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Urban Transformation in a Post-socialist Society-From unity to separation

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Abstract

This paper addresses the ongoing urban transformation of the Post-socialist city. Research is focused around ex-Yugoslavia where conflict, closed national policies, identity struggle and contemporary desires radicalized changes. Particularly it explores four satellite cities (Aerodrom in Skopje, New Belgrade, New Zagreb and Fužine in Ljubljana) that were built during the time of Great Socialist country - all of them as an extension of capital cities connected by the Highway of Brotherhood and Unity.

Radical transformation of Post-socialist cities in ex-Yugoslavia came into being with the end of ideology that built them. Defined and determined forms in new condition- often characterized by the permanent lack of authority- became blank canvas for improvisations, experiments and individual opportunistic developments. Nevertheless, in new geopolitical setup in this region determined by the condition of reversed unity, all new capital cities needed to reinvent their own national identities. This defines an ongoing desire for different transformation in order to manifest new ideas and conditions. This search for newness and differentness was somehow done by following the same patterns and principles. The highway, rather than mean to differentiate oneself can be seen as generator of sameness now dictated by the financial capital, defining conditions that were manifested in building types- such as the church, the kiosk, the small retail, the shopping mall, new housing block- or in type of urbanization generated by the “symbolic” forms.

This paper argues for a specific understanding of the Post-socialist city, where city is defined by architectural singularities that emerged as consequence of often individual, opportunistic ideas. Nevertheless, these building types are not autonomous objects but rather interdependent entities that reshaped public life and urban conditions in all of these cities. Therefore, this research articulates certain patterns of urban transformation common for wider context and proposes new understanding of the struggle of Post-socialist city manifested in duality between identity driven local initiatives and capital driven large scale developments.

Keywords:

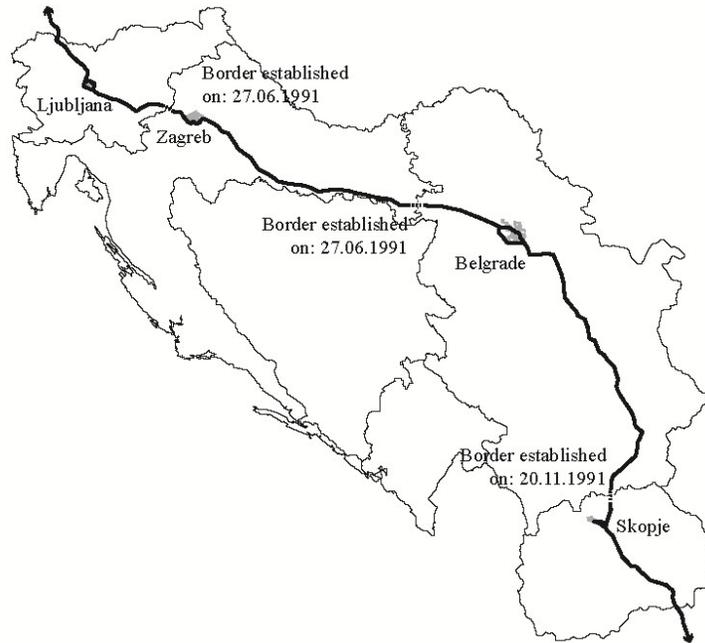
Reversed unity, Identity, Public Life, Common Building Types, Architectural Singularities

The Highway of Brotherhood and Unity – Introduction

Yugoslavia was established in 1918 at that moment known as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In 1946 (in post-WW II condition), when a communist government was established, Yugoslavia changed name into the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia. Only two years after - in 1948, conflict between Tito and Stalin resulted in exclusion of Yugoslavia from the Communist Information Bureau. In this situation Yugoslavia developed a new agenda of positioning itself “between capitalist West and communist East”. Consequently, cultural and architectural production needed to manifest new ideas.

“In the new society, the identity of architectural contemporaneity had to be re-invented, and, of course, it was to be done so to clearly reflect the specificity of the Yugoslav political and ideological project (i.e., self-management socialism), as compared to the rest of the socialist/communist world.”¹

It was the time of heroic urban and architectural developments that were spread throughout the whole territory of Yugoslavia, developments that later on became major architectural heritage of the whole region such as: New Belgrade which is now the biggest municipality of Belgrade with more than 300 000 residents, or New Zagreb with more than 150 000 residents, same as Fužine in Ljubljana which is the most densely populated part of the city, as well as Aerodrom in Skopje. Beside the fact that these new cities needed to represent political strength of newly established country they were not autonomous moments of action, rather they were part of greater socialist project. They were all connected by the monumental highway of Brotherhood and Unity which cut through the whole country. The highway - which was more than 1 100 km long and that connected four capitals of different regions of Yugoslavia, was supposed to represent unity and power of the new great socialist country.



“Ex-Yugoslavia and four capital cities connected with the former highway of Brotherhood and Unity.”

From Unity

From 1950 onwards, the Highway of Brotherhood and Unity was built as an expression of new socialist ideology, with the purpose of uniting the multi ethnic population into one, comprehensive state of Yugoslavia. It was not just a piece of infrastructure, rather it was a monumental project that along with new “socialist cities” represented a new ideal - country between East and West. The highway cut through New Belgrade which was designed as a new capital of Yugoslavia, New Zagreb which was the biggest International Trade Fair in the country and the only fair at which United States, the Soviet Union and Third World countries exhibited regularly throughout the Cold War, but also through new socialist residential neighborhoods of Ljubljana and Skopje. Relation between the highway and new socialist cities was carefully designed. Since New Belgrade was envisioned as a capital of new great socialist country, the approach to the city by the highway was monumental along the scenic axis that organize whole neighborhood. It was similar in case of New Zagreb, axis that connects highway with rest of the city cuts through New Zagreb and forms main axis of the city. On the other hand, in case of Skopje and Ljubljana, huge socialist neighborhoods were more integrated into old tissue of the city and connected to the highway by large boulevards.

Building of the highway itself (that lasted for more than 10 years) was a great political project since it was done through “voluntary mass labor”. Beside the international prestige and the role of strengthening national solidarity - which was obvious, its building intended to train unskilled workers for industrial jobs. During this time of rapid reconstruction of the state, many collective projects were developed such as “the Yugoslav Youth” which organized young men and women and send them for few months on construction sites all over the country.

“The construction of both the capital and the Highway of Brotherhood and Unity began in 1947 with the employment of nearly two hundred thousand youth brigadiers, brought together to strengthen national solidarity and generate international prestige.”²

First section of the highway was built in 1950 between Belgrade and Zagreb and it was 382 km long. Later on, in 1958, the section between Zagreb and Ljubljana was finished, followed by parts in Serbia constructed in 1960. In the year 1962 construction of the last section of the highway between Osipaonica and Belgrade began with the employment of approximately 46 699 young voluntaries. This section and by it the whole highway was completed in 1963. Parallel to this, new socialist neighborhoods were emerging – New Belgrade in 1946, New Zagreb 1957, Aerodrom in Skopje 1965, Fužine in Ljubljana in 1977. New ideal was built by the people from different social, ethnical and intellectual background which symbolically represented their brotherhood and unity. Moreover, these developments cannot be looked separate - as isolated islands, but rather as one great project charged by strong political will and ideology that needed architectural manifestation.

To Separation

Beside the strong symbolism and ideology behind “The Highway of Brotherhood and Unity”, it very soon became adverse artifact for the same ideas. During the war in Yugoslavia that started at 1991, after Slovenian and Croatian declaration of independence, the highway was the most abused built artifact of what once used to be Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It was first divided by roadblocks established by military of different countries - which later on became border crossings between independent countries. Throughout the war it was intensively used by military in order to transfer goods, military equipment and people. Later on it became the biggest migration route of the whole region.

Emergence of the borders also placed the new socialist cities into the forefront since they had capacity to accommodate large number of refugees that came mostly to Belgrade and Zagreb. At the present moment Serbia is officially country in Europe with largest number of refugees (more than 57 000 registered refugees) out of which more than 41 000 people came from Croatia mostly settled in the Belgrade and in its surrounding.

Furthermore, after the war in Yugoslavia, the necessity for interconnection between the former republics stopped and along with that, the highway lost its significance. New states, in the new geostrategic circumstances began to develop other infrastructural corridors within the national borders. Moreover, new agendas had to be setup once again - now by each country individually. This marked new phase of reinventing cultural and architectural identities, this time dictated by the condition of reversed unity. Nevertheless, after the conflict and tension between former Yugoslavian countries was reduced and under the pressure from European countries “the Corridor X”, which coincides with the route of the highway of Brotherhood and Unity, again became major important piece of infrastructure in this region.

Post-Socialist Dream – Different transformation of Ex-Yugoslavian capitals

In the span of last 30 years socialist cities in former Yugoslavian republics has been transforming radically - attracting new ideologies, identities and forms of life. One can argue that this transformation of Post-socialist cities in ex-Yugoslavia came into being with the end of ideology that built them followed by conflict, closed national policies and free-market condition. Defined and determined forms in new condition- often characterized by the permanent lack of authority- became blank canvas for improvisations, experiments and individual opportunistic developments. This revealed great capacity of rigid socialist blocks to accommodate new different ideologies. In the same time, cities became literal laboratories for reinventing national and cultural identities of newly established countries. New geopolitical setup in this region determined by the condition of reversed unity produced immense need for reinvention of national identities which marked development/transformation of new capital cities. This search for newness and differentness largely reshaped public life in these cities and defined an ongoing desire for different transformation in order to manifest new ideas and conditions. Transformation which varied from "reawakening of the history and tradition" in case of Skopje through series of tremendous public monuments and neoclassical architecture - in order to reestablished national identity, to the large scale capitalistic developments (obviously inspired by the Western culture) in case of New Belgrade.

From Modernization to Tradition / Skopje – Aerodrom

*"For the peoples of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Skopje was not merely a town like others. Skopje was a symbol of the brotherhood and unity of the equal and free people of Yugoslavia."*³

After the great earthquake in 1963 which devastated Skopje, city had to be rebuilt and modernized. Main planner of "New Skopje" was Kenzo Tange. This was significant moment which overnight made Skopje symbol of international fellowship. It brought together Yugoslavia and Japan but also many other nations that were involved in this project, such as army engineers from USSR and Denmark (working side by side), experts for prefabricated buildings from United Kingdom and US, along with Brazilians. As a consequence, Skopje – which was a small town – capital of Macedonian region, became important place on the World's map. After building the New Railway Station in 1968 designed by Kenzo Tange, extension of the city towards east in form of new socialist development "Aerodrom" was on the way. Very soon Aerodrom became mostly populated neighborhood of the city, reaching more than 70 000 people in the late 90s. Time of conflict and dissolution of Yugoslavia was time in which population of Skopje increased four times, mainly as a consequence of large influx of Albanian immigrants. Simultaneously, apartments that were owned by state companies were privatized. Therefore, under the new regime dictated by the market demands coupled with incredible growth, apartments were being transformed radically and informally. Common spaces were turned into living units which reshaped living conditions in this neighborhood. Seemingly, post-dissolution period along with increasing multi ethnic character of the city triggered new agenda of Macedonian government which was reestablishment of national identity through the "back to tradition" architecture. Modernist values are being abandoned by the current leading parties that are proposing bizarre mix of historicist forms as national identity-making policy. In year 2010, government launched the "Skopje 2014" project which was manifested in number of neoclassical buildings and large scale monuments throughout the whole city.

From Capital to Capitalistic / Belgrade – New Belgrade

*"New Belgrade will be our first socialist city. It will be the first center of people's government in our history. For all our peoples the first and unique administrative, cultural, and ideological center; Center of Brotherhood and Unity."*⁴

General Ljubollić, 1948.

In year 1948 - at the same time when Yugoslavia was excluded from the Communist Information Bureau, building of new capital city began. Federal Executive Council was first built building in New Belgrade (according to 1947 proposal by Vladimir Potočnjak, Anton Ulrich, Zlatko Neumann and Dragica Perak), which organized the development of the whole neighborhood. It was heroic development in the name of great socialist ideal. Nevertheless, new capital city weren't mere physical construct in tabula rasa condition, rather it represented new moment in history where relation with the past was suspended and new "history" was established. Although, very soon (with the dissolution of Yugoslavia) New Belgrade transformed rapidly serving as a city's test ground for new small scale, individual economic models materialized in form of kiosk or small retail. Often, they were informal but stimulated by the government in order to support already degraded economy which was consequence of war, conflict and embargo. Later on - with the privatization of the land and free-market condition, concept of individual investment escalated in centralized large scale private developments. Initial idea of monumental blocks situated in the large open space served as fertile ground for new capitalistic developments. Empty area inside the blocks (surrounded by the residential buildings and with the direct access to infrastructure) is being filled with many diverse programs and architecture which is once again redefining relations in the city.

From International to National / Zagreb – New Zagreb

“The Zagreb Fair was a focal point for Marshal Tito’s efforts to establish a global role for Yugoslavia through the “Non - Aligned Movement” of “bloc free” states. The Movement itself had to a large extent been instigated by Yugoslavia, which had been elected to the United Nations Economic and Social Council in 1952.”⁵

The Zagreb Fair was important international event since it was the only International Trade Fair at which United States, the Soviet Union and Third World countries exhibited regularly throughout the Cold War. New Zagreb was developed as a consequence of moving the Zagreb International Trade Fair to the south – closer to the Highway of Brotherhood and Unity. Infrastructure provided for the Trade Fair stimulated new city to emerge. According to the 1962 plan of New Zagreb it was completely new city which would accommodate 250 000 inhabitants in residential areas and housing developments. Soon after, city (characterized by the orthogonal grid and residential buildings) was built. During the 90s conflict, rigid urban landscape composed out of block, slab and tower was transforming mostly informally. With the large influx of refugees living units were being upgraded and with the lack of authority, individual - bottom up developments were occupying empty spaces within the blocks. In contemporary time, as a consequence of privatization of the land and free-market condition this neighborhood is being largely commercialized, but more dominantly it is becoming important production site for reestablishment of national identity. After the split onward, Croatian Catholic Church occupied most of the empty space in New Zagreb - building large number of churches by renowned Croatian architects such as: Church St. Ivan apostle and evangelist, St. Luke the Evangelist, St. Kriza, St. Mateja apostle and evangelist, etc. This condition revealed strength of Croatian Church after the split but it also labeled post-socialist city as important construction site for contemporary desires.

From Necessity to Necessity / Ljubljana – Fužine

“Revive Fužine! Man is a neighbor to his fellow man.”

Title of the yearly organized social event.

Slovenia was always center of economic power in the region. Henceforth, there was a constant influx of migrant workers to Ljubljana - capital of Slovenian region. Already in the early 50s, need for new affordable housing was obvious. First plan to build socialist residential neighborhood emerged in the year 1958, while in 1977 the first phase of construction was finally opened and completed in 1981. Fužine was built on the waste empty land between the highway and old city. It was initially built for young families and migrant workers coming from different parts of Yugoslavia. Soon after - during the 90s, rapid expropriation caused intense focus on providing accommodation for large number of migrants and less focus on the development of social institutions. Limited possibilities for public space usage induced many informal developments (mostly in form of kiosks or small retailers). Even so, Fužine went through the very controlled transformation with characteristic problem-solution approach. Now days, Fužine is the most densely populated part of Ljubljana with the majority of residents from Slovenia, Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia and Albania. Therefore, it is reach multicultural neighborhood. Nonetheless, multi-nationality is often generator of conflict and intolerance. Hence, at the contemporary moment, from pure necessity, large number of social institutions/events is being developed/organized, explicitly strengthening the sense of belonging and the sense of common despite the national affiliations of the inhabitants.

New political agendas shaped future developments of all these post-socialist cities, explicitly defining their role and characters as space for production of national and cultural identities, diverse economic models, or simply affordable residential areas.

Towards Common–Common building types/Emerged phenomena

As stated before, current geopolitical situation triggered immense need for reinvention of cultural and national identities which defined desire for different transformations of post-socialist capital cities. This search for newness and

differentness was somehow done by following the same patterns and principles which produced common building types that are either a manifestation of this transformation or that are generating and guiding it. Perhaps the most obvious example is the church which was a building type that emerged in all these neighborhoods in the late 90s (after the split). Since each of the nations had their own church (Serbian Orthodox, Croatian Catholic, or Macedonian Orthodox) they were all building them in order to reestablish national identities. Nevertheless, the implication of it on the urban and social fabric was more or less the same which is an expected consequence because they all work in similar way. Therefore, despite the great desire for differentness, with the limited set of “tools” and under the waves of capital, all these cities are developing increasingly similar. Moreover, the highway, rather than a mean to differentiate oneself, can be seen as generator of sameness now dictated by the financial capital. After all, the highway is still a main determinant for development of these areas, defining conditions that were manifested in building types – such as: the kiosk, the church, the small retail, the living unit, the shopping mall, new housing block – or in the type of urbanization that is generated by “symbolic” forms.

The Living Unit

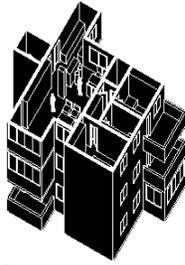
“The Living Unit” was one of the first to reflect the struggle of post-socialist society. In all four cities, housing units transformed rapidly and informally, occupying balconies by extending existing rooms or by turning balconies into new rooms. This process had significant impact on living conditions in these cities and it is so broadly spread that future approach to it is one of the main challenges for all ex-Yugoslavian governments. Moreover, conflict in the early 90s between ex-Yugoslavian countries caused great influx of refugees into these socialist neighborhoods because they had capacity to accommodate large number of people. As a consequence they became multinational neighborhoods in which living units and common facilities were being radically transformed. Initial socialist idea of having common spaces within the residential blocks served as prosperous space which could accommodate new inhabitants. This transformation of common facilities into the living spaces for new citizens had great implication on public life of these areas. Since the common spaces were turned into the private, inner block open spaces became meeting points for local communities. This condition of rapid privatization of common (due necessity) reshaped public life in these areas.

The Kiosk

“The Kiosk” was building type that had significant impact on economic and social structure of post-socialist cities in former Yugoslavia. In most of the cases “The Kiosk” emerged informally and had great role in shaping public life in these neighborhoods. Since it is flexible and temporary small scale retail, easy to assemble or disassemble or upgrade, it changed its appearance and purpose very quickly along with the change of the market demands. Almost by the definition, kiosks are located on the outer edges of the blocks in the areas where large traffic of people is constant, usually next to the important transportation points, which in case of all these cities is next to the major bus stops. During the 90s, emergent importance of the kiosk (in post-socialist city) suspended many formal trade facilities. This new condition of replaced state owned facilities by number of small scale private/individual developments (usually based on improvised and opportunistic solutions) reshaped public life in these areas. Many social activities were literally displaced from the inner block “green open” area to the edge of the blocks - along the infrastructural lines. These new “points” of social activities diversified public and political life within the neighborhood.

The Small Retail

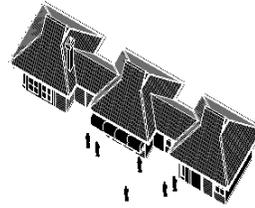
“The Small Retail” was partly supported by many city governments during the 90s conflict because it was a mean to support already degraded economy. It played important role in shaping social and economic relations in these cities. Therefore, it gained importance during the 90s and it is still part of post-socialist urban landscape. In contemporary time small retails are under the constant pressure of being replaced by large scale shopping malls. Nonetheless, very often, such as in case of New Belgrade’s “Food street” large concentration of retails produced immense centralization of programs and activities comparable even with the shopping malls. Small scale retails were usually built in blocks with large residential capacity, always located along the major infrastructure. In some cases (such as in case of Fužine or in some cases of New Belgrade) they are close related to the highway. Since small retails were important for both government and residents of these neighborhoods they became essential part of post-socialist city’s landscape. They largely influenced public life because, similar to kiosk, they re-densified public activities (from inner block to outer edge along the infrastructural lines).



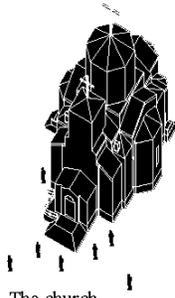
The living unit



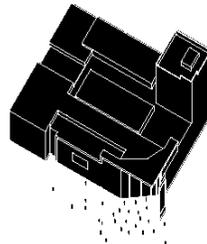
The kiosk



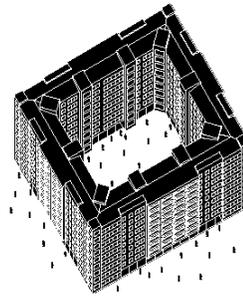
The small retail



The church



Shopping mall



Housing

“Common phenomena and building types.”

“The Church” played pivotal role in transformation of all four cities. After being “prohibited” during the socialist state the church again appeared in the urban fabric of these cities and gained more importance than ever before. After the dissolution of Yugoslavia, church played major role in establishment of national identities since each of the nations had their own church - Serbian Orthodox, Croatian Catholic, or Macedonian Orthodox. Not by chance, in New Zagreb, Croatian Catholic Church became one of the country’s leading entrepreneurs. As Boris Buden is putting forward in his text “God is back in town”: *“In fact Croatian Catholic Church owing to its properties, annual income and investments has become recently one of the leading entrepreneurs in the country. Already at the end of 2005 it was ranked among the five richest business groups in Croatia.”*⁶ Therefore, its social, but also its economic, importance (in the condition of post-socialist Yugoslavia) increased significantly. In case of New Belgrade and mostly in case of New Zagreb churches are located in inner parts of the city blocks. By that they are more integrated into the neighborhood blocks and residential areas which produces certain communal and social values, nevertheless they are always visually exposed to the major infrastructural lines. Therefore, the church almost became a mean to make national identity explicit but also to reinforce national affiliation of residents. In case of Skopje, churches are often located on the major intersections and along the important boulevards which is probably due a strong policy of “promoting” Macedonian Church and reinforcing national identity.

The Shopping mall

“The Shopping Mall” is building type that emerged in these cities in contemporary condition of free-market economy. Privatization of the land gave birth to private investments which very soon became monopolistic, large scale developments. Interestingly enough, in the moment when shopping mall is becoming obsolete product of Western culture it is getting incredible importance in ex-Yugoslavian post-socialist city. Shopping malls are conceived with the intention of attracting people, not just from their immanent surrounding nor from the city, but from the whole region. Therefore, cities are competing whose shopping mall is the biggest, most advanced, most luxury etc. Hence, they are always located on the major infrastructure. Usually on the important intersections and in almost all of these examples they are located on the axis which is connecting post-socialist neighborhood with the old, traditional center of the city. This new condition of commercialization largely changed social and economic relations within these cities by concentrating diverse programs, economic power and social activities.

The Housing

Housing was and still is the most common typology in all of these post-socialist cities. During the Socialist country, housing was in primary focus since it precisely reflected main political agenda. Housing estates were designed by the leading architects of that time with carefully crafted living units on one hand and very monumental appearance of the buildings on the other. Large scale of buildings and of whole urban areas celebrated Socialist ideal. Nevertheless, housing was in first place conceived as rational accommodation of dwellings where everyone is equal and instead of individualism committed to the greater socialist ideals. Now days, in term of political agenda many things have changed although housing typology remained very similar. Dwellings are more diversified since it is easier to sell them, scale of the buildings has been reduced because it is easier to invest and most challenging task for architects is to design facade, since it is the most feasible place where they can add value. Therefore, in many cases housing itself is not anymore primary focus for architects. In condition of free market and capital, possibilities are very limited. In most of the cases all new ideas and proposals (such as new common areas, public facilities, etc.) are being discarded because they don’t bring instant profit.

Back to the highway – Cultural and architectural production

In recent times, as a consequence of European financial support, the ex-Highway of Brotherhood and Unity is again becoming major important piece of infrastructure in the region. “Reemerging” condition is again putting the highway

into the forefront as a main determinant for the development of this area, although now within the new regime of free-market economy. Coupled with the building types (produced by new geopolitical situation) the highway is playing pivotal role in transformation of the whole region.

On one side, the strong financial potential behind the highway is in advance suggesting possible development of its imminent surrounding and common interest behind it. While on the other side, initial ideas behind emerged building types were mostly individual and opportunistic. Nevertheless, implication on the urban fabric and public life went beyond initial expectations. Regardless to their scale – from kiosk to shopping mall, they redefined relations within the city. Moreover, they re-formalized socialist city from large scale to small scale, from collective to individual, from socialist to capitalistic, from formal to informal. Not by chance, creating condition which would inherently need specific reading of the city. This research is an attempt to speculate on and argue for a specific understanding of the post-socialist city, where city is defined by architectural singularities that are not autonomous architectural forms but rather interdependent entities that reshaped public life and urban conditions in all of these cities. In other words, they are building types whose presence is completely dependent on conditions defined by other building types and infrastructure (in most of the cases by the highway) and, at the same time, they are constantly redefining conditions on which they depend.

Building, Block, Neighborhood

Socialist city was characterized by the top down planning. Imposition of monumental grid (in form of infrastructure) defined boundaries for architecture to happen. In this condition, renowned architects would act within the limits of the blocks, often producing autonomous architectural objects. Independently these objects would serve as monuments to the greater ideal. Intentional neutrality of the city blocks is clearly recognizable in case of New Belgrade where each block was named by the number from 1 to 72, and specificity is achieved through recognizable built morphology. As a consequence, one could argue that Yugoslavian socialist city was a collection of architectural objects - limited by the infrastructure and devoted to the socialist ideology. In contemporary condition role of architecture in post-socialist neighborhoods has changed. New situation challenged preconceived ideas where infrastructural grid would enhance different, autonomous architectural ideologies within the “independent” urban blocks. Rather, in current situation emerging building types are depending on and reshaping the conditions in the whole area. For instance, new “symbolic” buildings (such as: sport centers, shopping malls, museums, etc.) are inserted in the blocks and they redefine relations in the city. On one hand, these new buildings increase price of existing apartments and on the other, they generate new urbanization. New housing estates are then being built next to these “symbolic” buildings which in a way produces new values. Consequently, value that architects are able to produce in these areas is not anymore in residential buildings, but in public buildings that induce new residential blocks to emerge. Eventually, all these “symbolic” buildings are in strong relation to the highway (ex-highway of Brotherhood and Unity) and consequently highway is still, or once again is, main determinant for the development of these areas.

Without exception all four cities are being built in this way. In case of Belgrade Arena, it was designed by Vlada Slavica and built in 2007. This was followed by the building of large residential and partly commercial areas in blocks 29 and 22. Zagreb Arena was built in 2008 and its surrounding is still being built largely by residential buildings. As well as Stožice in Ljubljana - built in 2010, after which large office areas and new housing estates were built. Delta shopping mall built in 2008 in New Belgrade induced development of Delta city. Not to mention, Croatian Museum of Contemporary Art or Jane Sandalski development in Skopje. All these developments are induced by the architectural objects which (because of their “symbolic” forme but more importantly because of large concentration of diverse programs) influenced beyond the limites of their blocks. Emerged “centers” within the “neutral” grid system are not autonomous nor determined by the specific built morphology, but defined through the diverse programs. On the other hand, more local, individual initiatives are in direct collision with these capitalistic developments, nevertheless still with strong implications on social and urban fabric. Famous “Street Food” in New Belgrade – in block 9, almost branded the whole area just by concentrating same type of small retails. Moreover, it generated incredible concentration of people which influenced radical transformation of its surrounding. New kiosks, informal market and small retails emerged rapidly, expanding the character of the area on other blocks (block 11 and block 8) and at the same time, essentially making famous destination for the wider context.

Concentration of large scale generic structures along the highway and more local, self-organized or bottom up developments inside the post-socialist city reflects duality of the city between identity driven local initiatives and capital driven large scale developments. It also emphasizes very local moments of each city on one side, but also very generic logic of how they function on the other. As a consequence, collisions between generic and local, desires and needs, large scale and small scale, collective and individual defined ongoing struggle of Yugoslavian post-socialist city.



*“Analogues map is assemblage of recomposed moments
or parts of each of four ex-Yugoslavian Capital Cities.”*

Notes

¹Blagojević, Ljiljana. New Belgrade: The capital of no city's – land, published in *Stadtbauwelt* 163, Berlin 2004.

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- ²Diener, Roger. Meili, Marcel. Inderbitzin, Christian Mueller. Topalović, Milica. Belgrade – Formal Informal, published by Scheidegger&Spiess, 2013.
- ³Mrduljaš, Maroje. Kulić, Vladimir. Unfinished Modernisation: Between Utopia and Pragmatism, published by CAA, Zagreb 2012, p. 211.
- ⁴Mrduljaš, Maroje. Kulić, Vladimir. Unfinished Modernisation: Between Utopia and Pragmatism, published by CAA, Zagreb 2012, p. 39.
- ⁵Blau, Eve. Rupnik, Ivan. Project Zagreb, Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice, published by Actar D, Barcelona 2007, p. 214.
- ⁶Buden, Boris. “God is back in town”. Operation: City 2008, The Neoliberal Frontline: Urban Struggles in Post-Socialist Societies, Conference Zagreb 2008, p. 11.
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7. Conference Participants. Operation: City 2008, The Neoliberal Frontline: Urban Struggles in Post-Socialist Societies, Conference Zagreb 2008.

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I was born in Belgrade, Serbia on September 16 1987. I graduated in year 2011 from Belgrade University-Faculty of Architecture where I got a Master degree in architecture. After one year of working in practice I enrolled postgraduate program at Berlage Institute in the Netherlands where I recently earned Post-master's degree. I was awarded with number of international prizes and honors among which the most recent one was invitation to be part of an international team of designers whose task was to redesign “Glass Factory” that hosted 2013 UABB*Shenzhen - followed by the 5th UABB*Shenzhen Organizing Committee Special Award. Currently I'm practicing architecture in Rotterdam.