

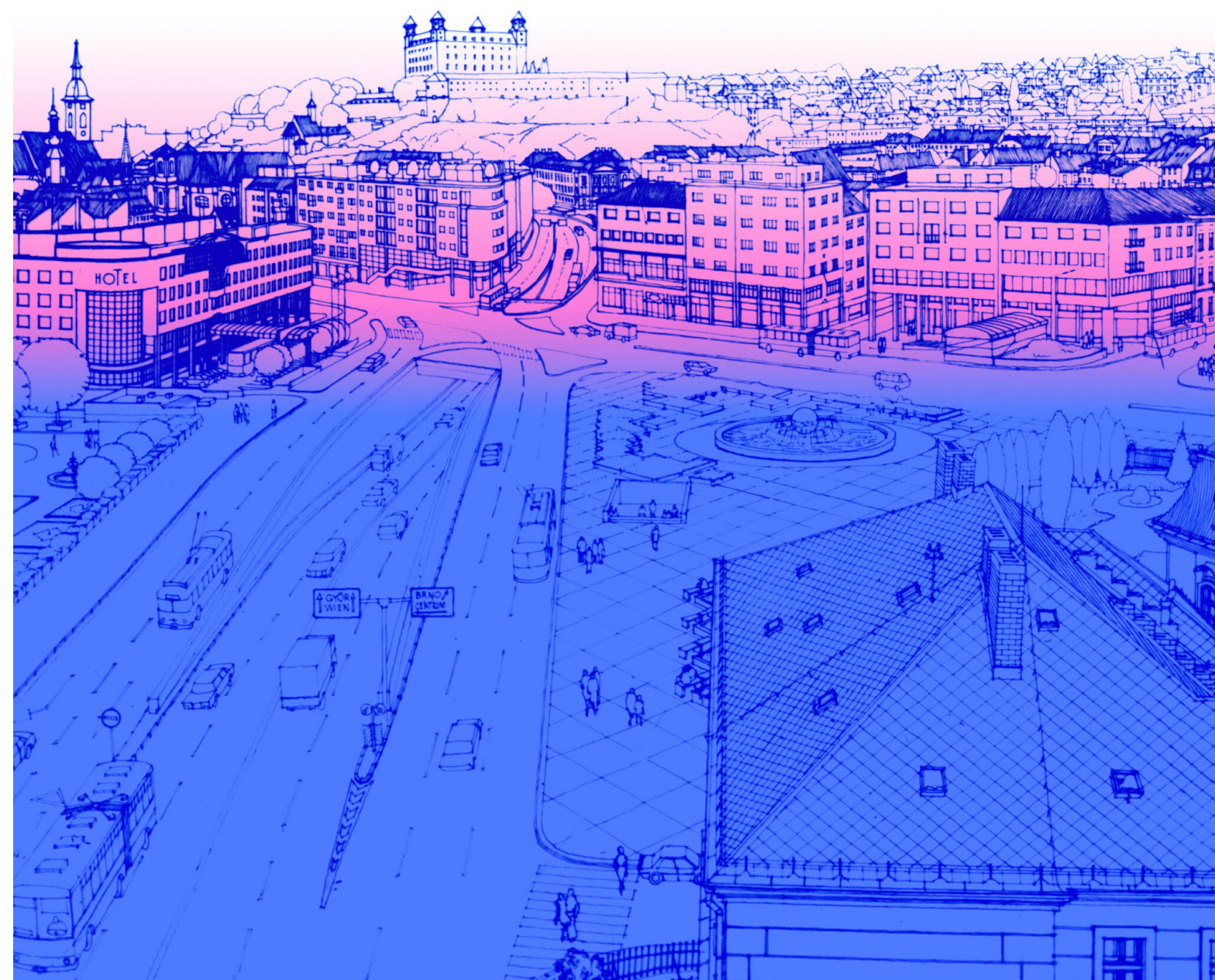
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ARCHITEKTÚRA & URBANIZMUS

JOURNAL OF ARCHITECTURAL
AND TOWN-PLANNING THEORY

ČASOPIS PRE TEÓRIU
ARCHITEKTÚRY A URBANIZMU

Volume Ročník LVII
Number Číslo 3 – 4 / 2023





2023, Volume 57, Number 3 – 4

In Search of Postmodern City: Urban Changes and Continuities in East Central Europe between Late Socialism and Capitalism (1970-2000)

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**CERAK VINOGRADI HOUSING
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SÍDLISKO CERAK VINOGRADI
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Photo Foto: Jovana Bugarski

The Role of Open Spaces in Restructuring the Cerak Vinogradi Housing Estate in Belgrade

Rola otvorených priestorov v reštrukturalizácii sídliska Cerak Vinogradi v Belehrade

Jovana Bugarski

 10.31577/archandurb.2023.57.3-4.6

Tento príspevok skúma rolu otvorených priestorov v reštrukturalizácii sídliska Cerak Vinogradi, ktoré bolo navrhnuté a postavené v Belehrade v rokoch 1977 – 1985. Napriek tomu, že v roku 2019 bolo toto sídlisko vyhlásené za kultúrne dedičstvo Srbskej republiky a zaradené do stálej expozície múzea MoMA v New Yorku, jeho štruktúra bola od výstavby až dodnes predmetom neustálej revízie v dôsledku zmien v sociálno-ekonomickom systéme a regulačnom rámci a neskôr v dôsledku procesov privatizácie nehnuteľností a pozemkov a deregulácie systému plánovania.

Sídlisko Cerak Vinogradi bolo v Belehrade prvou lokalitou zaradenou do programu sociálne orientovanej bytovej výstavby. Tento program predstavoval obrat v bytovej politike po ústavných zmenách v roku 1974, keď štát upustil od modelu výstavby bytov pre trh a prešiel na systém samosprávnych záujmových komunít. Špecifickosť sídliska Cerak Vinogradi sa odráža v modeli riadenia bytovej výstavby, ktorú viedli Belehradské bytové družstvo a Bytové družstvo Juhoslovanskej ľudovej armády (JNA). Tie vytvorili *Model projektovania a výstavby* – novinku vo vtedajšej praxi výstavby bytov. Tento model slúžil ako základ pre vyhlásenie verejnej súťaže, v ktorej ponúkla víťazné riešenie stavebná spoločnosť „Napred“ v spolupráci s architektonickou dvojicou Darkom a Milenijou Marušičovými a architektom Nedeljkom Borovnicom, a zvíťazila tak nad Inštitútom architektúry a územného plánovania Srbska (IAUS).

Urbanisticko-architektonická koncepcia sídliska je založená na hierarchickej organizácii pozostávajúcej z troch priestorovo-sociologických úrovní: (1) úroveň rezidenčných peších ulíc, (2) úroveň susedstiev a (3) úroveň sídliska. Každá úroveň má priestorové prvky, ktoré ju tvoria a identifikujú, a to umožnilo rozpoznať a diferencovať úlohy otvorených priestorov v štruktúre sídliska. Samotná štruktúra sídliska brala do úvahy obsah a motívy, ktoré potvrdzovali úroveň susedstiev ako medziúroveň v rámci organizácie sídliska, hoci susedstvo ako sociálno-priestorová forma organizácie rezidenčnej komunity nebolo vo vtedajších normách projektovania a územného plánovania zohľadnené. Aby sa autori vtesnali do vtedajšieho regulačného rámca, ktorý definoval normy plánovania a výstavby na jednej strane a modely spravovania obytných priestorov a sprievodného využívania na strane druhej, navrhli zoskupiť plochy určené pre potreby rezidenčnej komunity, ktoré mali byť na úrovni

každého domu, a vytvoriť tak susedské centrá s väčším využitelným priestorom (300 m² na susedstvo) a s malými miestnosťami na stretávanie, kanceláriami a klubmi pre starších a mládež.

Roky po výstavbe priniesli v štruktúre sídliska rôzne priestorové transformácie – neformálne čiastočné premeny od usporiadania otvorených priestorov v podobe menších záhradných komunít, cez transformáciu vnútorných obytných priestorov až po zasklievanie terás, oplotenie záhrad a uzatváranie priechodov, ktoré zmenili rolu a charakter plánovaných otvorených priestorov sídliska. Tieto procesy boli v priestorovej praxi neustále prítomné a podporované následnou legalizáciou a potvrdením prostredníctvom právneho rámca.

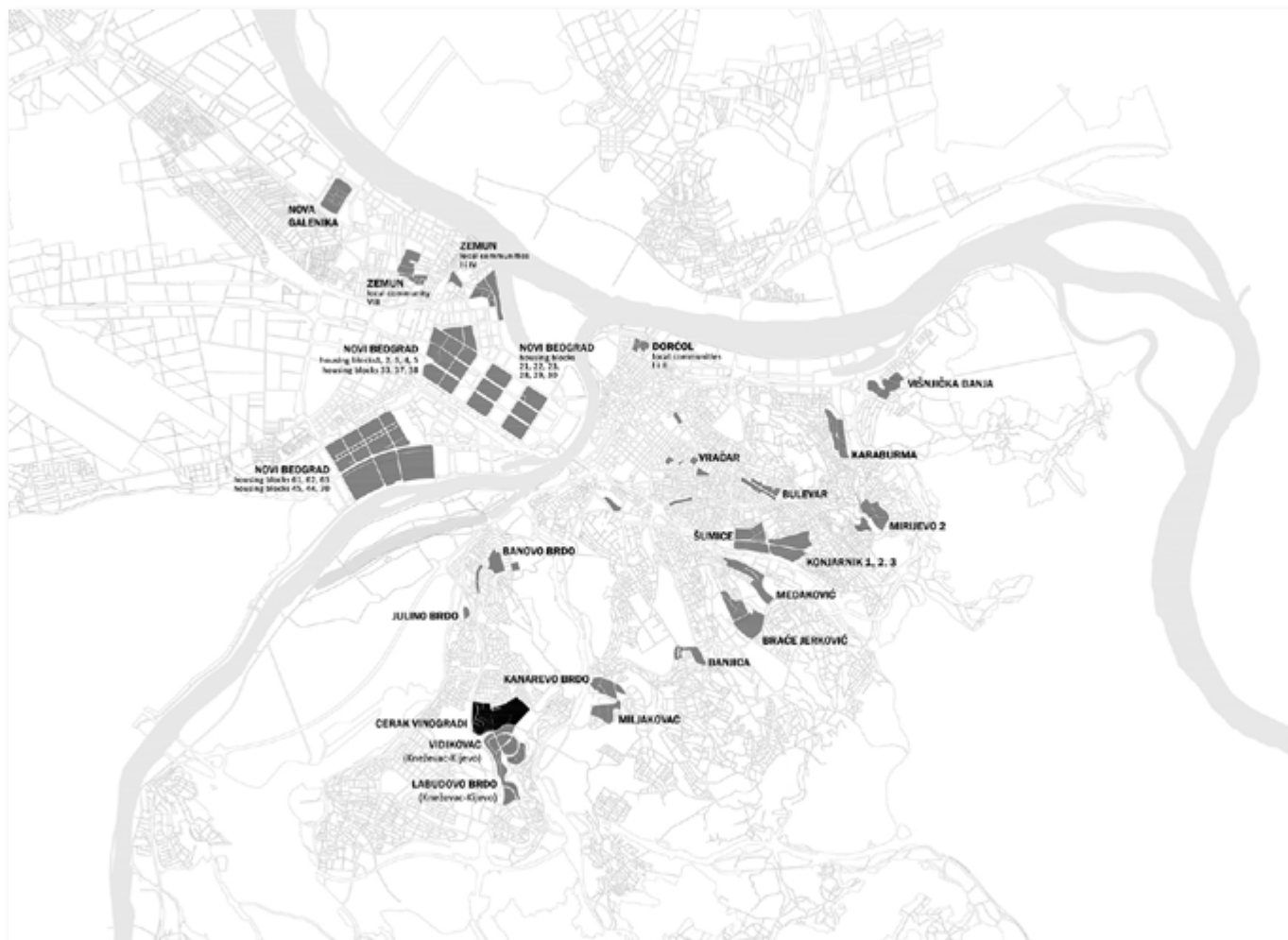
Výraznejšie priestorové transformácie sa odohrali počas prechodu zo samosprávneho socializmu na neoliberalný režim, ktorý znamenal prechod z centrálne plánovaného hospodárstva riadeného štátom na hospodárstvo ovládané voľným trhom. Tieto procesy spôsobili, že právny a plánovací systém v Srbsku prešiel v 90. rokoch a v prvom desaťročí 21. storočia rôznymi zmenami, čo utvrdilo zámer štátu urýchliť postupy pre potreby súkromného sektora prostredníctvom regulačného rámca. V systéme, ktorý uprednostňuje súkromné individuálne záujmy a kladie dôraz na ekonomické využívanie jednotlivých lokalít vo vzťahu k celkovému spoločenskému, environmentálnemu a ekonomickému zisku, sa otvorené priestory sídlisk z obdobia socializmu posudzujú prostredníctvom ekonomickej hodnoty „prázdnych pozemkov“.

V daných sociálno-ekonomických podmienkach pripravili autori projektu Cerak Vinogradi, arch. D. a M. Marušič, pre viacerých investorov niekoľko štúdií a projektov komerčnej zóny v severozápadnej časti sídliska Cerak Vinogradi, v ktorých prispôsobili využitie pozemku a plánovanú fyzickú štruktúru potrebám investorov na jednej strane a existujúcej štruktúre vybudovaného sídliska Cerak 1 a 2 na strane druhej. Poslednou zo série štúdií je *Programovo-priestorová analýza novonavrhovanej komerčnej zóny*, ktorá bola podkladom pre tvorbu platného *Plánu podrobnej regulácie pre sídlisko Cerak Vinogradi*.

Tento príspevok prináša historickú komparatívnu analýzu s prehľadom priestorových procesov na jednej strane a sociálnych procesov na strane druhej prostredníctvom identifikácie roly otvorených priestorov v štruktúre sídliska Cerak Vinogradi od výstavby až po súčasnosť. Priestorové procesy sú zobrazené

prostredníctvom mapovania urbomorfologických procesov premien otvoreného priestoru v troch vymedzených zónach: (1) zóna kontaktu sídliska s terénom, (2) zóna občianskej vybavenosti a centrálnych funkcií a (3) hraničná zóna otvoreného bloku/sídliska, kontaktu sídliska a ulice. Sociálne procesy zahŕňajú

revíziu regulačného rámca – zákonov, predpisov a plánov, ktoré viedli k viditeľným zmenám v priestore. Sledovaním priestorových a sociálnych procesov sa tento príspevok snaží určiť jednotlivé etapy morfogenézy, v ktorých došlo k zmene paradigmy v správe a využívaní otvorených priestorov sídliska.



MAPPING OF HOUSING ESTATES BUILT IN THE PERIOD FROM 1960 TO 1980 IN BELGRADE

MAPOVANIE SÍDLISK POSTAVENÝCH V ROKOCH 1960 AŽ 1980 V BELEHRADE

Author Autor: Jovana Bugarski

Introduction

Analyses of the socialist order, its complementary planning system, and the accompanying spatial structure of the socialist city all indicate the spatial specificities of this urban form that distinguished it from the capitalist model – their overall spatial articulation, the organisation of the socialist city's commercial functions, and the scale and organisation of public open spaces¹. Open spaces had a key role in the residential areas planned and built in Belgrade from the 1960s to the end of the 1980s. Post-war housing policy in Yugoslavia was based predominantly on investments in collective housing, founded in the socially directed and planned construction of open-type housing blocks supported by the constitutional changes in 1953, when the country's socio-economic development turned to self-management, introducing the institution of social property. Social ownership of land and buildings, technical norms derived from social standards and constitutionally defined mechanisms of planning, financing, and construction of residential areas made the open spaces of residential housing estates integrated into construction standards and planning regulations.

In the 1990s, through abandoning the socialist system and introducing the liberal economic concept of the dominance of private property, the state abolished the forty-year-old system of financing social housing construction and, through a series of alterations to the legal and planning

framework, transformed the housing policy and model of governing the existing housing units. Changes in the ownership status of the housing stock and urban construction land, “deplanification”, scattered responsibility and overlap of duties between different institutions all led to uncoordinated spatial transformations, where open spaces are not seen as an integral part of residential areas and their spatial and social resource, but as an economic resource - undeveloped space and “empty lots”, on which partial building is possible. Mechanisms such as changes of land use, (re) parcelling, privatisation, or filling open space with the construction of new buildings influenced major shifts not only in the structure of residential areas, but equally in the relations established between open unbuilt spaces and built objects.

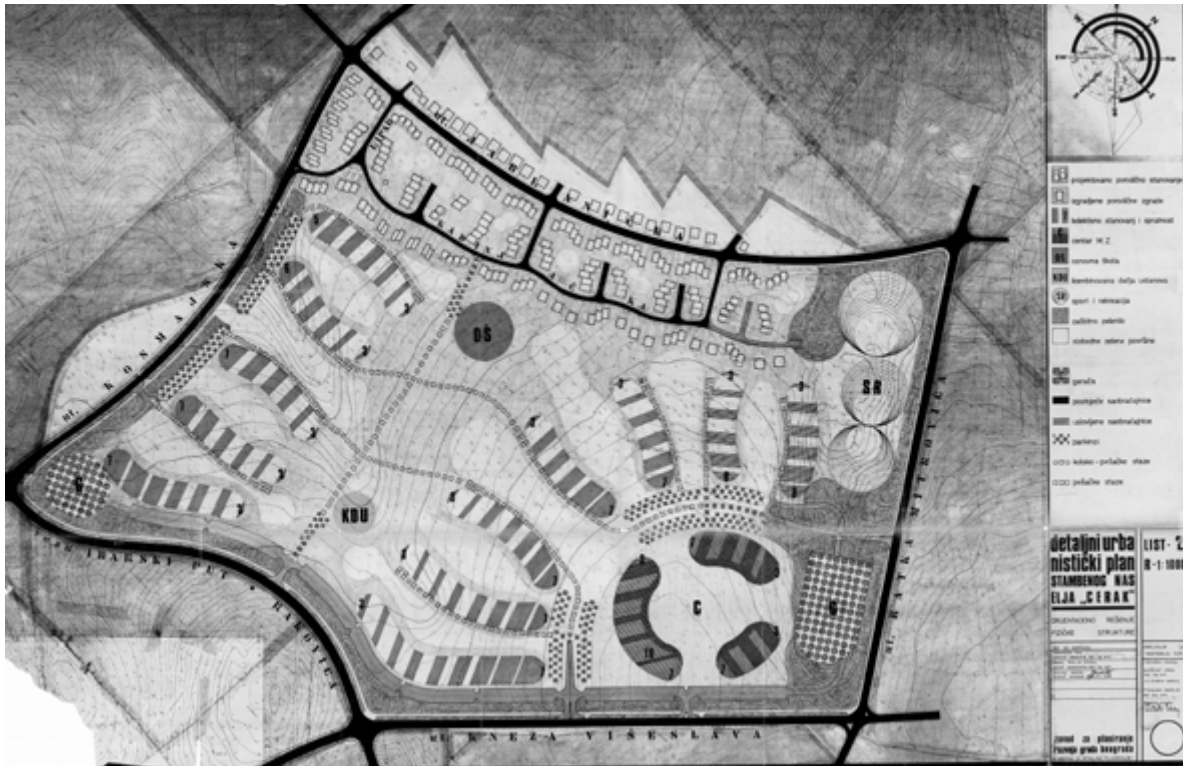
Research on these residential areas observes their origin and development from different aspects, considering socio-political changes, urban policies, and transformations of urban form. Certain studies show a connection between economic and spatial development, identifying how the former socialist city has changed through the process of filling unbuilt spaces under the pressure of new commercial buildings², the process of fragmentation of block structures, and alterations to the morphology of the superblock due to the different planning system and the reduction of planned spatial scope³. The subject of research also includes the degree to which various informal practices affect the open spaces in housing estates, and how they can contribute to a dynamic relationship between users, the culture of housing and the immediate environment, such as the development of urban gardens⁴, the spontaneous formation of new gathering places for the local community⁵, or activities of greening the area of the residential community as a form of non-institutional action aimed at contributing to the green infrastructure of the city⁶. Previous research also focused on the preservation of architectural heritage by documenting and conserving the buildings and urban areas of the Modern Movement in architecture⁷. In this context, the contemporary practice of planning and governing the urban development of Belgrade recognised the importance of the Cerak Vinogradi housing estate and the Central Zone of New Belgrade as part of the architectural heritage from the period of modern architecture, which resulted in the declaration of architectural and urban protection of individual buildings and urban areas.

The specific subject of this work is identifying the role of open spaces in residential housing estates by monitoring the transformation of the structure of the Cerak Vinogradi housing estate as a case study. Starting from the assumption that the structure depicts and reproduces social processes, the structure of society, power relations and ways of using resources through the actions of different stakeholders through different periods⁸, the research aims to establish ties between social and spatial processes as a basis for planning further development that could affirm further mechanisms derived from the planning and institutional framework, but also the informal practices of tenants and citizen activism.

Housing Policy and the Regulatory Framework (1960–1990)

The establishment of housing policy as a combination of social, economic, and urban policy measures⁹ was an essential framework within the process of post-war reconstruction and establishment of the Yugoslav socialist society, in which the apartment became a symbol of social equalisation and its distribution a social concern¹⁰. The aspiration to establish the limits of 'the existential minimum' in collective housing often resulted in the design of small, cramped apartments, where the concept of urban planning of the housing estate as an 'open-type residential block' provided the development of the open space of the housing estate as part of the accompanying amenity, “an extension of the apartment” and compensation for the lack of larger living space inside¹¹.

The expansion of Belgrade planned after WWII, in the form of large-scale housing estates, was made possible at the beginning of the 1960s thanks to the institutional and legal changes that initiated the first housing reform, regulated tenancy rights, defined social ownership of apartments and residential buildings and defined the model of financing housing construction from the income tax of all employed population. In urban plans in that period, the central idea represented concentrated and complex residential construction, where housing as a purpose did not mean only the individual apartment but also everything that ensures the “satisfaction of basic economic, social and cultural needs”¹². However, due to the lack of regulations on the development of construction land and undefined models of financing the accompanying amenities in the housing estates, open spaces and accompanying amenities often remained unorganised and neglected by the project, or their realisation was significantly delayed after the construction of residential buildings¹³.



ORIENTATIONAL SOLUTION OF THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE

ORIENTAČNÉ RIŠENIE FYZICKEJ ŠTRUKTÚRY

Source Zdroj: Detailed Urban Plan of the Housing Estate "Cerak", Belgrade Urban Planning Bureau

Realising the accompanying amenities of residential housing estates was made possible after the economic and other housing reforms in 1965. The reform was followed by increased marketisation and adopting regulations on the treatment, allotment and equipping of construction land at the city level, introducing a fee for land development that covered the arrangement of open spaces¹⁴. In addition to the change in the methodology of social, communal, and financial planning of housing construction, this period is also characterised by the development of competition practices. Through competitions as experiments¹⁵, the authors provided a wider range of spatial solutions, from the functional organisation of the apartment to the organisation of the entire settlement, overcoming the imposed rigidity and limitations of the urban plan. With the new Belgrade masterplan in 1972 and a change in urban planning methodology in 1975, the practice of "firmly fixing" the elements of the physical structure was replaced by introducing a "flexible plan"¹⁶, providing integration of urban and architectural design¹⁷. Urban plans, housing policy and competitive practice enabled the development of the Belgrade Housing School, whose main area of activity was New Belgrade (since 1960) and the outskirts of Belgrade (during the 1970s and 1980s)¹⁸.

With the constitutional changes in 1974, the state regained control over the housing market, introducing socially oriented housing construction and the integration of spatial and socio-economic development implying more straightforward implementation of complex housing construction, including the construction of accompanying amenities and arrangement of open areas of the housing estate in tandem with the construction of residential buildings. Due to the change in the architectural-urban paradigm, which initiated the rethinking of residential areas through the "return to the square", "street", and "neighbourhood", and block contextualisation¹⁹, the open spaces of housing estates acquire a new role in the structuring of residential areas.

Various crises and the unfavourable socio-economic situation in the 80s, which limited the funds for the development of communal activities, influenced the revision of the Master Plan of Belgrade when the city abandoned the ambitious goals set in 1972. The rationalisation of building stock did not follow the rationalisation defined by the plan in its implementation, so due to the decentralisation of competencies, the way was opened for unplanned illegal construction²⁰. Rather than solving the problem, the legislation even adapted to informal practices, which is visible in the legalisation of illegally built objects and extensions and the conversion of common areas of residential buildings into apartments and business premises.

Socio-Economic Changes and the Restructuring of Housing Estates (1990–2020)

The transition period of the 1990s was marked by the disintegration of the Yugoslav Federation, wars in the region, political-economic sanctions, and hyperinflation, followed by the collapse of the institutional system and the rapid privatisation of state-owned enterprises. The change in the socio-economic system, abandoning the socialist one and transitioning to a neoliberal system, meant the abrupt shift from a centrally planned economy to a free-market economy, requiring adaptation of the urban development planning system to new market conditions. These changes transformed the city shaped by the socialist state focused on public interest and social welfare towards a post-socialist city characterised by a space shaped by freed economic interests²¹.

Social ownership of residential buildings, present in the period of self-management socialism, was abandoned at the beginning of the 1990s when the new *Constitution of the Republic of Serbia* (1990) allowed social and state-owned apartments to be privatised under market conditions. Accelerated privatisation of apartments²² revealed the shortcomings in governing common spaces within residential buildings and housing estates when the *Law on Maintenance of Residential Buildings* (1995) established investment and ongoing maintenance as optional, not mandatory²³. The liberalisation of the market in urban development continued in the early 2000s. With the adoption of the *Law on Planning and Construction* in 2003, the legal matters of spatial and urban planning, construction land and building construction were mechanically unified, while the *Constitution of 2006* enabled private ownership of urban construction land for the first time after World War II. These measures confirmed the state's desire to provide easier access to investment-attractive locations and faster obtaining of construction permits through the regulatory framework²⁴. In addition to the legal amendments, significant changes were also implemented in the planning framework when the *Plan of General Regulation* was adopted as the basis for further city development. Its direct implementation through uniform application of the building code, without any obligation to develop detailed regulation plans, marked the beginning of the further “fragmentation” of the spatial structure of residential areas. The mentioned processes depict the phenomenon of the current urban development of Belgrade based on “favouring the interests of private capital” and “focusing on the economic exploitation of individual locations in relation to the overall social, ecological and economic profit”²⁵, where the open spaces of residential areas are recognised through their economic value of construction land. The consequence of this kind of urban policy led to the transformation of a large number of housing estates from the socialist period, including Cerak Vinogradi.

The Cerak Vinogradi Housing Estate Program, Design, and Construction

The housing estate of Cerak Vinogradi was the first location from the Medium-Term Program of Socially Directed Housing Construction, adopted after the constitutional changes in 1974, where Self-governing Housing Communities took over the complete organisation of construction. Due to the size of the residential area, in which 2,500 apartments for 15,000 residents were to be built, an integral part of the cooperation agreement between the housing associations was the *Design and Construction Model* (1976). This document contained the basic principles of organising the complex construction, emphasising the importance of the timely involvement of contractors in the construction process, even at the stage of setting up of the architectural-urban concept of the housing estate, intending to optimise construction deadlines and prices. In the same year, the Urban Planning Institute prepared a Detailed Urban Plan for the housing estate of Cerak, which, along with the Design and Construction Model, was the basis for the invitation tender. The winning proposal in the competition was the result of cooperation between construction company “Napred” and architects Darko Marušić, Milenija Marušić and Nedeljko Borovnica, backed by the Institute of Architecture and Urban Planning of Serbia (IAUS). The evaluation jury emphasised the value of this proposal in terms of the sociological aspect of improving the quality of life in the housing estate through “the idea of forming neighbourhood units, which will motivate the gathering and contact of citizens”²⁶.

The Detailed urban plan of the housing estate “Cerak” proposed the arrangement of primary functions - housing, the local community centre, primary school, preschool institutions, and traffic, yet without the redefining boundary of the housing estate's physical structure. Such a flexible planning framework enabled the authors to define the urban-architectural concept through the hierarchical spatial-sociological organisation design method. The first level represents the reaffirmation



PLANS OF THREE STANDARD HOUSING TYPES (A, B, C)

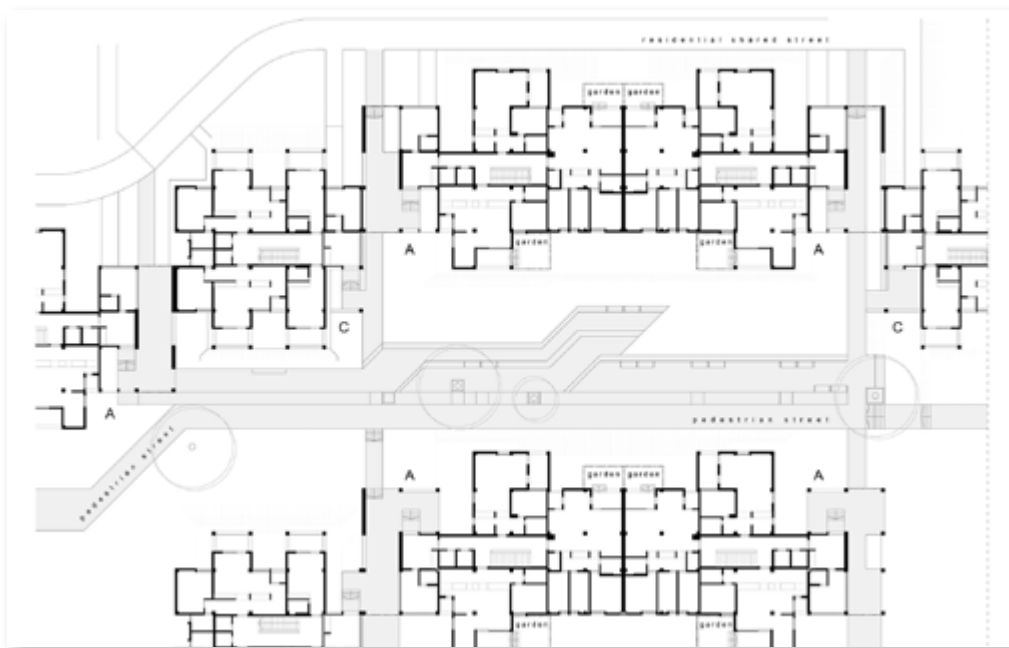
PLÁNY TROCH TYPOV ŠTANDARDNÝCH OBYTNÝCH DOMOV (A, B, C)

Author Autor: Jovana Bugarski, source of data IAUS, 1978

GROUND FLOOR PLAN OF PEDESTRIAN STREET

PÔDORYS PEŠEJ ZÓNY

Author Autor: Jovana Bugarski, source of data IAUS, 1978



THE CURRENT APPEARANCE OF THE PEDESTRIAN STREETS

SÚČASNÝ VZHĽAD PEŠEJ ZÓNY

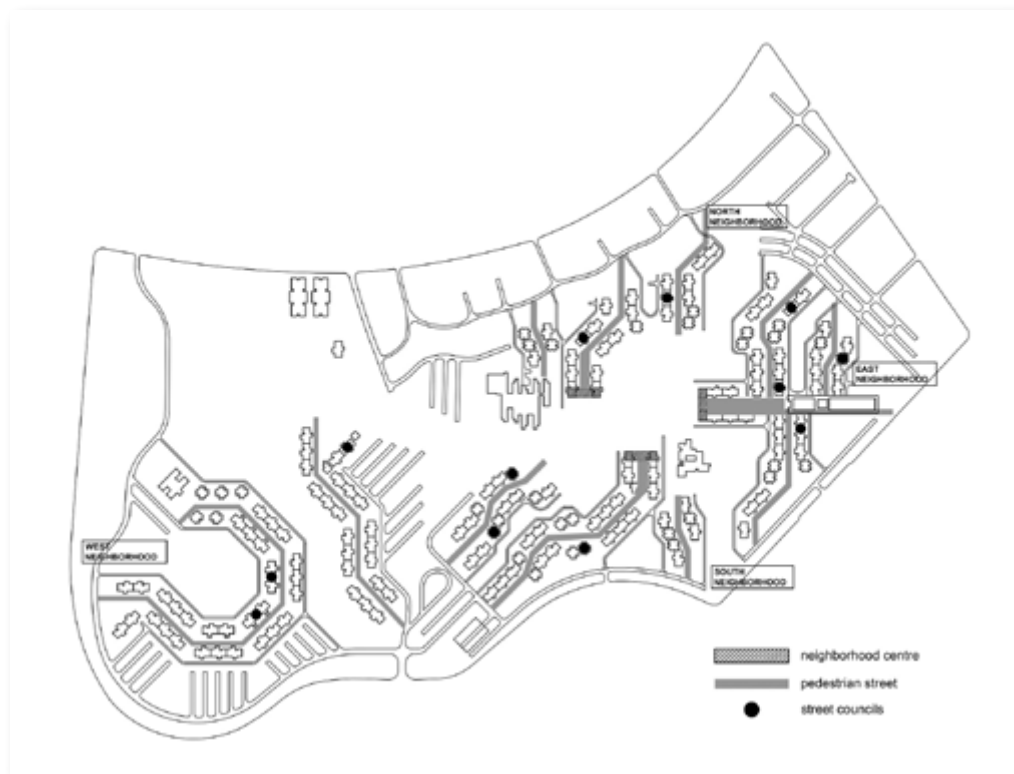
Photo Foto: Jovana Bugarski



**SPATIAL DISPOSITION OF
NEIGHBOURHOOD CENTRES,
PEDESTRIAN STREETS,
AND STREET COUNCILS WITHIN
THE STRUCTURE OF HOUSING
ESTATE CERAK 1 AND 2**

PRIESTOROVÉ ROZMIESTNENIE
SUSEDSKÝCH CENTIER, PEŠÍCH ZÓN
A ULIČNÝCH SAMOSPRÁV V RÁMCI
ŠTRUKTÚRY SÍDLISK CERAK 1 A 2

Author Autor: Jovana Bugarski



of traditional urban forms by introducing pedestrian residential streets named after plant species to identify the inhabitants with where they live (Red Oak St., Linden Tree St., Birch Tree St., etc.). The second level of organisation is represented by residential neighbourhoods - South, East, and North neighbourhoods, which are grouped around pedestrian streets, each neighbourhood provided with its centre offering commercial, cultural, and service facilities. Three neighbourhoods build the wider housing estate as the last, third level of organisation, which came to be recognised as the 'city on a hill' through its physical structure.

The three spatial-sociological levels defined by the project made it possible to acknowledge and differentiate the roles of open spaces in structuring the housing estate. The urban mobility concept is based on segregating pedestrian and car traffic by forming pedestrian streets in the centre of the neighbourhood and car streets and parking areas in the peripheral zones. The terms and conditions of the competition program, construction technology and the deadlines required the creation of typical elements, which decided the designers to use three types of housing assemblies (A, B and C). Grouping them on both sides of the pedestrian street, dimensioning the horizontal distance between the assemblies, the asymmetric cross-section of the residential street and the gradation of buildings due to the topography of the terrain alleviated the shortcomings of the residential street in terms of sound insulation and housing intimacy. The grouping of buildings enabled the formation of smaller ambiances with street furniture and greenery, so despite the standardised construction of the buildings, the open space of the housing estate avoided uniformity and monotony of ambience.

Introducing the spatial level of the neighbourhood was a novelty in the arrangement of residential housing estates and local community centres of that time. Then-current planning-urban and architectural norms did not recognise the neighbourhood as a form of organising a residential community. Still, they defined at the lowest and highest levels of the hierarchy a necessity for, which meant providing rooms for housing community meetings at the level of the residential building and planning the facilities of the local community centre at the level of the whole housing estates²⁷. Recognising the absence of homogeneous content distribution at the housing-estate level as a problem, the authors introduced neighbourhoods as supply points positioned in the contact zone of pedestrian flows of residential streets and the central part of the housing estate. To fit into the existing urban norms and models of governing residential buildings, the authors of the



THE CURRENT APPEARANCE OF CONTACT BETWEEN THE HOUSING ASSEMBLY AND THE TERRAIN – TRANSFORMATION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD CENTRES AND APARTMENTS

SÚČASNÁ PODOBA KONTAKTU SÍDLISKA S TERÉNOM – TRANSFORMÁCIA SUSEDSKÝCH CENTIER A BYTOV

Photo Foto: Jovana Bugarski

proposal offered a redistribution and regrouping of the standardised areas of housing communities, for which the area of 0.5m² per apartment was defined in the regulations, that is, a total area of about 1,250m² for 2,500 apartments. By dividing the given area into three planned neighbourhoods and additional 'street councils', usable areas of approximately 300m² were obtained, with small meeting rooms, offices and clubs for the elderly and youth.²⁸

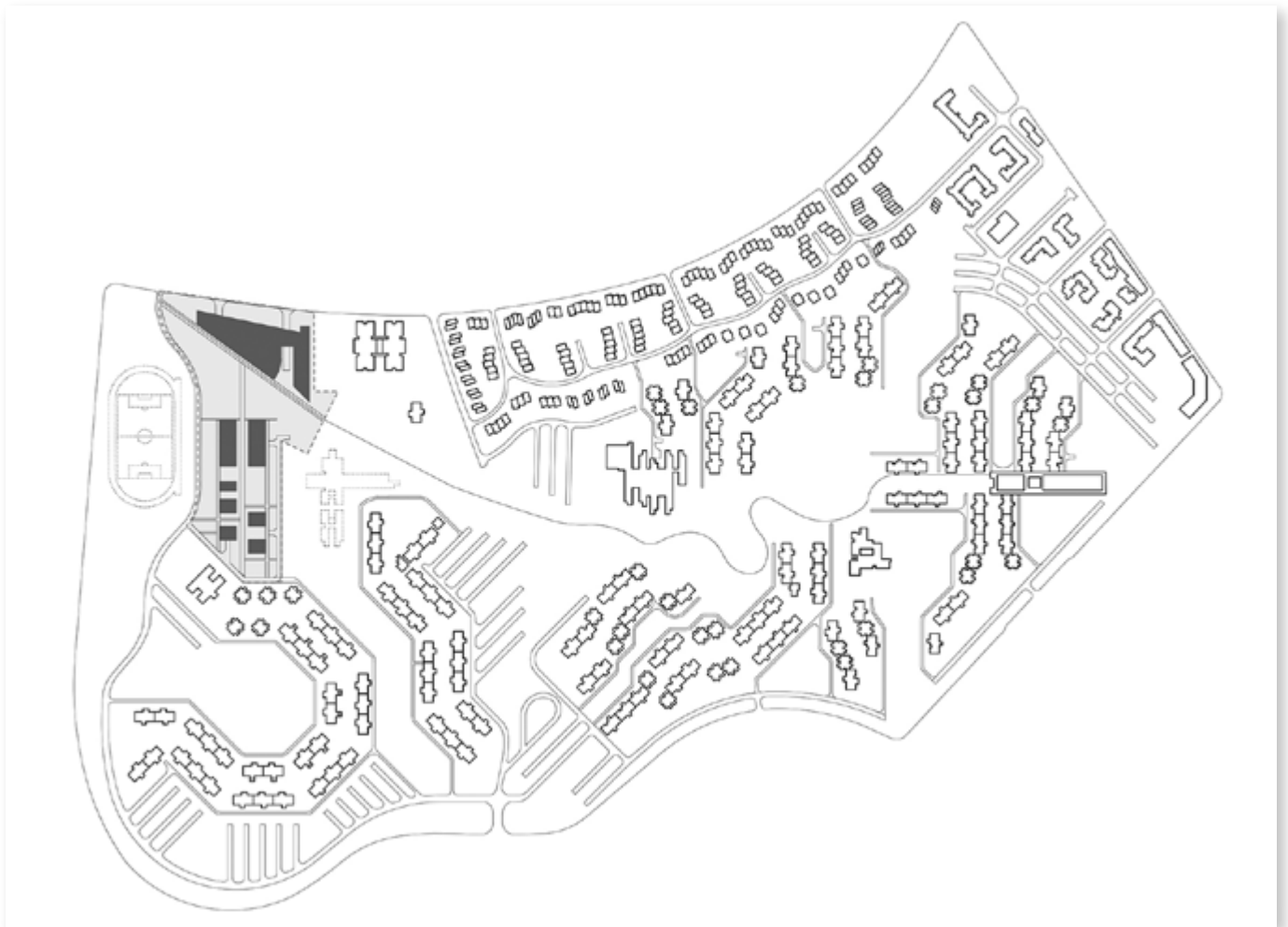
Affirmed in the architectural concept were the apartments on the ground floor, with value added by designing terraces and small gardens/courtyards connected to the apartments. The garden represents an extension of the living room while creating a spatial distance from the residential pedestrian street. This ground-floor apartment concept was new at that time, having in mind that the majority of apartments built on the ground floor then lacked terraces/loggias and were placed at the level of the surrounding terrain, exposed to traffic, affecting the intimacy and indoor safety²⁹.

Restructuring the Housing Estate: the Role of Open Public Space

During the realisation of the housing estate Cerak 1, it was decided to build Cerak 2 as its south-western extension forming a residential area with a triple purpose: residential, sports-recreational, and educational. The spatial structure of Cerak 2 is guided by a similar spatial-sociological organisation to Cerak 1, from the following of terrain topography to the organisation of pedestrian streets. In contrast to Cerak 1, which has a defined centre of the estate in one place, the centre of the Cerak 2 is distributed in 26 premises on the ground floors and annexes of lower three-story residential buildings along the street Vinogradski venac. The premises were designed as spaces for crafts, artists' studios, services, and trade. As the conditions and technical norms for residential buildings at the time required the design of commercial spaces within the detached buildings of the local community centre, this approach of activating the ground floor of residential buildings was then quite new in residential construction practice.

Apart from the achievements in the affirmation of the pedestrian street as a form of public space of the housing estate, the project documentation of Cerak 2 also included a proposal for "socially organised gardening work" through the design of temporary "garden colonies" in areas intended for recreational use³⁰. This proposal was motivated by observing smaller cultivated areas planted with vegetables that appeared around the Cerak 1 construction site in the early 1980s. Although the proposal for the formation of garden colonies was not adopted, the goal of including this proposal in the architectural-urban planning solution was to translate spontaneous spatial interventions into legal frameworks, as well as to prevent the appearance of other undesirable forms of informal activities and illegal construction that were visible in other similar housing estates in Belgrade in that period.

In 1990–2000, most social housing units were privatised, enabling the individual partial transformation of the apartments, the closing of terraces and loggias and the fencing of gardens on



**SPATIAL DISPOSITION
OF THE NEWLY PLANNED
COMMERCIAL ZONE WITHIN
THE STRUCTURE OF HOUSING
ESTATE CERAK 1 AND 2**

PRIESTOROVÁ DISPOZÍCIA
NOVONAVRHovANEJ KOMERČNEJ
ZÓNY V RÁMCI ŠTRUKTÚRY
SÍDLISK CERAK 1 A 2

Author Autor: Jovana Bugarski,
source of data Marušić, D.
and Marušić, M., 2016



GRAPHIC ATTACHMENTS:
A) LAND USE, B) REGULATION AND
LEVELLING PLAN,
C) IMPLEMENTATION,
G) SITUATION PLAN

GRAFICKÉ PRÍLOHY:
A) VYUŽITIE ÚZEMIA, B) REGULAČNÝ
A NIVELAČNÝ PLÁN, C) REALIZÁCIA,
G) SITUAČNÝ PLÁN

Source Zdroj: Detailed Regulation
Plan for Part of the Housing Estate
CeraK Vinogradi, 2021

the ground floor. The law also allowed the legalisation of other spatial changes, such as the conversion of common rooms of the building and premises into apartments and passageway into the commercial spaces. Such spatial practices were manifested in the ground floors of buildings, where a change of use is visible on the facades of the buildings, causing damage to the original design and materials but also disrupting the network of pedestrian movement. Privatisation of apartments also changed the mechanisms governing residential buildings and common areas, including neighbourhood spaces. Due to the unresolved property status, these spaces were abandoned and exposed to decay. However, the local community and the NGO Kulturni Cerak³¹ have initiated a return of these spaces to their former use.

The objectives of Belgrade's urban development were revised in the 1985 Master Plan to meet the demand for a greater density of buildings in residential areas, guidelines that remained in effect during the following decade. To document the increase in the building density around the Cerak Vinogradi settlement, in 1992, IAUS prepared a study of the Center of the city sub-unit. The program outline shows new physical structures around the housing estate's perimeter, increasing the density of built-up areas. The proposed structure is not given through the depiction of a continuously built form, which would create a "wall" around the housing estate, but by following the principles of composing the physical structure in terms of the terrain's topography and established pedestrian streets. Although the housing estate was not transformed according to the given proposal, the authors had a clear desire to adapt the original structure of the housing estate to new circumstances and planning guidelines concerning the original idea of spatial hierarchy and the role that open spaces play in it.

With the liberalisation of the market in the second half of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, several studies and projects for the commercial zone in the north-western part of the housing estate Cerak Vinogradi were carried out for the needs of several different investors³². The need for projects and studies resulted in the development of *The Detailed Regulation Plan of the Commercial Zone*, which the Belgrade Urban Planning Bureau started in 2015. However, during the public review of the draft plan, the authors of the Cerak Vinogradi project, architects D. and M. Marušić, noticed that implementation of the planning proposal would violate the essential qualities of the urban and architectural setting of the housing estate as a whole. They pointed out that the proposed spatial concept is acontextual and inverted, since the planned traffic proposal forms a ring around the site, leaving it "removed" from the entire residential territory". To check the impact of the newly planned commercial use on the quality of the environment, as well as the impact on the built physical structure and ambient values, the original authors created a *Program-Spatial Analysis of the Newly Planned Commercial Zone*³³. The analysis is based on the original design and technical documentation of the housing estate Cerak 2. Referring to the acquired obligations and guidelines defined by previous projects, the authors emphasised the importance of considering the open space within the new commercial zone as an integral part of the housing estate, including integrating the main pedestrian street and the neighbourhood park. In 2021, the Urban Planning Bureau prepared the current *Detailed Regulation Plan for Part of the Housing Estate Cerak Vinogradi*, where the land use, building regulations and codes, as well as the method of implementation, was formed following the Program-Spatial Analysis and measures to protect the housing estate as cultural heritage.

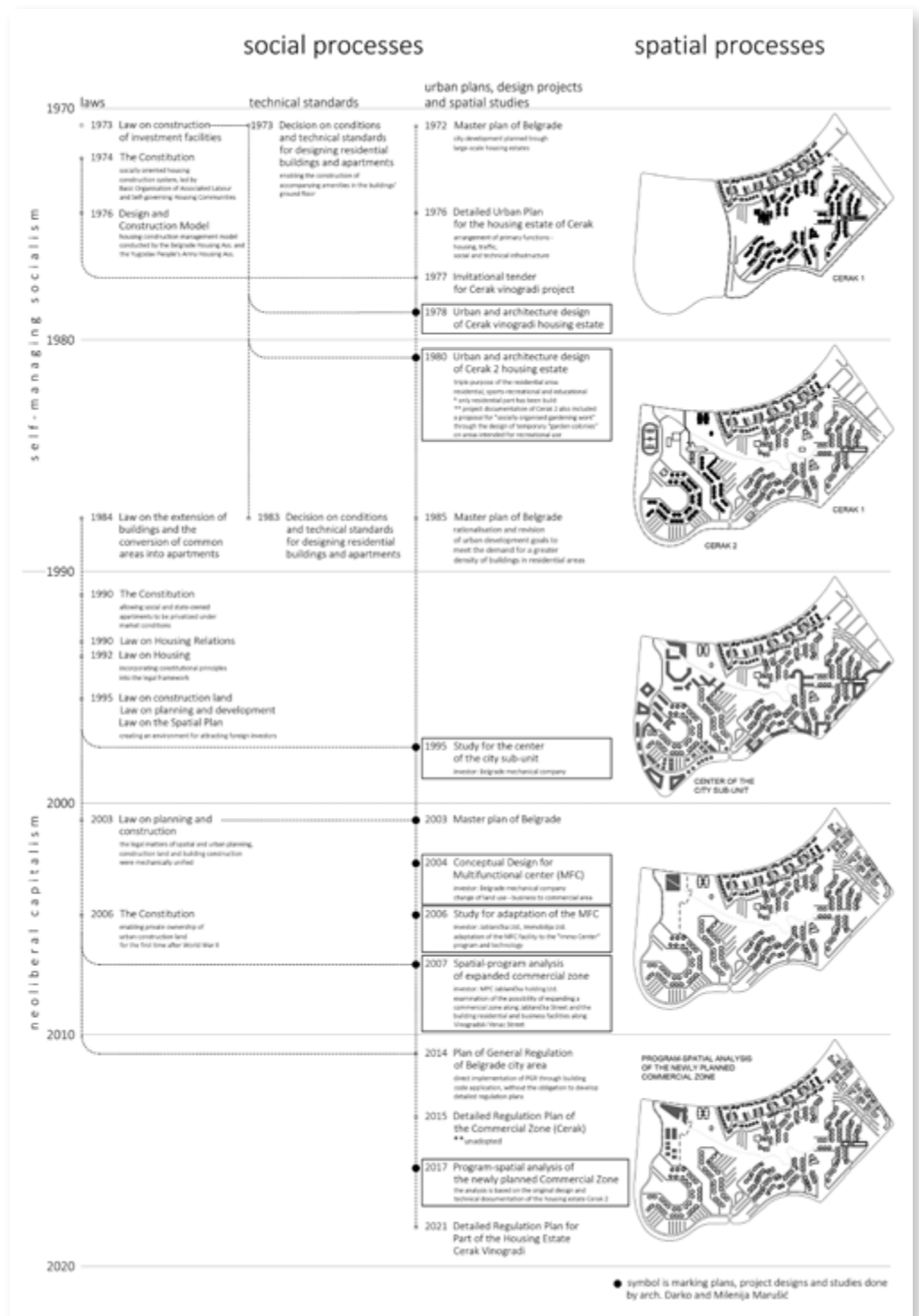
In addition to working on spatial and programmatic solutions for parts of the housing estate arch. Milenija Marušić also prepared the *Development Strategy for Reconstruction, Revitalization and Model of Governance (2019)*, which aims to propose the construction of new developments in accordance with the original plan and to observe and record the current state, as well as to introduce the organisation/companies that would manage the housing estate as a whole. The strategy recognises the importance of resident participation, which is additionally supported by the establishment and work of the NGO "Kulturni Cerak".

So far, spatial practices leading to the fragmentation and restructuring of the housing estate Cerak Vinogradi have been successfully prevented, due to the constant efforts of the project authors to offer possible spatial solutions through studies and analyses that, on the one hand, would be integrated into the existing structure of the settlement, and on the other - adapted to the new planning conditions and private interests. Previous studies recognise the importance of open spaces - pedestrian communications and the neighbourhood park as a unifying element of the physical structure. Since 2019, the housing estate of Cerak Vinogradi has been protected as a cultural and

HISTORICAL-COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS – TRANSFORMATION OF THE CERAK VINOGRADI HOUSING ESTATE'S STRUCTURE; OVERVIEW OF SPATIAL AND SOCIAL PROCESSES

HISTORICKÁ POROVNÁVACIA ANALÝZA – TRANSFORMÁCIA ŠTRUKTÚRY SÍDLISKA CERAK VINOGRADI

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historical entity, which confirmed its recognition and importance as part of the architectural heritage from the period of modern architecture.

Concluding Notes

During self-governing socialism, especially in the period 1960-1980, the urban development of Belgrade was characterized by planned expansion in the form of concentrated housing groups, mostly in the territory of New Belgrade and in the outskirts of the city. A centrally planned economy, state control over most urban construction land, and technical norms defined through planning documents facilitated the generous provision of parks and open spaces within residential areas. Open spaces were created through the detailed urban planning of open-type housing estates, characterised by a low ground coverage ratio, a large distance between buildings and a significant area of open green space per capita (about 20sqm in most of Belgrade's housing estates)

Socio-economic and institutional changes after the end of socialism, starting during the transition period in the 1990s and continuing or intensifying after the democratic changes in 2000, led to the growth of the free market and numerous changes in the legal and planning system. Enabling private ownership over urban construction land and fragmentation of the planning document's spatial scope, but also changes in standards and norms within the urban planning framework, enabling a faster and greater degree of construction, all directly affecting the change of Belgrade's spatial structure. These changes are particularly visible in restructuring housing estates from the socialist period, where open spaces became recognised as an economic resource of empty plots and test sites for possible new construction.

Adoption of the *General Regulation Plan (2016)* and its direct implementation through an urban project defined for an individual plot, the obligation to create a Detailed Regulation Plan for the entire block and residential area was abolished, such that open blocks are subject to the same planning and management instruments as traditional, closed city blocks in the central zone of the city. This type of planning is reflected in the transformation of the border zone of the open blocks, in the contact of the housing assembly and the street, due to the tendency to form linear commercial centres in this zone, even though these urban blocks are characterised by a "break with the street" and "inversion of the traditional city"³⁴.

The existing management mechanisms, defined by the *Law on Housing and Maintenance of Residential Buildings (2016)*, are reduced to the obligations of managing and maintaining a 'residential building' as a 'residential community', which implies the maintenance of common rooms - entrances, communications, auxiliary rooms, but exclude open areas of the housing estate. Some authors tried to facilitate the organisation of common spaces by introducing intermediate levels of management, such as the neighbourhood level, in the case of the Cerak Vinogradi. However, the specificity of these areas is not recognised in the legislation, which is why they are subject to general rules that apply to all residential buildings, regardless of the type of housing estate and urban block they belong to.

The declaration of architectural and urban protection for Cerak Vinogradi housing estate and the Central Zone of New Belgrade indicated the recognition and importance of the architectural heritage of the Modern period. However, this mechanism represents only a declarative attitude, without grasping the fundamental social importance or offering institutional and financial support. The result is a series of undefined mechanisms for managing those spatial entities and no real spatial improvement. Despite the protection, the housing estates are exposed to constant micro-spatial practices that transform the appearance of facades and ground floors of buildings, yet additionally larger-scale transformations are possible, due to the constant changes and additions to the General Regulation Plan as well as the creation of Detailed Regulation Plans for parts of the housing estate, against its reconstruction as a whole.

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