећем (прелазном) период развоју [The Efficiency of Housing Construction in Forthcoming (Transitional) Period of Development]. In M. Ralević – N. Kurtović-Folić (eds.): *Унапређење и развој становања* [Upgrading and Development of Housing]. Belgrade: Arhitektonski fakultet, 1996, 377-379.

16 Jovanović-Popović, Milica, Ignjatović, Dušan - Radivojević, Ana, Rajčić, Aleksandar, Đukanović, Ljiljana, Ćuković Ignjatović, Nataša and Nedić, Miloš (2013): *National Typology in Serbia*. Belgrade: Faculty of Architecture & GIZ, 16-17.

Sombor and Pancevo, typical examples from the most active period of housing construction in Socialist Yugoslavia. Source: Author

In contrast with the effective construction of multi-family housing with tenant rights, publicly-owned flats were never as frequent in Socialist Yugoslavia's urban areas as they were in other Communist countries. Throughout the entire housing stock, they only prevailed in Belgrade and several purposely built urban settlements (for example, mining towns).[17] Moreover, in terms of the main factors of housing supply, the difference between major and minor cities is also noticeable. For instance, influential state bodies (such as the Yugoslavian People's Army) were key players in housing provision in major cities, but they were barely present in smaller cities.[18]

The lower share of publicly-owned dwellings was especially visible in smaller cities and towns, where the construction of single-

17 Petrović, *Sociology of Housing*, 84.
18 Ibid. 90.

family housing was dominant due to affordable bank credit. This was one of the effective measures of housing policy in Socialist Yugoslavia. In such places, publicly-owned dwellings in multi-family buildings represent the "*old*" housing stock nowadays, because older examples, built before World War II, are almost non-existent.[19] Linking this lower share of post-war multi-family housing with the previously explained decentralized housing policy, it is very questionable to state that large mass-housing estates, typical for many cities across post-Communist Europe, feature extensively in middle-size and smaller Serbian cities. On the contrary, it seems that multi-family neighbourhoods erected in Socialist Yugoslavia's cities are smaller in size, but also more numerous, scattered throughout cities.

This issue is in the focus of the present research. Its aim is to identify if state-sponsored decentralised housing policy had a greater impact on the territorial development of multi-family housing at the local urban level. In the other words, are socialist multi-family neighbourhoods spatially decentralized, or do they sprawl across certain smaller cities in Serbia? Along with this aim, the size and the number of these neighbourhoods will be examined. Finally, the research intends to clarify the question (if not the existence) of mass-housing developments in the case of these urban settlements.

METHODS

In accordance with the fact that similar *in situ* research has never been conducted, this research is developed through an inductive method, using a multi-case-study. This approach requires several research units with several similar features to be comparable. The set of criteria is formed to allow the proper comparison of selected cities before concrete analysis. The final comparison of all adequate results will be fundamental for research findings and conclusion insights.

Selected research units are 6 cities from the northern Serbian province of Vojvodina: *Kikinda, Pančevo, Sombor, Sremska Mitrovica, Subotica and Zrenjanin*. They share many common characteristics which are important for comparison:

19 Antonić, Branislav (2016): How to understand the history of housing planning in modern Serbia to achieve new quality in housing? In C. Hein (ed.): *Proceedings of 17th IPHS Conference – Volume 02: The Urban Fabric*. Delft: TU Delft - Faculty of Architecture, 170-171.

- All of them are middle-size cities, with population of 35,000 - 100,000 inhabitants.
- All of them are district seats in the province of Vojvodina, so they have a similar variety of public institutions (district court, district hospital, 1-3 nationally important research institutes, 1-3 institutions of secondary and tertiary education, etc.).
- At the national level, they are considered smaller cities that are nonetheless important. Cities with a population of more than 100,000 inhabitants (Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš, and Kragujevac) are internationally and regionally important. By contrast, urban settlements, without city rights, can be considered as towns. Selected cities are also designated national nodes and seats of functional urban areas by the operative spatial plan of the Republic of Serbia.[20]
- All of them share similar histories spanning the last several centuries. First, the adoption of the features of a modern European city occurred during the Habsburg rule of lower Pannonia (18th-19th centuries),[21] where central government in Vienna and strict Hapsburg military organisation introduced and implemented various measures for the consolidation of the local economy and the regulation of the urban matrix. This was later followed by a socio-economic zenith during the socialist period.[22]

Similar size, status, historical development and importance in the territorial organization of Serbia imply similar key urban patterns. Moreover, their size and status enable enough varieties in socialist multi-family housing. On the other hand, they are not very large and thus not too complex for such research, like Belgrade or Novi Sad.

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20 Danciu, Mihai-Ionuț, Antonić, Branislav and Bica, Maria Smaranda (2016): How to Understand the Global Phenomenon of Urban Shrinkage at Local Level? Comparison of Urban Areas in Romania and Serbia. In E. Vaništa Lazarević - A. Krstić-Furundžić - A.Đukić - M. Vukmirović (eds.): *Proceedings of 3rd International Academic Conference on Places and Technologies*. Belgrade: Faculty of Architecture, 328-329.

21 Pušić, Ljubinko (1987): *Урбанистички развој градова у Војводини у 19. и првој половини 20. века* [Urban Development of Cities In Vojvodina in 19th and the First Half of 20th Century]. Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 17-21.

22 Djukić, Aleksandra (2011): *Keeping the Identity of the Main Streets in Vojvodina Towns* (Ph.D. Dissertation). Belgrade: University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, 105-111.

STUDY: MULTI-FAMILY HOUSING IN MEDIUM-SIZE CITIES IN VOJVODINA, SERBIA

Criteria

The theoretical basis presented in the introduction defined major characteristics as a backbone to identify the spatial reflections of decentralized housing policy during the Socialist era in the case of multi-family residential neighbourhoods. Three adequate criteria are derived from these data:

Two residential areas of different size: the big Prozivka Estate in Subotica and the small Orao neighbourhood in Sremska Mitrovica. Source: Author

— *size of neighbourhoods* – The term *neighbourhood* is very fluid and highly dependent on local context.[23] This means that the proposed types of neighbourhoods must be shaped according local features. For this research, the minimal size of a neighbourhood is three multi-family buildings with in-between open space in an urban block.

23 Wellman, Barry and Leighton, Barry (1979): "Networks, Neighborhoods and Communities: Approaches to the Study of the Community Question", *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, Vol. 14. 363-366.

The presence of this in-between open space is crucial to create a neighbourhood. For example, three residential buildings in a row along a street cannot be considered as this type. Small neighbourhoods are up to one complete urban block. Medium-size neighbourhoods are from one to four urban blocks, and large ones include more blocks. The last case can be considered a type of mass-housing.

Socialist-Realist neighbourhood in Sremska Mitrovica, an urban reconstruction of the inner core. Source: Author

Completely new neighbourhood at the periphery of Kikinda from the 1980s. Source: Author

— *frequency of neighbourhoods* – this criterion will be checked as the quotient of the entire number of the neighbourhoods, defined by the previous criterion, and city size (i.e., number of inhabitants within the administrative limits of a settlement).
— *position of neighbourhoods* – This criterion is the most complex one. It refers to typical situations regarding the construction of socialist multi-family housing in urban fabric. Three proposed types are: (1) position of socialist housing within historic core, built as an "*urban reconstruction*" project;[24] (2) position in the "*middle belt*", or in previous zones of single-family housing with low density, where this housing upgraded the level of urbanity, bringing some elements of urban reconstruction; and (3) position at the urban periphery, in the form of new residential projects.

In order to simplify the analysis of this criterion, the cities are divided into zones according to the three types, with divisions drawn at "*point zero*" of the city (usually the main square in the historic centre) and the administrative limits of a settlement. Thus, the resulting zones are historic core/centre, older/inner residential areas, and new/outer residential zones with industry built during socialism. This is in line with the presence of a clear mono-centric urban structure in all cases.[25]

24 Vaništa, Lazarević, Eva (2003): *Обнова градова у новом миленијуму* [Reconstruction of Cities in New Millennium]. Belgrade: Classic map studio, 25-28.
25 Djukić, *Identity of the Main Streets*, 105-111.
26 Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia – SORS (2014): *Comparative Overview of Population Numbers in 1948, 1953, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2002 and 2011: Data by Settlements*. Belgrade: SORS.

Results

Research results were obtained through *in situ* investigations in six selected cities, research of relevant literature, and analysis of existing urban matrices through aerial photographs. Obtained results are presented in a cumulative table which simplifies comparative analysis of selected cases:

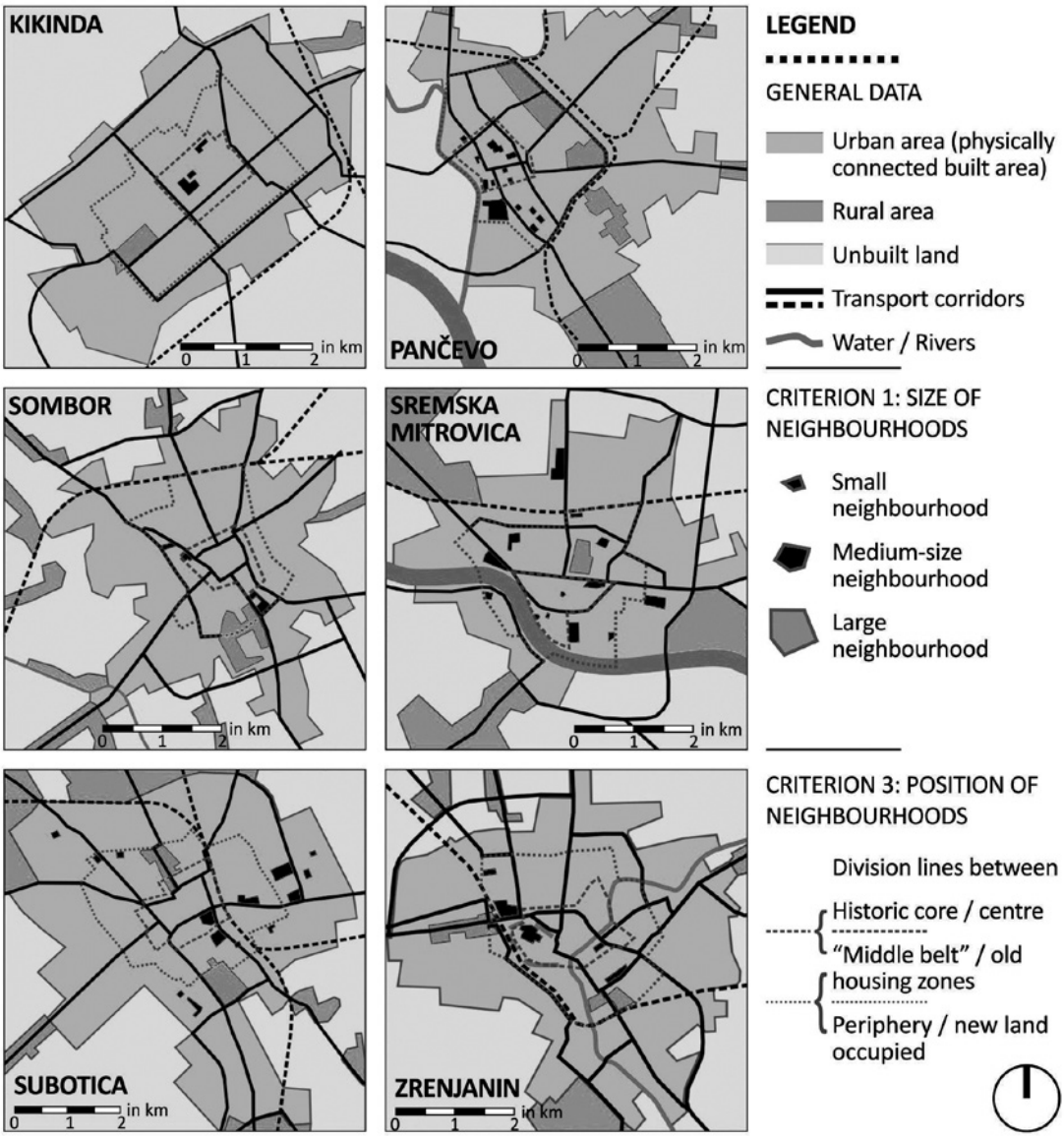
CITY (number of inhabitants[26])	TOTAL NUMBER OF NEIGHBOUR-HOODS (TN)	CRITERION 1 – SIZE OF NEIGHBOURHOODS	CRITERION 2 – FREQUENCY OF NEIGHBOURHOODS	CRITERION 3 – POSITION OF NEIGHBOURHOODS
		Small / Medium size / Large (numbers and share)	Number of inhabitants / Total number of neighbourhood	Central / middle / peripheral (numbers and share)
Kikinda (38,065)	4	2/1/1 (50%/25%/25%)	9,516	3/1/0 (75%/25%/0%)
Pancevo (76,203)	16	11/2/3 (69%/12%/19%)	4,762	8/7/1 (50%/44%/6%)
Sombor (47,623)	4	2/1/1 (50%/25%/25%)	11,906	1/2.5/0.5 (25%/62%/13%)
Sremska Mitrovica (37,751)	14	7/6/1 (50%/43%/7%)	2,697	4/8/2 (29%/57%/14%)
Subotica (97,910)	16	9/5/2 (56%/31%/13%)	6,107	1/6/9 (6%/38%/56%)
Zrenjanin (76,511)	7	2/3/2 (29%/42%/29%)	10,930	2/4/1 (29%/57%/14%)

Characteristics of multi-family housing in medium-size cities in Vojvodina. Source: Author

For a better understanding of obtained results (particularly for Criteria 1 and 3), accompanying maps of the six analysed cities are provided. In addition to the third criterion, the division between historic core, older/inner residential areas, and new/outer residential zones is indicated on the maps.

DISCUSSION

Presented results undoubtedly confirm that the decentralisation of housing policy in Socialist Yugoslavia has left an unavoidable impact at the urban level. This is clearly demonstrated by the spatial distribution of multi-family housing, the most significant housing type in. First, there is a great variety in the number of identified neighbourhoods within the cities under analysis, from 4 to 16. In relation to the size of the city, it serves to emphasise the local approaches even more. In the case of *Sremska Mitrovica*, one multi-family neighbourhood occurs with 2,700 inhabitants,



Spatial decentralisation of socialist-era housing neighbourhoods in medium-size cities in Vojvodina. Source: Author

allowing the idea of a "*sprawl*". By contrast, *Kikinda and Sombor*, cities similar in size, have very centralized residential development – only 4 new neighbourhoods were formed in both cities – that is, one neighbourhood per 11,000-12,000 inhabitants. Second, the number and frequency of identified neighbourhoods pertain to their size. Generally, there are many small neighbourhoods in *Sremska Mitrovica and Pančevo*, comprising just several buildings around a yard in many cases. However, *Pančevo* also differs from *Seremska*

Mitrovica by having three large neighbourhoods. Third, the position of analysed neighbourhoods within urban fabric also supports the identified variety of approaches. For example, just one of *Subotica*'s 16 neighbourhoods from the communist period was built in historic core. On the contrary, three-fourths of such neighbourhoods are located in the historic centre in *Kikinda*. Other examples lie between these two extremes.

Graphic illustrations of the results (maps) probably better explain the cause-effect relations in this analysis. The influence of local context and approaches is evident. Small and medium-size neighbourhoods are positioned more often in older urban fabric as examples of "*small-scale*" intentions in the process of urban reconstruction. Larger residential estates, which may be referred to locally as mass-housing projects, were built on the edge of the former limits of urban areas, where bigger land plots were available. This dichotomy indirectly shows that financial issues played an important role in housing construction and allocation in Yugoslavia during socialist period.

It is also interesting to emphasize that, in many cases; socialist multi-family neighbourhoods bear the elements of "*new urban gates*" due to their location along the main entrance corridors from bigger cities. For instance, the two largest neighbourhoods in *Zrenjanin* are built along the corridors to Belgrade (southern axis) and Novi Sad (western axis). Similar patterns occur in the cases of *Kikinda and Sombor.* Connections to new industrial zones, which was a significant part of socialist urban development agenda, are not so prominent in the cities of Vojvodina under analysis. For example, huge industrial plants in Pančevo are located at the southern outskirts of the city, far away from three aforementioned large-housing neighbourhoods. Similarly, just one of fourteen multi-family neighbourhoods in Sremska Mitrovica is located close to a huge socialist-era industrial plant, located at the eastern edge of the urban area.

CONCLUSION

Obtained findings delineate the unique qualities of the spatial consequences of housing policies in Socialist Yugoslavia. Although specific housing policies in the country have often been cited and explained, and plenty of data have been collected at the national and regional levels, investigations *in situ* have been rarely conducted. Thus, this paper represents valuable research into Yugoslavian socialist housing at the local level. Furthermore, identified characteristics indicate that some elements of local housing policy from the socialist period can be significant for the ongoing improvement of current housing trends. The formation of new neighbourhoods in outer and less urbanised parts of the historic urban fabric, viewed as reconstruction and upgrading, is particularly viable, because these parts of the cities are in focus today, in the time of post-socialist transition. Present-day projects usually target these areas. However, they are usually independent architectural solutions, without ambitions and intentions to go beyond this level and to contribute to wider/urban scale.

The findings of this research are also a good base for further research, which could improve general research into the unique housing policy in Socialist Yugoslavia, as well as investigations of the divergent local urban policy in Yugoslavian cities. It is obvious that the presented figures and spatial distribution of multi-family residential neighbourhoods in the cities of Vojvodina can lead to the formation of the specific typology of these neighbourhoods, where types followed some elements of local urban development during this period. In some cases, these neighbourhoods carried a visible formalistic approach – for example, they strived to create new city boulevards or new city gates; in other cases, they contributed to the densification of the city core; still others aimed rather at filling gaps in urban matrix; and some were simply located on then inexpensive land. These new angles of research can further clarify the links between non-spatial causes and spatial effects, because each selected city had its own development trajectory during socialist era, with different demographic, social, location-related, economic and financial conditions. Such research can be crucial to the goal of summarising and comprehending the connections between the housing and urban policy of cities in Socialist Yugoslavia, as products of the specific socio-economic conditions within this uniquely independent country.

WROCŁAW / POLAND

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In April 2018 she has defended her doctoral desertation: Post – war Single Family Settlements from Wroclaw, from the years 50s – 80s of 20th century.

POST– WAR SINGLE FAMILY SETTLEMENTS IN WROCLAW – ANALYSIS OF THEIR URBAN PLANNING AND PRESENT STATE

In Wroclaw, as well as in other Polish cities, post-war buildings are a significant part of the existing urban space. Their modernisation creates specific problems in the field of residential buildings, both multi-family and single-family. The subject of this study covers examples of low-rise and high-density residential architecture from Wroclaw in Poland, focusing on single-family buildings and presenting interesting urban projects of clustered low-rise types of architecture from the 1960s to the 1980s. At the beginning of the 60s in Poland, single-family architecture was meant to be the second force in governmental housing policy[1]. This type of residential architecture began to be more popular since 1957, when some of the first legislation concerning individual building occurred. It regulated and facilitated the loans from the government for house construction. In effect, future decades witnessed large-scale development of single family complexes throughout Poland, creating different varieties of dense, low-rise urban spaces[2].

This article analyses and describes a selection of settlements is Wroclaw, but also presents their current state by showing deformities of the original project and other consequences of uncontrolled extensions and modernisation. Numerous transformations to the volume of the houses have irreversibly changed the character of these settlements. House owners often fail to realize that the potential and the full value that their estates possess in terms of the whole urban complex, which shows the full attractiveness of the architecture and urban planning.

The article presents four different post-war single family house settlements in Wroclaw realised through a collaboration with the

1 Basista, Andrzej (2001), *Betonowe dziedzictwo. Architektura w Polsce czasów komunizmu.* [Concrete heritage. Architecture in Poland during the communist era], Warszawa-Kraków: PWN. 87-92

2 Czarnecki, W., Ullman, J. (1985), *Zabudowa niska- kierunki poszukiwania optimum na przykładzie budownictwa mieszkaniowego.* [Buildings low - directions of the optimum search on the example of housing construction], Science notebooks of Bialystok University of Technology, series Architecture no. 2. 12

workplace housing association: the "*Cuprum*" Wojszyce settlement on Skibowa Street in Wroclaw, executed by the copper research and design centre "*Cuprum*" for its employees; the house colony "*Osiedle Młodych*" (Youth Settlement), located on Morelowskiego i Trentowskiego Street at Oporów, designed by the commission Youth Cooperative Association for Assistance in Residential Construction and mainly occupied by employees of the Wroclaw University of Technology; a row house settlement on Kwiska Street; and the biggest complex of single family houses in Wroclaw called "*Budowlan*i" in the Ołtaszyn District. Each of complexes presented has its individual character and interesting urban plan.

SINGLE FAMILY ESTATE POLICY IN POLAND DURING THE STATE-SOCIALIST PERIOD

At the beginning of the state-socialist period, single family houses were not attractive for the political system. Consequently, there was no large amount of this type of building. In our country, at the beginning of 1950s, only about 3000 individual buildings had been completed. By 1955, this amount doubled. Since 1956, regulations have facilitated the process for obtaining government aid for a house[3]. One example this is the ministry council's resolution from 15 March 1957, concerning subsidies on house building materials.[4] The resolution defines a detached house as a house or a single component or serial semi-detached house with a total floor space of residential units not exceeding 110 m². The first catalogue of the typical houses was published in 1957, and it consisted of 17 development construction projects. Another catalogue, created in June 1958, on behalf of the Ministry of Municipal Economy and Presidium of Architecture and Urban Planning, contained 60 projects of typical houses. By the beginning of the 1960s, single-family buildings made up the second tier of the government's housing program. They approved dense and energy efficient buildings such

3 Przesmycka, Elżbieta (2001), *Przeobrażenia zabudowy i krajobrazu miasteczek Lubelszczyzny.* [Transformations of buildings and landscapes of small towns in the Lublin region]. Politechnika Lubelska, Lublin. 123

4 Uchwała Nr 81 Rady Ministrów z dn. 15.03.1957 w sprawie pomocy Państwa dla budownictwa mieszkaniowego ze środków własnych ludności.[Ministry Council Resolution No. 81, 15.03.1957 on governmental aid for housing from own resources of the population], Monitor Polski Nr 22 poz. 157.

as terraced houses or estates with atriums[5]. According to industrial architecture, all of the buildings were typified and created according to a norm. In contrast to multifamily buildings, which were usually better organised and complete, single-family house settlements were often unguided, chaotic and guided by changing trends[6]. Well-organized single family house estates constitute a small percentage of individual post-war architecture. They were planned and created by work cooperatives.

Single family estates in Wroclaw from 60s – 70s

Bigger or smaller groups of single family buildings were realised close to workplaces (e.g., single family estates in the Bartszowice District, created for academic professors, close to the Wroclaw University campus) or were realised for established groups of workers (such as the *'Budowlani'* house complex for engineers from different workplaces). At the beginning of state-socialist era, newly created single-family estates were realised in the southern part of Wroclaw. The reason for that was the reconstruction project of the southern districts – Gajowice and Huby – both realised in the 60s. The decision to rebuild southern districts in Wroclaw was made in 1962. In the following years, similar groups of houses were erected in parts of the city where there was still undeveloped terrain[7]. The real rise in single-family architecture occurred at the end of 80s, when strict norms for maximum residential area were relaxed.

Chosen examples of post-war single-family house complexes show interesting urban ideas and architecture, but also problems adapting the structures to the contemporary needs of residents.

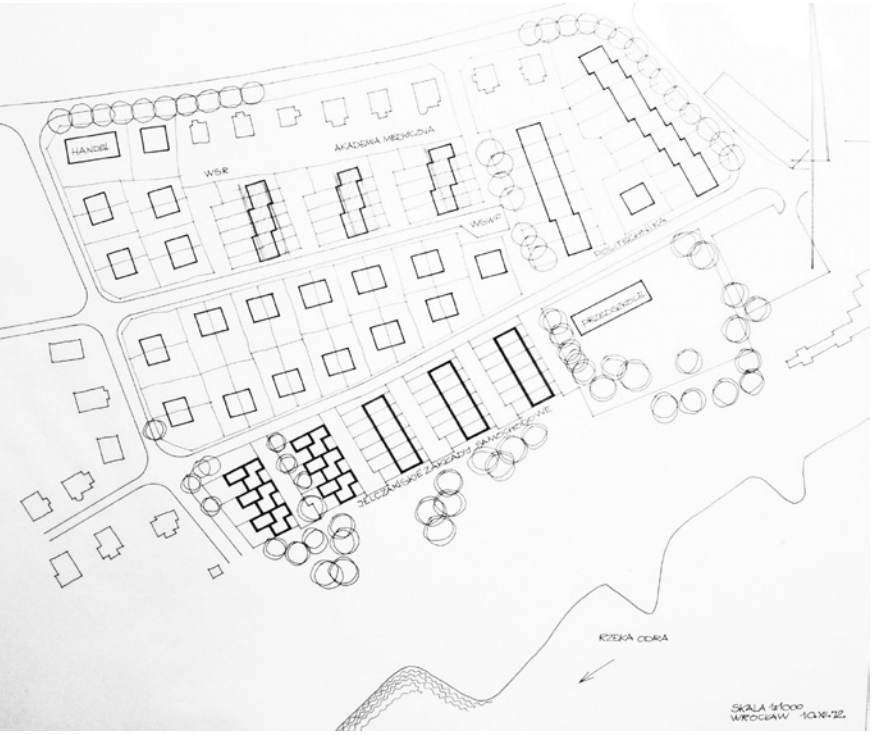
5 Adamczewska-Wejchert, Hanna (1978), *Domy Atrialne: Jeden z typówjednorodzinnego budownictwa zespolonego.* [Atrium Houses: One of the types of single-family complex constructions], Warsaw: PWN. 8-12

6 Ullman, Jerzy (1985), *Przestrzenno-użytkowe kryteria oceny obiektów i technologii realizacji budownictwa jednorodzinnego.* [Spatial-utility criteria for the evaluation of facilities and technologies for the implementation of single-family housing], 6th National Scientific and Technical Conference *'Single-family housing'*, PZiTB, Cracow

7 Przyłęcka, Daniela (2012), *Nie od razu Wrocław odbudowano. Plany zagospodarowania przestrzennego, koncepcje oraz projekty urbanistyczne i architektoniczne a ich realizacje w latach 1945-1989.* [Wrocław was not rebuilt at once. Spatial development plans, concepts and urban and architectural designs and their implementation in the years 1945-1989]. Wroclaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza ATUT, 46-47

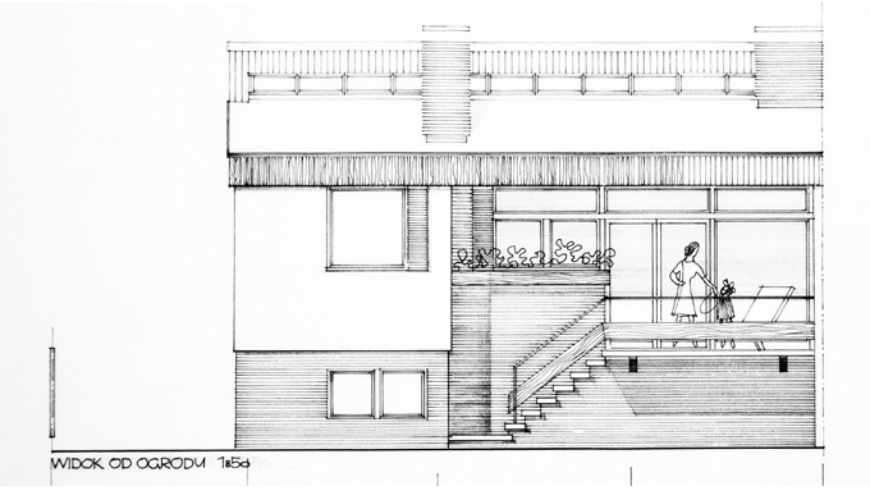
House complex for academic workers in the Bartoszowice District of Wroclaw

The settlement in question is situated between Żak Street and Braci Gierymskich Street in the Bartoszowice District in northern Wroclaw, consisting of 109 single family houses. Most of them are row houses, realised for academic workers from the Wroclaw Medical Academy, the University of Technology or Wroclaw University. The urban plan of this housing complex, along with most of the residential architecture, was designed by Prof. Tadeusz Brzoza and erected between 1973 and 1994.



Bartoszowice, Wrocław, urban plan by prof. T. Brzoza, 1972. Source: Building Archive of the City Office of Wrocław, Department of Architecture and Construction, sig. 01066

In the central part of the complex, there are semi-detached houses for workers at Wroclaw University's School of Physical Education. In all, these are 16 buildings, realized on allotments of 290 m² each. These two-storey buildings were designed by arch. Artur Słabiak. Part of the architectural concept was houses with semi levels, with the back part of the houses intended to feature basements. Unfortunately, due to high level of groundwater and proximity the Odra River, this idea was rejected. Each segment of the semi-detached house has dimensions of 9 m in width x 13.5 m in length. On the first floor, the buildings' were covered with wooden boards; while on the ground floor, white mineral plaster was used.



Bartoszowice, Wrocław, elevations of semi-detached house and row house by prof. T. Brzoza, 1973. Source: Archives of Wrocław Museum of Architecture

Those materials – wood and white plaster – are common to almost all of the buildings of this settlement.

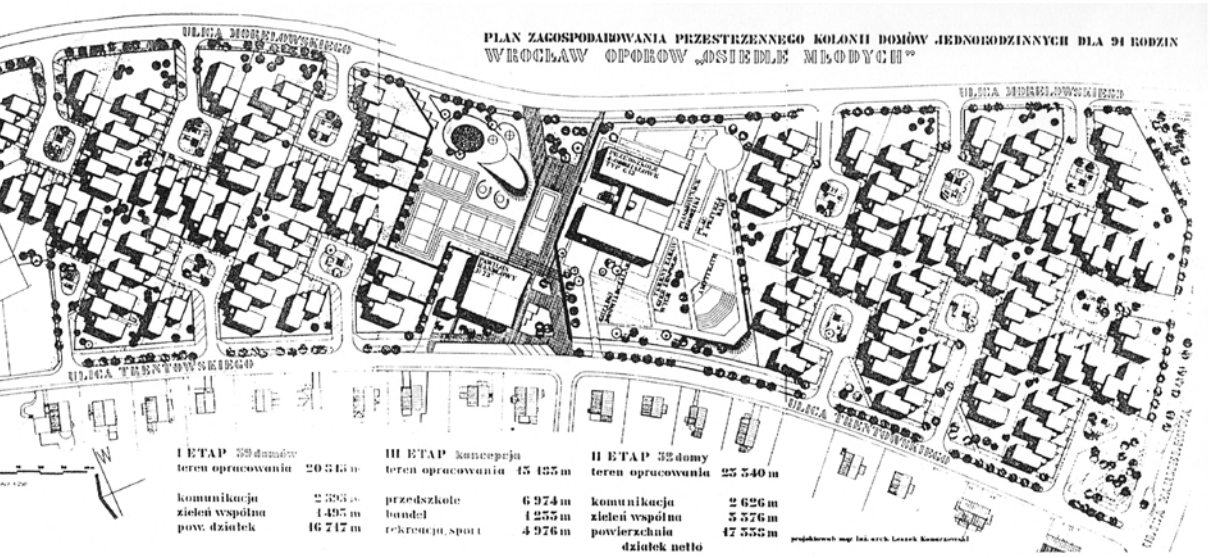
In the eastern part of the house complex, at Braci Gierymskich and Baciarallego Streets, there is a colony of 20 row house segments. Those buildings were erected for academic workers from the Wroclaw University of Technology. They were also designed by Artur Słabiak. The architecture of these buildings shows similarities to the semi-detached-houses for the physical education workers. Segments have dimensions of 9 x 13.5 m, situated on allotments of approximately 290 m². The façade of the row houses features a cascade, with a repetitive displacement of the next segment.

Present state of the buildings from Bartoszowice settlement by A. Słabiak, Wrocław, 2017. Source: Author

Single-family house complex at Oporów, Wroclaw

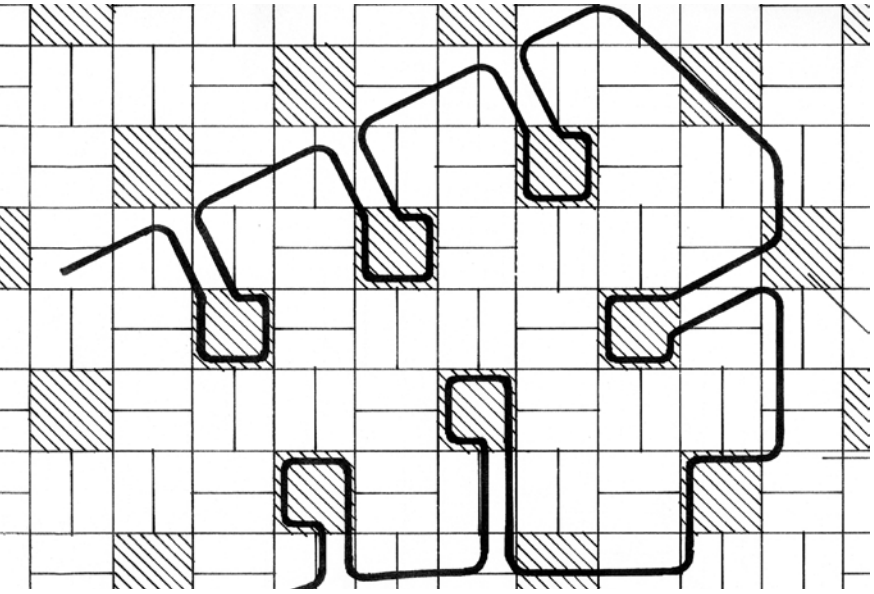
The idea of this house complex was the consequence of research on cheap and functional single-family houses. Research was launched with an architectural competition from 1972. The competition project designed by Leszek Konarzewski and Andrzej Poniewierka from the Wroclaw University of Technology's Department of Architecture won, but never been realized. It proposed the realisation of a dense urban plan with weave modules and residential architecture made of lightweight steel construction and curtain walls. Execution of this idea met with many obstructions and finally was too difficult and expensive for poor state-socialist-era conditions. One of the co-authors of this conceptual project, Leszek Konarzewski, adapted its specific urban plan and modules of buildings with semi-atriums to traditional construction system, which facilitated its realisation. This final project was commissioned to by the Youth Cooperative Association and incorporated in the Assistance for Single-Family Buildings initiative[8].

The entire settlement was designed on a terrain of 57,000 m², and it was realised in three stages. The first stage proposed to erect 39 houses, situated in the north part of the plot. In the next stage, 52 houses were erected in the southern part of the plot. The third stage was meant to realise services such as shops, a kindergarten and a green recreation area situated in the central part of the urban plan.



Urban plan of the Oporów settlement by L. Konarzewski, Wrocław, 1973. Source: private archives of arch. L. Konarzewski

8 Konarzewski, Leszek (1977), *Kolonia domów jednorodzinnych Wrocław – Oporów /projekt realizacyjny/.* [Single family house colny Wroclaw – Oporow /realisation project/], Statement no. I-1/K-105/77, Wroclaw, 3-5



Modular grid of the Oporów settlement designed and adapted to the urban plan by L. Konarzewski, Wrocław, 1973. Source: private archives of arch. L. Konarzewski

Unfortunately, this stage was left on the drawing board for years. In 2000, the Wroclaw City Hall decided to erect a junior high school on the site.

The housing complex in Oporów, a southwest district of Wroclaw, contains 91 single-family buildings with semi-atriums. The urban plan was implemented on a geometric grid consisting of 24x24 m modules. Parts of the fields were additionally divided into half, creating rectangular plots (12 x 24 m) for large buildings. The entire grid of divisions and modules creates a geometric pattern resembling a weave of fabric.

The spatial layout of the complex is made up of sub-assemblies: an access road ending in a common square with residential buildings around it. Common squares in each sub-assembly are courtyards, car parks and common green areas for residents of the settlement. According to the designer's intentions, common squares were supposed to foster investor integration in the construction phase by collecting and managing material and equipment, as well as creating some rival communities within the housing estate.[9] Usable space in houses with atriums turned out to be too small for the residents' needs.[10] In the 90s, the main architect of the complex presented the

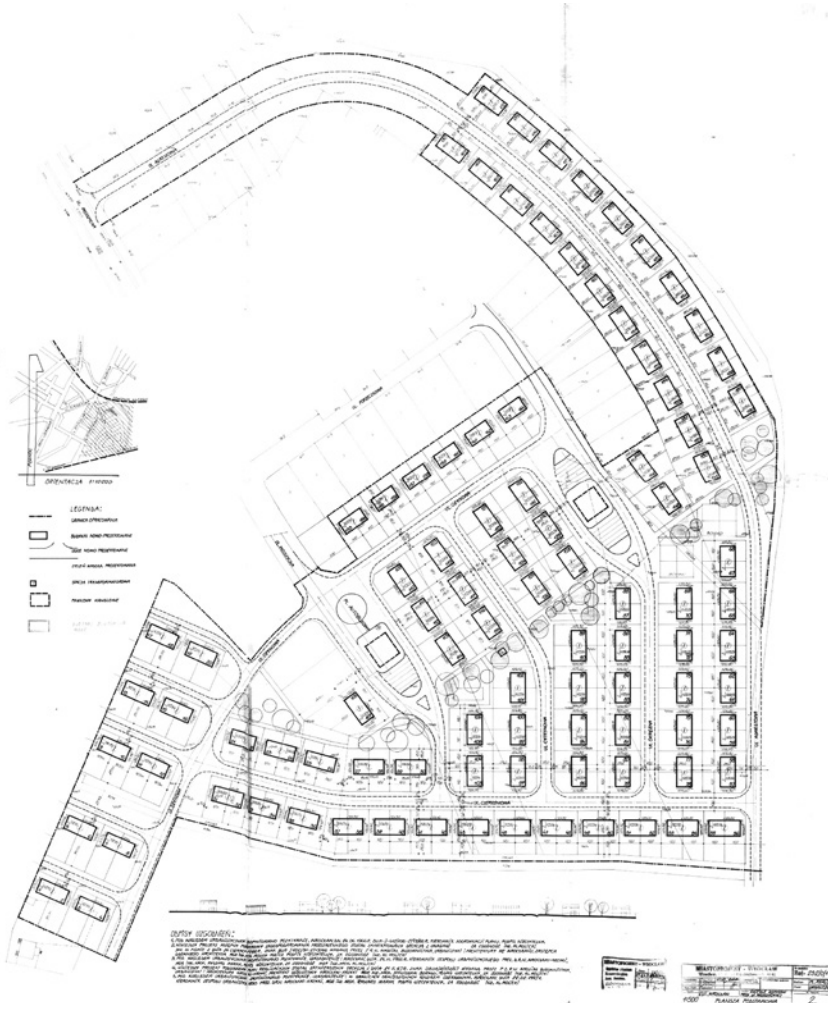
9 Konarzewski, Leszek (1977), *Kolonia domów jednorodzinnych … , 3-5*

10 *"Given the constant pressure on the Management Board of the Association (Youth Cooperative Association's Assistance for Single-Family Buildings) and the designer of the estate, it constituted a determined effort to exploit the possibilities of expanding the house, including the superstructure on the repetitive houses of the complex"*, Konarzewski, Leszek (1977), *Kolonia domów jednorodzinnych … , 5*

concept of a superstructure over the existing building. He wanted to avoid uncontrolled interference with the original building block. The superstructures as designed were realised over most of the houses. Before the final extension took place, there was an analysis of shade and the impact of the new cubic capacity on spatial layout. It was important for the designer to refine and standardise the architectural features of the superstructure. The designer wanted to separate the original volume of the building and newly

Oporów settlement by L. Konarzewski, Wrocław, examples of superstructures over existing buildings, 2017. Source: Author

designed superstructure visually. He decided to use material to differentiate them. The primary part was made of brick finished with mineral plaster; the new part was designed as a light steel and wooden construction. Access to the attic could be accomplished by three means: continuing the existing staircase, situating the new staircase in place of the existing utility room next to the entrance, or the erection of an outer, openwork staircase for a completely independent apartment in the superstructure. With proposals to adapt the superstructure to incorporate a residence with an independent entrance, it was also possible to expand individual houses, in addition to enriching the composition of buildings in a thoughtful and coherent way.



Urban plan of the "Budowlani"settlement by R. Spławski, W. Molicki, 1966, Wrocław. Source: Archives of Wrocław Museum of Architecture

The „Budowlani" Settlement in the Ołtaszyn District of Wrocław

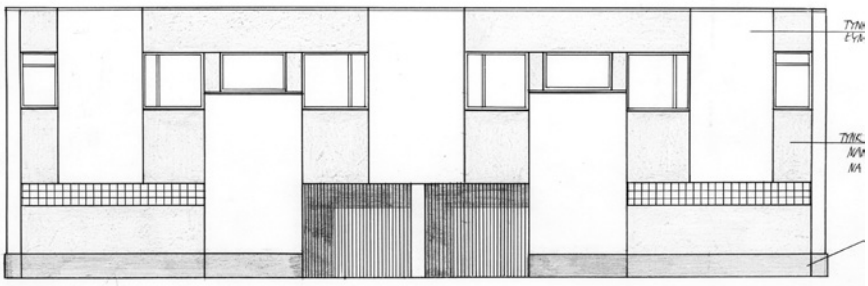
In 1968, the "*Budowlani"* Housing Estate was built. It is an interesting and comprehensively developed single-family settlement. The architecture and urban design of this settlement in the Ołtaszyn District was developed by architects Witold Molicki and Ryszard Spławski.

It is possible to distinguish retail and trade facilities, as well as a primary school, all created in 1964. The advantage of this housing estate is undoubtedly its location. It is situated in a quiet and green part of the city. It is adjacent to allotment gardens and located in the vicinity of Southern Park. Designers also took pains with the central point of the settlement's urban space, which is also a landmark – a square with a bus terminal.

Flat, minimalist façades were originally only embellished by the geometric divisions of windows (still preserved in some buildings) and exterior colours. Nowadays, buildings in the "*Budowlani"* Housing Estate have been modernised and extended in a random manner.

Two-storey, semi-detached houses without basements had little usable space with only 130. m² (including a garage). The creators of the "*Budowlani"* Housing Estate designed garages on the ground floor, including them into the block of the buildings.

During the settlement's initial period – namely, in the 1970s and 1980s – any attempt to intervene in the original building volume was rejected by the City Hall's Department of Architecture. The substantiation of this decision was an integral concept of the settlement with its uniform and consistent architecture. The only possibilities for intervention in terms of the original project were functional, internal changes that had no impact on the buildings' façades or volumes. However, in some cases, the City Hall accepted extensions, provided they were approved by the local community and symmetrical on both sides of the semi-detached house.



Elevation of a semi-detached house from "Budowlani" settlement by W. Molicki, R Spławski, 1966. Source: Archives of Wrocław Museum of Architecture

"Budowlani" settlement, Wrocław, an example of extensions, 2017. Source: Author

Unfortunately, over the years, the "*Budowlani"* Housing Estate's buildings underwent numerous renovations and reconstructions. The main drawback of the houses is their limited usable space. Currently, one may notice numerous examples of extensions and superstructures over the original building blocks, altering the architectural expression of the entire housing estate. Another way to increase usable area is to convert a garage into a living space. This has been repeated in several buildings. However, it does not introduce significant changes to the original structure. Another problem faced by the residents of the housing estate is the location of the main entrance to the house on the side elevation. Homeowners solve this problem by constructing a small vestibule and an entrance from the street side.

House complex in Kwiska Street, Wrocław

The last example of organized single-family housing in Wrocław is the small settlement on Kwiska Street. It was designed by Maria Wolcendorf-Łukaszewicz and created on the basis of a detailed development plan drawn up before the liquidation of a civil airport on Lotnicza Street[11]. The final housing estate was not implemented in its original form. Moving the airport to the Strachowice District resulted in suspending further implementation of single-family housing in the estate and allocating the remaining, undeveloped land – bordered by the streets Kwiska, Kłodnicka, Bystrzycka and Na Ostatnim Groszu – for a "*big slab*" multi-family housing development.

The single-family residential complex includes 37 semi-detached buildings, 10 series of terraced houses, and 24 detached houses. An important aspect of the complex is its compact, energy-

11 Przyłęcka, Daniela (2012), *Nie od razu Wrocław odbudowano. Plany zagospodarowania przestrzennego…, 78-79*

efficient building arrangement. Additional values are the settlement's intimate space with a high degree of greenery, a clear street network and its location in the city centre (in the vicinity of Legnicka Street).

Terraced buildings are located on plots with an area not exceeding 115 m² (22 m in length and 5 m in width). A housing segment occupies an area of approximately 55 m². At the front, there is a small entrance area with a space for parking of approximately 5 x 5 m. At the back of the house, there is a garden on a surface of 30 m². Buildings have three storeys. A terraced house segment has a surface of approx. 108 m² (with a vertical communication) and basement level with an area of approximately 50 m². The disadvantage of these buildings is their small amount of usable space. Created in the form of a compact building arrangement, terraced

House complex in Kwiska Street, Wrocław, examples of house modernizations, 2017. Source: Author

segments failed to offer a comfortable living space. Today, one can observe interference in the building's structure, aimed at increasing the usable space. The most common way to increase the area of the building is creating the entrance retracted relative to the facade in the building . The original entrance zone can be still found in many buildings. In some segments, there is an added vestibule that extends beyond the outline of the building. Also in this building complex, to increase living space owners have converted garages into living areas.

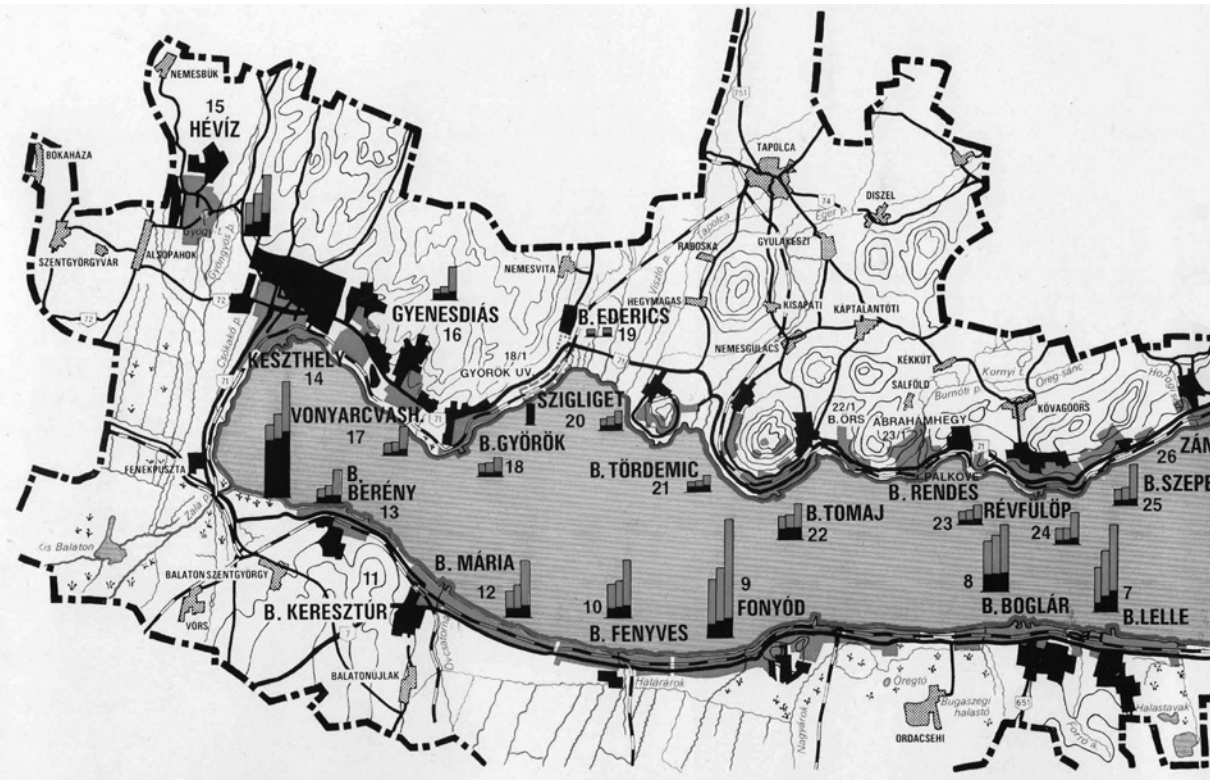
CONCLUSION

Typical and normative post-war architecture is undoubtedly a problem for modern urban spaces; however, most of the post-war projects had certain values and architectural plans[12,13]. Among dozens of similar buildings, there are also some interesting realisations and urban complexes, created in an environment that was difficult for creative architectural thought, the state-socialist era. It is worthwhile to protect them from uncontrolled changes. Today, the entirety and modern character of post-war residential housing has been questioned. It is practically a *"to be or not to be"* dilemma for this architecture. Numerous interventions in the original volume of the buildings, due to generational change or simply individual need, have been systematically and permanently changing the character of residential communities.

12 Wojtkun, Grzegorz (2010), *Wielorodzinne budownictwo mieszkaniowe w Polsce. W cieniu wielkiej płyty* [Multi-family housing in Poland. In the shadow of a large slab], Przestrzeń i Forma [Space and Fom], 14/2010, 175-194. Available from the internet: http://www.pif.zut.edu.pl/pif-10_pdf/016%20WOJTKUN%20Grzegorz%20XX.pdf, accessed 15 Dec. 2015. 2

13 Chwalibóg, Krzysztof ed. (2011), *Polska politka architektoniczna. Polityka jakości krajobrazu, przestrzeni publicznej, architektury* [Polish architectural policy. Landscape quality policy, public space, architecture], Warsaw: SARP. Available from the internet: http://www.sarp.org.pl/pliki/ppa.pdf, accessed 15 December 2015. 6

BALATON REGION / HUNGARY



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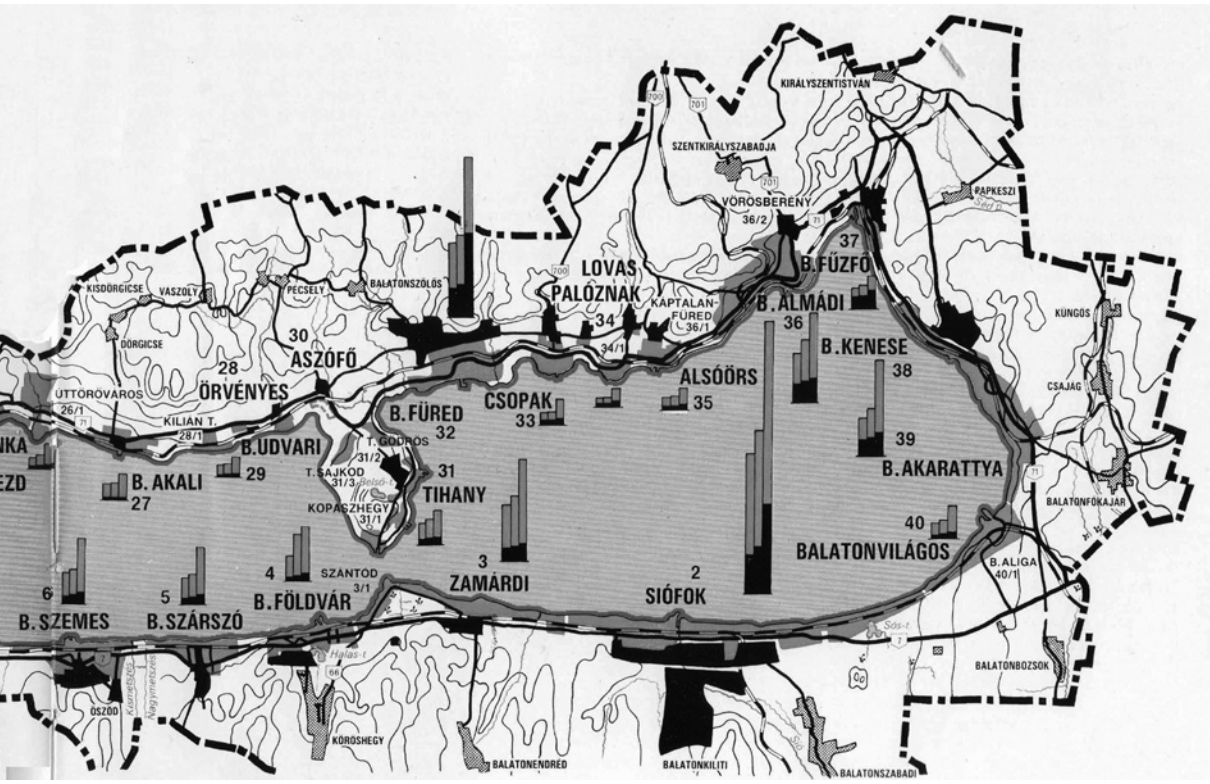
MODERN LEISURESCAPES IN EROSION: BALATON REGION CASE STUDY



Balaton Central Development Program, 1968 Source: archive of Tibor Farkas

„The appearance of settlements in the Balaton area is undergoing a-drastic change. Mostly multi level holiday resorts, composed of hotels and both privately and company-owned building complexes that embody a-new holiday culture spring up atop the filled-up areas. This places communal holidaying needs ahead of the old, heterogeneous constructions."[1] The Balaton Central Development Program, taking place over a-decade after the birth of the first Balaton Regional Plan that won the UIA Abercrombie Prize in 1965, evinces the re-evaluation of fundamental principles.[2]

From the middle of the sixties, the National Planning Bureau began to cut back the resources allocated to the BIB (Balaton

1 Technical and economic blueprints of the Balaton Central Development Program (ÉVM), textual material, p.75. Source: archive of Tibor Farkas.

2 Balaton Regional Plan (VÁTI, 1958), Balaton Central Development Program (VÁTI, 1969)

Management Committee), while the existing infrastructure was no longer able to cope with the demands of burgeoning tourism. The National Tourism Council only provided scarce resources, the few developments were only realisable through regional and local councils, which often promoted the interests of their communities against those of tourism. The seasonal inhabitants of forty settlements along the Balaton remained unrepresented; their infrastructural requirements should have met the needs of the permanent residents. At the same time, a-new piece of council legislation came into force, which caused the obliteration of the network of national chief architects, a-move that also abolished the powers of the Balaton Chief Architect, Tibor Farkas.[3] The task of coordination was relegated to the largely under- or unprepared local bureaucrats, who favoured local interests over regional ones; thus, the concept of a-unified regional plan disintegrated. The obstruction of planned coordinating efforts resulted in the temporary prevalence of provincial, home-spun solutions, the slapdash uncoordinated solutions ignored the concept of development, thwarted the efficiency of construction works and marred their aesthetics. The problems were exacerbated by the new land law that enabled the apportionment of state-owned land in the previously strictly fenced-off protective bands. The so-called New Economic Mechanism was introduced in Hungary in 1968, which provided a-new framework for developments in the Balaton area.

CONSTRAINED MODERNISATION: GROWING NUMBERS AND SHRINKING POWERS

Due to expanding chunks of free time and economic opportunities, the population's standard of living rose, which was also reflected in mobility and the range of leisure activities. The boom in the number of cars greatly contributed to the change in the type of holidaying activities. According to statistics, in 1970 there were 213 thousand cars on the roads, while by 1975 this figure

3 The source of the research is Tibor Farkas' personal legacy. Tibor Farkas (1922-2015) was an architect and urban designer, he led the town planner group of the state owned design bureau VÁROSTERV. In 1956 he managed the post-flood restoration works of Mohács, and after his successful activities he was charged with the preparation of the Regional Outline Plan around Lake Balaton in 1957-58. In addition to the main design works he coordinated the realization process as a chief-architect and a-key member of the Balaton Executive Committee until 1968. After the 1968 termination of his chief-architect position he initiated the Central Development Program of Balaton (Phase I.: 1970-1975).

rose to 550 thousand.[4] This showed up as a-corresponding spike in the number of weekend trips being taken.[5] All the while, foreign visitor numbers continued to rise as well. The phenomenon may be attributed to the general gathering pace of European tourism, the reduction of limitations to travel for citizens of socialist countries, and the encouragement of "*foreign currency*" inflow in the hope of increased profits. Tourists from West Germany especially poured in in large numbers, as they had the chance to reunite with their Eastern relatives. The increased number of tourists widened the gap between infrastructural requirements and actual capacities even further.

Balatonlelle, 1972
Source: archive of Tibor Farkas

The growth of holiday traffic that exceeded expectations, together with artificial interventions into and extensions of building plots determined in the original plans resulted in the degradation of the natural environment and water quality.

The changes in the institutions of tourism at the end of the sixties paved the way for the launch of a-centralised development

4 Phase II. of the Central Balaton Development Program, 1976-80. Budapest, BTB. (Manuscript, source: archive of Tibor Farkas)

5 Ibid.

program. In the wake of the loss of powers of the BIB investment authority, the resources needed for development dried up. No construction plans were realised after 1965, which put an ever-greater strain on the region because of the growing number of holidaymakers. All the while, the uncertain powers of the new national tourism institution caused confusion; the ministries and authorities were not able to arrive at complete agreement regarding development. At last, in 1967, the organisation was disbanded and supplanted again by the National Tourism Council[6]. The previous wrangling between the ministries was highlighted by the fact that as of 1957, the council wasn't subordinated to the Ministry of Transport and Postal Affairs, but to the Ministry of Internal Trade.

Along with the recalibration of the controls of the economic system, the regional institutional background has also shifted.

The Hotel Marina built in 1968 and the Baricska Communal Holiday Estate in the background, Balatonfüred, 1972
Source: archive of Tibor Farkas

6 Rehák, Géza (2011): *Turizmuspolitika Magyarországon különös tekintettel a Kádár-korszak első tíz évére.* [The Politics of Tourism in Hungary with special regard to the first ten years of the Kadar era.] Doctoral The-sis, Debrecen, Debreceni Egyetem BTK. 141-142.

The Chief Architects Office had not been re-established, and although the BIB had not been abolished, its remit was confined to the organisation of tourism. The new coordinating body became the Interministerial Board of Balaton Development (BTB), with development resources being allocated by the central Balaton Development Fund. Though at that time the UIA Abercrombie award-holding Regional Plan remained in force, it was repeatedly modified according to changes in demands in capacity, each time to favour local interests.

Balatonberény, 1972
Source: archive of Tibor Farkas

The resorts were owned by the local councils, who were given the task of the operative execution and coordination of the developments.

The program promoted the idea of a-functional region reflective of modernisation: "*The Balaton area at present is perhaps the only such spot in the country that presents a-unified, clear profile, and rightly expects to see developments on the basis of a-central development program.*"[7] The program preserved the duality of local

7 Proposal to initiate the "Central Development Program" of the Balaton area, based on Directive GB. 27/1967/VIII.6/. ÉVM Chief Architects for the Balaton and Danube Bend Areas Curated by Tibor Farkas. September 9, 1967. (Source: archive of Tibor Farkas.)

and foreign tourism interests, whereas the only local type of tourism considered as important as receiving foreign holidaymakers in the hope of hard currency profits was the holidaying organised by the trade unions.[8] The program encouraged vigorous modernisation initiatives that challenged previous approaches stressing aesthetic considerations. As a-result, the natural character of the embankments was sacrificed. This was made possible because besides infrastructural developments, new building plots were created by the unprecedented filling up and apportioning of water-covered areas. The "*blue field*" investment was justified by references to the line of embankments centuries ago, which ran further inside the lake than at present. The reclaimed land was to be a-basis for denser, collectivist constructions. According to the architects' vision, the look of settlements around the Balaton had to fundamentally change.

So, despite the concentrated landscape development results, more and more significant distortions in the overall visual effect emerged already at the start of the decade. The-re existed no appropriate body for the supervision of building permission issues and land occupation on the areas regulated by the Balaton Regional Plan. In the new plans, areas earmarked for construction were expanded even beyond the extent delineated in the blueprints of the Balaton Central Development Program, while private gardens areas were being divided up very quickly. Summer populations swelled in line with changes in the structure of leisure time, which chiefly meant an explosion of traffic at weekends. However, there were no concurrent developments in the service sector to match this. The service and supply network continued to fail to meet peak time demands; besides servicing basic needs, opportunities for leisure and sporting activities remained lacking. The issues of creating a-unified settlement character and maintaining public cleanliness loomed large. "*Most settlements do not possess a-city image or culture to live up to the expectations of tourism, irreparable damage has been done to the landscape of the Balaton, the natural environment is in danger.*"[9] Besides the issues of the strip alongside the embankment, a-new threat also emerged, which restructured the priorities of regional development from the middle of the decade: the worsening of water quality.

8 Ibid.

9 Szappanos, Géza (1979): "A Balaton üdülőtáj fejlesztése" [The Development of the Balaton Resort Area], *Városépítés*, Vol. (6). 19.

Szigliget, 1972
Source: archive of
Tibor Farkas

LATE MODERN ARCHITECTURE AND THE DISAPPEARANCE OF REGIONAL MODERNISM

The former, sensitive, regional way of architecture was replaced in the program by plans of a-more intensive, multi-level, urban-looking waterfront. The system of plans did not evince the type of cohesion that resulted in the architectural quality in the first half of the sixties. At the start of the central development program, a-new series of general plans were prepared for the settlements, which were actualised primarily to accommodate growing inland demands and planned development units. The detailed development plans set the direction for the efforts, but the plans of the seventies no longer feature those architectural accents that had previously bridged the gap between the different scales via a-sensitive network of connecting elements.

The light, playful holiday resort look also vanished from both the landscaping and architectural concepts, to be replaced by stark, functional lines. The shifting of accents and the loss of architecture's institutional status led to the cessation of the inner dialogue formerly present in architectural and urban elements.

Révfülöp and the Badacsony vineyard, 1972 Source: archive of Tibor Farkas

The 700-800-person capacity of the hotels that had sprung up by the beginning of the seventies were only deemed acceptable out of "*economic considerations*", so that more and more people could be accommodated as fast as possible. At the same time, gradually smaller units, arranged in clusters, also needed to be introduced. The smaller units were realised in Földvár and on the Silver Coast of Siófok, following designs by István Márton.[10] In the words of

10 Márton, István (1965): "Balatonszéplak-Felső, Nemzetközi Újságíró Üdülőszálló és Étterem" [Balatonszéplak-Felső, International Hotel and Restaurant for Journalists], *Műszaki Tervezés*, Vol. 5 (9). 1-3; Márton, István (1971): "Balatonszéplak-Ezüstpart üdülőszállósor" [Balatonszéplak-Silver Bank Row of Hotels], *Műszaki Tervezés*, Vol. 11 (8). 24-25; Márton, István (1975): "SZOT 400 fh-es üdülőszálló és 1500 adagos konyha-étterem, Balatonszéplak" [SZOT 400-Person Hotel and Kitchen-Restaurant with 1500 Rations, Balatonszéplak], *Műszaki Tervezés*, Vol. 15 (10). 32; Márton, István (1972): "Ezüstpart Dunai Vasmű - Medicor üdülőszálló,

Tibor Farkas, "*it is more natural to place those looking for recreation closer to the water and the ground, in small clusters*."[11] Although the scales of the buildings returned to those applied in the early sixties, their aesthetic quality differed from the regional character of the earlier structures, achieved through using local materials in their structures. The holiday homes of the Siófok Silver Coast, in contrast, were built on artificially filled-up land, a-hallmark of modernisation. The-ir glass-and-steel facades reflect the elements of late modern architecture.[12] From the second half of the seventies, on the other hand, large capacity, prefab hotels were reintroduced in answer to pressing population figures, a-move which severed planners from the ideas of former regional plans both in scale and in the choice of material.[13]

"*We are cramped in the resort area*," - was the mantra at the coordination of private construction efforts. The "*more intensive and up-to-date construction efforts*" promoted in the plans were done so primarily because of economic and land management considerations. At the same time, it was also envisioned as adding aesthetic value to the lakeside, in the manner of screens. The construction works realised through group or union efforts also rendered the financing of the filling up of new construction sites and installation of vital utilities more economical. "*This enables us to give an impetus to the concept of the regional plan according to which the new socialist holiday culture near the water might reduce the area of the inherited and still present low-quality construction sites on the south bank*." That is when the above mentioned communal holiday homes were built, even though the Industry Standard[14] was only completed some ten years after the organisation of the first constructions. The above mentioned Baricska[15] and Neptune holiday homes were followed

Balatonszéplak" [Silver Bank Dunai Vasmű - Medicor Hotel, Balatonszéplak], *Műszaki Tervezés*, Vol. 12 (2). 18-21.

11 Farkas, Tibor (1967): *An account from the Chief Architects from the Balaton and Danube Bend Areas.* ÉM Chief Architects for the Balaton and Danube Bend areas. Manuscript, Budapest. 37.

12 Virág, Csaba (1979): "Dunai Vasmű 80 szobás üdülője, Balaltonszéplak" [Dunai Vasmű - 80-Room Hotel, Balatonszéplak], *Magyar Építőművészet*, Vol. 28 (6). 18-21.

13 Marton, István (1978): "Neptun Szálloda Balatonföldvár" [Hotel Neptun Balatonföldvár], *Magyar Építőművészet*, Vol. 27 (1) 13-17.

14 Szabó, Iván (1975): "Társasüdülők és társasüdülő telepekről a-tervezési gyakorlat kapcsán" [On Communal Holiday Houses and The-ir Estates in the Practice of Planning], *Városépítés*, Vol. (4) 27.

15 Szabó, Iván (1968): "Baricska társas üdülőtelep." [Baricska Communal Holiday Estate, Balatonfüred], *Magyar Építőművészet*, Vol. 17 (4). 14. Szabó, Iván (1972): "Baricska társasüdülő, Balatonfüred" [Baricska Communal Holiday House, Balatonfüred], *Magyar Építőművészet*, Vol. 21 (3). 22.

Hotel Európa built in 1966, Siófok Aranypart, 2017
Source: Author

by the Kisfaludy in Füred, but the project composed of five-level, planned units on the Fonyód bank is also worth a-mention because of its urbanistic image.[16]

Besides late modern architecture, remnants of folk architecture were markedly restored to attract tourism because vernacular culture began to gain currency at this time.[17] Also the holiday homes built during this period feature vernacular motifs in a-far more striking manner, displaying less abstract elements than previously.[18] In the looming shadow of late modern architecture, these tangible instances of vernacularism, devoid of abstraction, signify the proliferation of regional values. While developments of intensive modernisation seen in public buildings were more and more realised through the use of artificial materials and industrial technologies, discarding the intimacy offered by the "*pole-and-sheet*" school of architecture, small private developments also lost the whimsical elements of lakeside folk architecture. This resulted in the disappearance of regional modern architecture that embraced an adaptive approach.

16 Stadler, József (1975): "A szabadidő eltöltésének lehetőségei Somogyban" [Leisure Activities in Somogy County], *Városépítés*, Vol. (5). 22.

17 See: *Magyar Építőművészet* (1972), Vol. 21 (3). 41; Wirth Péter (1975): "Szigligeti népi építészeti együttesek környezetének kialakítása" [Folk Architectural Elements in Szigliget], *Városépítés*, Vol. (4). 17.

18 See: *Magyar Építőművészet* (1975), Vol. 24 (2). 44-45.; Kleineisel, János (1979): "Pincegádor Tihanyban, Cserhegy" [Cellar Entrance in Tihany, Cserhegy], *Magyar Építőművészet*, Vol. 28 (5). 36-37.

The structures built in the seventies and eighties display a-marked prominence of local strategies that draw on vernacular elements over adaptive ones. From a-larger perspective, this reflects the crisis of modernism, which turns into the postmodern architectural era. The funeral home by Károly Kaszás in Tihany completed in 1978,[19] the parish church of Fenyves by Ferenc Török, built in 1975-77,[20] and the educational and leisure edifice in Badacsonytomaj by Gábor Turányi represent a-turning point[21], as they reference local and historical elements instead of abstract regional ones. With the hollowing out of late modern architecture and the disappearance of both institutional and planning concepts of regional modernity, from the early eighties the dominance of local strategies won out even in the cases of holiday resort buildings.

DIVERSIFICATION IN THE HISTORY OF THE PROFESSION: THE REDEFINITION OF VIEWS

The seventies saw the crisis of modernity. Internationally, post-1968 societal issues called attention to the crisis of hitherto solid frames of reference and disciplinary elements, ushering in a-turning point that took the guise of the postmodern ethos, which in turn spawned linguistic, spatial, and ecological innovation. Frames and points of reference expanded and multiplied. The unexpected adverse effects of the modernisation of the shores of Lake Balaton, the distortions of the landscape and the mounting ecological issues brought into sharp focus the crisis of the idea of modernity. A-new set of viewpoints needed to be applied to the definition of the landscape. The pioneer landscape architect and professor Mihály Mőcsényi's concept of landscape already underlined the role of the viewing subject in 1968, subtly side-lining the positivist, progress-oriented idea of modernity, as well as inviting new disciplines and elements. [22]

19 Kaszás, Károly (1978): "Ravatalozó, Tihany" [Funeral Home, Tihany], *Magyar Építőművészet*, Vol. 6. 42-47.

20 Török Ferenc's church in Révfülöp was completed in 1981, in Ábrahámhegy in 1988.

21 Turányi, Gábor (1984): "Oktatási és pihenőépület Badacsonytomaj" [Educational and Leisure Building in Badacsonytomaj], *Magyar Építőművészet*, Vol. 3. 24-32.

22 Mőcsényi, Mihály (1968): "A táj és a-zöldterület fogalmi problémái a-tájrendezés nézőpontjából" [The conceptual problems of the landscape and the greenbelt from the point of view of landscaping efforts], *Településtudományi Közlemények*, Vol. 21. 66-76.

Hotel Ezüstpart built in 1983, Siófok Ezüstpart, 2013 (Source: Author)

The shifts in meaning of the conceptual framework

The reshuffling of priorities in values and conceptual constructs are highlighted in the act of the revision of the 1957 Regional Plan. At the time of its approval, only a-few reflections were published on the plan and no critical debate sprung up. However, by the middle of the seventies various issues necessitated the evaluation of the decade and a-half that has elapsed since the plan's inception. The study was undertaken in 1974 by the state owned design bureau of urban planning and design, VÁTI.[23] It examined the developments of the period commencing in 1957, focusing on whether it was necessary to draw up a-new regional plan or the modification of the first would be sufficient for addressing newly emerged issues.

The use of concepts in the text shows progress in relation to the description of the previous plan, and highlights the crisis of the framework of the Regional Plan. It introduces the expression "*urban landscape*", which provides scope for the description of the ambivalence inherent in the urbanisation of holiday resorts and enables the voicing of criticism: "*With urbanistic functions - we need to bring to the fore the need to be close to nature, borne of urbanisation itself - in the instance of the Balaton as a-holiday*

23 The Review of the Balaton Region Plan, Volume I. Városépítési Tudományos és Tervező Intézet (VÁTI), January 1975. Source:. Lechner Tudásközpont / Lechner Knowledge Centre 0491/k DKT/OTTT/BTI/-0491.

resort."[24] That is, tourism, with its infrastructure and resorts, urbanises it in the process of looking for natural and vernacular landscapes. Urbanisation foreshadows the image of an eccentric region, where summer populations pour out through urban corridors. The urbanised landscape systems surrounding the lake feature resort areas, autonomous units: "*Lake Balaton is the weekend and summer resort for Budapest and the above-mentioned cities, a-kind of 'outsourced' green belt area element that is directly linked to cities in the working of societal functions.*" Through the urban connections, the study also names the perennial seasonal problem. The nascent concept of the urbanised landscape discussed in the study may foment a-more realistic vision of a-systemic structure based on division of functions bridging the problem of seasonality, which would enable the expansion of Lake Balaton.

Hotel Helikon built in 1971, Keszthely, 2017
Source: Author

24 The Review of the Balaton Regional Plan, Volume I., VÁTI, January 1975. Source: Lechner Knowledge Centre 0491/k DKT/OTTT/BTI/-0491.

New value accents: the notions of 'landscape' and 'ecology'

The Balaton region served as a-testing ground of the fledgling discipline of landscaping in the early seventies because of the unexpected adverse environmental effects of intensive modernisation. The gradually unfolding spatial and ecological turning points in the various disciplines affected also the regional-scale scientific and interdisciplinary thinking, opening up the platform for redefinition and new viewpoints. The new prominence of landscape planning was demonstrated by the 1996 IFLA congress titled "*The contribution of landscape architecture to the reordering of the environment*", the tenth congress of the organisation, devoted to the discussion of effects on the landscape of regional-scale planning. Professor Imre Ormos, who had a-pioneering role in Hungarian landscape architecture and was also a-participant at the conference, presented the Balaton Region Plan as an internationally significant example of large-scale landscaping.[25] The problems of the Balaton region presented the young discipline of landscaping with new challenges. The laying of conceptual foundations of Hungarian landscape planning can be linked to the name of Mihály Mőcsényi and the introduction of the concept of landscape in 1968.[26] The theoretical construct indicated the necessity of a-new chapter that incorporated ecological considerations into the present framework - this Mőcsényi maintained in his later interpretations too -, but nevertheless went beyond it, representing a-conceptual experiment ahead of its time in the process. The practical inception of landscape planning was embodied by the aggregated and landscape plan drawn up by VÁTI for the Tihany Peninsula in 1975.[27] The new genre expanded the limitations both in respect of regional and professional considerations.

The concept of land shifted from its former definition denoting aesthetic meanings, primarily used in architectural-themed discussions to one with natural and ecological connotations. The conceptual history of the role fulfilled by landscapes can be defined in an interdisciplinary context as a-linking medium between the various visions of the disparate disciplines.

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25 Ormos, Imre (1966): "Planning of Holiday Resorts in the Balaton Area, Hungary", *Garden and Landscape*, Vol. 9. 285-287.

26 Mőcsényi (1968): "The conceptual problems of the landscape." 66-76.

27 Landscape and Aggregated Plan, Tihany. (Planner: Korbonits Dezsőné) Lechner Tudásközpont / Lechner Knowledge Centre. VÁTI number: 0273; 0163/74.

The early, larger scale aesthetic and compositional considerations were gradually replaced by the complex system of viewpoints that belonged to the disciplines of cultivation and ecology.

Conceptual shifts: "The rehabilitation of a-heavily damaged resort area"

The new regional plan, having reconsidered its value structure, began viewing the landscape from a-new perspective. The plan, written in VÁTI under the auspices of Lajos Kotsis, aimed to improve the declining water quality and the condition of the shore and establish the necessary preconditions for modern relaxation.[28] The goal was to improve the use of resort capacity and to increase profits from foreign visitors not by further increasing accommodation places but by raising the standard of services. It attempted to regulate overgrown private gardens by allowing more intensive land use and creating more compact settlement structures. Along the built-up shores, public areas were designated where the number of different leisure facilities was to be increased. The requirement of adding the previously unintegrated settlements to the resort system emerged, primarily to slow down the depopulation of small villages, but the rehabilitation of historic Balaton vineyards and putting them on the international market was also part of the agenda. The plan promoted rehabilitation instead of development and modernisation, thereby foreshadowing the replacement of projective approaches in architecture with ecological ones. As the authors of the plan claimed: "*The aims of the Regional Management Plan of the Balaton Resort Area differ from the regional management plan of the Balaton area: while the latter was responsible for the planning of a-high-value, extraordinary holiday resort for tourism, the former attempts to rehabilitate and reconstruct a-heavily damaged, fast-decaying, overcrowded area devoid of any free space fit for modern relaxation.*"[29]

28 Kotsis, Lajos was urban planner of VÁTI and he was the leader of the new regional planning process in 1980. See contents of the Regional Management Plan of the Balaton Resort.

29 Regional Management Plan of the Balaton Resort, Volume I-II. VÁTI, 1980. Lechner Tudásközpont / Lechner Knowledge Centre 2281/99/1-2. DKT/OTTT/BTI/-2281.

Orion Bar built in 1971,
Siófok Ezüstpart, 2013
Source: Author

CONCLUSION: THE REORGANISATION OF ARCHITECTURAL POSITIONS

The diversification of institutional structures, the restructuring of regional issues and the decline of the idea of development also resulted in the loss of the prominent position of the regional concept of modern architecture. The program of modernisation, which ran out of steam in the seventies, coincided with the crisis of late modern architecture and the emergence of postmodern approaches. What manifested as the shift from intensive modernisation to rehabilitation in urbanism, was paralleled in architecture as the move from late modernism to postmodernism on the shores of the lake. In place of large-scale edifices borne of centrally coordinated initiatives, scattered local developments prevailed. The structures

built in the seventies and eighties display a marked prominence of local strategies that reference vernacular elements over adaptive ones, reflecting the disappearance of the concept of regional modern architecture. With the hollowing out of late modern architecture and the disappearance of both institutional and planning concepts of regional modernity, the dominance of local strategies won out from the early eighties even in the case of holiday resort buildings. Architects gained inspiration mainly from local historical patterns instead of the former abstract vision of a-holiday resort. The abstract regional modern character of the holiday resort, sharing no ground with neither urban, nor vernacular architecture, has vanished.

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