



HOUSING BLOCS

Ordinary Modernism Across the Atlantic



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Abstracts

Block 1: Mass Housing in Yugoslavia

Pyramid of Collective Housing: Residential Complex 'Rudo' in Belgrade

Ivan R. Marković, University of Belgrade

The origin of the phenomenon of collective housing, ideologically widespread after the Second World War, must be sought in the architecture that emerged in times of conflict. Not infrequently, such epochs can initially be defined as a rebirth of a nation or a golden age with a place for everyone, without class differences. The essence is the same, since the middle of the seventh decade of the 20th century, construction in the world and Europe has joined the rebellion against the known aesthetics, striving for its contradictions by forcing concrete as a specific type of critical expression. It is a matter of balancing the fine threads of public taste and the ruling trend, functional and social. Some works in post-war Yugoslavia, such as the three residential towers in the unique Rudo complex in Belgrade built in 1976, by architect Vera Cirkovic, go beyond the utilitarian nature of construction and express a special kind of creativity. The 100 meter high stepped solitaires, with 28 floors each, are turned at an angle of 45 degrees towards a common circular courtyard, building a unique visual appearance of a pyramidal shape in which over 1,400 people live. Consciously entering the sphere of symbolic narrative, these buildings as a block of wholes are also called the "Eastern Gate of Belgrade", reflecting the economic, social and cultural circumstances that prevailed in the renewed post-war Yugoslavia. As a provocative indicator of the possibility of social organization and strength, in the category of triumph of collective housing in this area, the housing megalith "Rudo" can be read in the radius of postmodern re-examination of dialogic potential with the epoch but also the urban silhouette which dominates for almost half a century.

Mišeluk: The Self-Management City

Dragana Konstantinović, University of Novi Sad, and Slobodan Jović, University of Novi Sad

Mišeluk in Novi Sad - a thoroughly planned part of the city for 150,000 inhabitants, on the right bank of the Danube River, based on the social agreement of all self-management work collectives, political administration, and social organizations; it was the culmination of the ambitions of Novi Sad and the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina in the self-management system of socialist Yugoslavia. Mišeluk is the result of a large multidisciplinary urban competition that defined not only the physical structure of the new city but also the economic and social concepts of life in it. The city of four-storey housing in greenery on the slopes of Fruška Gora, divided into "residential communities" (neighbourhoods) of 2,000 people, according to which all necessary social amenities are planned. These residential communities autonomously make decisions about the life and development of their collective - consistent implementation of the Yugoslav self-governing order. To realise this project, a new bridge was built, and a tunnel breached, on the wings of enthusiasm for the great economic development of Vojvodina in the 1970s and the social climate of "Yugoslav optimism."

Mišeluk was never actually built.

The paper discusses the causes of the demise of this project. It brings to light the effects of the Yugoslav 1974 Constitutional changes to urban planning – as an attempt to transpose the specific concept of Yugoslav self-management into spatial planning and people's daily life. How Mišeluk was planned and why this project shared the fate of the workers' self-management concept and largely remained in the realm of progressive urban theory, are just some of the questions. While the current "epilogue" in urban space witnesses completely different urban practices – unplanned, illegal construction, permanent usurpation, and privatization of the riverbank, the Mišeluk project keeps a testimony to "Yugoslav optimism" and the urban ideal of "four-storey city" for workers' self-managed society.

Housing Blocks: On the Margins

Marko Gavrilović, Independent Researcher

When studying a historical movement in architecture, our attention tends to stick with the most obvious, with the most famous examples, with practises developed by the most prominent authors. This can be practical, for there is often more research material available and both public and academic interest for new findings seem greater. But this can make us overlook examples that give depth to the movement and avert us from seeing the whole picture. In order to bring closer to your attention how housing blocks were made and housing issues resolved on the margins of the great developments in the post-war Yugoslavian modernist movement, I will offer a closer look at two distinctive settlements in Sabac, an industrial town in western Serbia, namely Bara and Trkalište.

Block 2: Mass Housing in the West

Design of Post-War Public Housing in the United States

Amanda Loughlin, Rosin Preservation

This paper explores the design of conventional public housing in postwar America. The Housing Act of 1949 spurred the creation of much-needed new public housing units in the United States between 1950 and 1980. Congress also expanded the program to provide housing for seniors. Government-mandated cost controls resulted in developments that provided the poorest citizens with “a decent home and a suitable living environment” as economically as possible. Prescribed minimum standards were interpreted as maximums, as good design was not a priority of the program.

The architects hired to achieve the monumental public housing goals were not allowed the freedom of design that other commissions gave. Containing costs was the cornerstone of public housing projects, and architects were responsible for managing health and safety regulations, as well as costs, all within narrow federal guidelines. This resulted in sparsely designed developments. Because senior housing allowances exceeded those mandated for family housing, senior housing exhibits more design freedom.

Public housing developments from this era are typically planned groupings of low-rise structures. However, the large-scale developments of multiple high-rises found in large cities became synonymous “Public Housing.” The high-rise was a common building form but was primarily used for housing seniors, either in a mixed-building-type project or as a standalone project, especially after 1968.

Despite the challenges, the nation’s federal public housing program provided more than one million units of housing. The public housing developments constructed between 1950 and 1980 are physical examples of architectural and social trends associated with a government program.

The Cultural Significance of Documenting Public Housing’s Demolition

Elsa Haarstad, School of the Art Institute of Chicago

I propose a presentation of a portion of my thesis, which looks to contemporary art, curatorial, and design projects of the last thirty years commemorating the cultural life and death of public housing in the United States. For this presentation I will look specifically at School of the Art Institute of Chicago professor Jan Tichy’s 2011 installation *Project Cabrini Green* where he along with a robust list of collaborators and community partners recorded the demolition of the last standing tower (1230 North Burling Street) of the Cabrini-Green Extension (c. 1962) which was subsequently live streamed at the Museum of Contemporary Art (MCA). The installation created a visual of an occupied multi-tenant structure that was destroyed along with the final tower over the course of a thirty-day demolition.

I am interested in how American mass housing is both itself a site of significance as well as a subject of major cultural significance in art, music, film, design, curatorial practices, planning, policies, and the built environment. Tichy’s piece—as a live recording of a demolition—connects us to the monumental 1972 demolitions of Pruitt-Igoe Homes in St. Louis, Missouri. However,

while the filming of Pruitt-Igoe was used to explain or justify perceived failures of design, governments, and people around public housing; Tichy's documentation remains vigil-like. It is an affective, ephemeral piece that explores and commemorates the loss of many Chicagoan's homes.

“It’s a house ya’ want... not a bloody lighthouse”: Picturing Desire at the Divis Flats
Sarah Churchill, Drew University

In the history of modern architecture there are few more iconic images than those of Minoru Yamasaki's (1912–86) Pruitt-Igoe Apartments, the destruction of which marked the end of a pronounced period of architectural utopianism. As its towers fell, residents of another vast Brutalist housing complex known as the Divis Flats (1968) were watching. Located in a poor and largely Catholic West Belfast neighborhood in Northern Ireland, the flats were plagued by mismanagement, mold, obsessive state surveillance and sectarian violence. Divis residents took the critic Charles Jencks at his word: the only solution to the ills of mid-century social housing was death.¹ They produced a documentary film and savvy media campaign aimed at the flats destruction, including stock footage of the demolished Pruitt-Igoe as the solution to their woes.

This paper looks to the role of photography in the rise and fall of the Divis flats as a case study for a broader argument: documentary photography was significant in the demise of the desire for urban social housing in the late twentieth century. Architectural photography, I contend, materializes the desire for how we want to live. Consequently, by looking to the ways in which postwar social housing was imaged, circulated, collected, consumed, and exploited, we can better understand how the tide turned against Brutalism and mass social housing more broadly.

¹ Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, [1977] 1991), 9.

Block 3: Mass Housing Behind the Iron Curtain

Self-Help Cooperative Housing in Czechoslovakia, 1948–1989

Milan Bobysud, School of the Art Institute of Chicago

After the Communist party gained control in Czechoslovakia in 1948, new, state-mandated models of housing were introduced to support the population shifts resulting from the changed economic and social arrangements. Cooperatively owned and run apartment buildings were common and popular, especially in cities and larger towns. A small subset of these cooperative housing blocks used the self-help labor of its future inhabitants in the actual construction process.

In my presentation I would like to chart the history of cooperative housing in communist Czechoslovakia (1948-1989), focusing specifically on newly designed and constructed building blocks in urban areas. I want to describe in further detail the phenomenon of self-help housing, built by the inhabitants and collectively administered by them. As a person who grew up in one of these buildings on the outskirts of Prague, and whose family still lives in the original apartment, I want to present a case study based on interviews with several of the original neighbors, who participated in the self-help construction of the block, offer insight into the positives and negatives of this housing model, and its transformation after the end of one-party rule in former Czechoslovakia.

Negotiating “Paneláky” in Prague

Maja Babić, Charles University

In Prague, the capital of the Czech Republic, over 40 percent of the population lives in communist-era prefabricated housing estates. In the early 1990s, in the years of fierce shedding of communism from public and private space, the Czech dissident president, the playwright Václav Havel, called Prague’s *paneláky*—the term denotes the prefabricated prestressed concrete construction elements colloquially used to refer to Czechoslovak housing estates—the rabbit hutches. The Czech public discourse abounded with implausible calls for *paneláky* as the signifiers of the communist past to be razed. Today, the negative connotations of communist housing estates seemingly persist; however, this has proven not to be the case with the entirety of Prague’s population. Those living in *paneláky* seldom hold such opinions and, pointedly, infrequently move from the estates.

The scholarly discourse on Prague’s *paneláky* in the last twenty years—scholars from architectural history, sociology, anthropology, and urban geography have studied housing estates ardently since the fall of communism—has engaged predominantly with *paneláky*’s ideological connotations and urban problematic regarding them as the signifiers of the oppressive past best left behind. The architectural designs of *paneláky* have been secondary in this discourse: the shifting, transforming, and transformative architecture of housing estates has been understudied in the examination of the current condition of Prague’s *paneláky* and regarding their construction in the second half of the twentieth century.

Focusing on Prague’s estates of Solidarita, Invalidovna, Jižní Město, and Černý Most, this paper studies the design particulars of *paneláky*—both architectural and urban—and aims to

establish and expand the links between the material of the estates and the ideological of the communist and post-communist Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic.

Heritage or Burden?: The Review of the Social and Aesthetic Legacy of Mass Housing Buildings

Paulina Duch-Żebrowska. Gdańsk University of Technology

The Italian friend visiting Poland in 1980s asked my father “Why all the buildings are so grey? Can’t you get some paint and paint it red?” No. We couldn’t. There was no paint. There was no color. Anywhere you looked – on a woman’s dresses, on child’s pencil case, on the buildings surrounding you, everything was grey. All the 60,000 of the prefabricated reinforce concrete mass housing buildings built in Poland between the 1960s and 1989 were grey. They were similar. Nowadays people say they were ugly. But were they? This paper is seeking to show the forgotten value of the architecture and the urban concepts that were half a century ahead of its time. The urban idea that had a user at the center of its interest. From the time and space when the profit was not on the agenda. The time has come when the society of Central and East Europe (CEE) needs to come to terms with the impact these brutalist, undecorated architecture had on the society’s considerations for aesthetics, beauty and color while at the same time influencing the social connections already changing in the aftermath of the WW2. Those buildings bear the notion of authenticity and provide ‘exceptional testimony to a civilization’ which illustrate a ‘significant stage in human history’ as described in Criteria for Selection by UNESCO.² Their architectural and urban inheritance influences behavior of few million people for three or more generations, it is sufficient to name it ‘a heritage’. In this paper we go one step further and remove the word ‘burden’ from the equation.

² <https://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/> - accessed 30.Jan.2022.

Block 4: The Stigma of Mass Housing: Breaking the Habit

Life Transcends Rhetoric

Melita Čavlović, University of Zagreb, and Antun Sevšek, Independent Researcher

In choosing to illustrate his scathing necrology of universalist modern architecture published in 1977 with official promotional images of New Zagreb, Peter Blake perceived it as 'one of hundreds of similar examples around the world'. Written in the wake of Pruitt-Igoe's destruction and its subsequent rhetorical instrumentalization, and steeped in the Jane Jacobsian fervor against any kind of comprehensive planning, the random images printed in 'Form Follows Fiasco' serve as generic and mutually interchangeable representations of a formal idiom that was a harbinger of urban, societal, and even moral decay. Having visited New Zagreb in 1975, he found it 'a dead city, a place of loneliness and alienation', and, finally, to be infinitely less 'real' than Walt Disney World.

Dismal portrayals such as this were by then becoming commonplace in the local architectural culture that internalized much of the polemic arguments he espoused. Overzealous in following the evolving current discourse, they gradually became disconnected from the realities of the local urban context.

This was especially evident in the work of a new generation of urban planners determined to dethrone the prevailing functionalist dogmas and to inaugurate a more humane and place-specific way of city-building. While vital in producing a vast output of analytical and urban design innovations, this generation failed to recognize, that while deserving of constructive revaluation, New Zagreb was not an enclave of 'murder, rape, mugging, and dope addiction' but an evolving series of urban communities that were to outlive their distinguished American, and local critics.

Mammoth Under Suspicion: Yugoslav Mass Housing and Post-Yugoslav Othering

Lea Horvat, University of Leipzig

Mass housing is made of architectural plans, concrete, policies, everyday dwelling practices, memories, and, not least, narratives and images. A growing body of research on a variety of mass housing settings—from French *grands ensembles* to East German *Plattenbau* after 1989 and US-American *projects*—has demonstrated how the corrosion of image and spreading of metaphors such as social flashpoint and ghetto preceded and eventually accelerated material deterioration. Stigmatizing accounts on mass housing, leaning on French examples, appeared in socialist Yugoslavia during the 1970s and 1980s. Negative representations intensified in the 1990s culminating in the stereotypes of crime-ridden ghetto amplified by the destruction of war.

Based on the visual history of a Croatian crime series *Mamutica* (2008–2010) revolving around the eponymous New Zagreb building with more than 5000 inhabitants, my paper reconsiders the scope and form of othering in popular fictional representations of Yugoslav mass housing in the postsocialist period. Although crime fiction focusing on a mass housing estate might seem like the epitome of harmfully perpetuated negative stereotypes about mass housing, I suggest a more differentiated approach. I argue that the main effect of

othering was not the rejection of mass housing as a whole; instead, the othering targeted (mostly informal and literally marginal) neighborhood parts and marginalized groups (such as Albanians, Serbs, and Romani) who appeared as usual suspects. The paper discusses the projection of crime and violence as a mechanism of social distinction along the lines of classism, racism, and xenophobia.

Architecture of Housing in Socialist Yugoslavia: Between Innovation and Inequality

Aleksandar Vujkov, University of Illinois at Chicago

Question of housing and its unequal distribution was one of the motivating forces of social conflict in former Yugoslavia; it was also indicative of the discrepancy between actual social practices and normative orientation of society towards equality. How architecture, urban planning, and housing developments that utilized prefabrication systems in particular, contributed to these processes? In response, this paper investigates these set of questions by analyzing housing competition entries and built works by Milan Lojanica, as well as his attempts to develop an indeterminate system of prefabrication for a construction company calculated at consumer responsive demand; this system encompassed both level of design and a process of building itself. Prefabrication systems offered a possibility of overcoming divide between architecture and urban planning, they could have served programmatic, typological and structural innovation, but were also a formal challenge, a way to rethink role of the architect and his expertise in the cycle of building process, as well as production relations under socialism. However, in examples discussed programmatic innovation could have also led to insular and relatively fragmented social fabric increasing social distance, rather than overcoming it. This paper will also map contraction of the public sphere and expansion of the private interest resonant of the increased social stratification and differentiation. Critically minded architectural practices, invested in innovation and architectural quality, might have facilitated social inequality; while production of the built fabric along the lines of consumer customization and concerns of efficiency gradually supplanted and outweighed consideration of equality, and naturalized change towards market economy.

Block 5: East Meets West: Crossings and Divisions

Implementation and Examples of IMS Building Technology in Cuba

Dragana Mekanov. DOCOMOMO Serbia

The Paper/Presentation gives an overview of activities on the implementation, application and development of the IMS Building Technology in Cuba. The first contact between authorities of the Ministry of Construction of Cuba, MICONS, and IMS Institute, occurred in Belgrade 1966. In the period 1974-1979, three precast plants, (known as PVYC: Plantas de Vivienda Yugoslavia – Cuba) with capacity of 1500 apartments per year each factory, were delivered from Yugoslavia, including all necessary equipment and documentation and corresponding technical assistance.

After that, new buildings were designed and constructed, up to 18 story high, containing some particular constructive solutions, such as ceilings in the slabs, joint-edges beams – facade panels, etc. Based on the theoretical knowledge and practical skills obtained from the previous experimental steps, new objectives were planned and reached in Cuba from 1968. After 1989, this long period of the application of the IMS system in building construction in Cuba stopped, due to the deep economic crises. In this period, new solutions developed in the IMS building system (in comparison with its state in Cuba in 1989 and corresponding only the 4,20x4,20 m module), never before designed or constructed in Cuba. This presentation contains information about influences, analogies and examples of technology from Europe, across the Atlantic.

Singular Memories in the Landscape of Mass Housing: A Model of Positivity-focused Research Challenging the Narratives of Stigma about Modernist Estates in Poland and the US

Maciej Jakub Swiderski, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

The image of mass housing is often correlated with the negative narratives that have been developing, locally and internationally, over the past decades in academia and popular culture. This has contributed to the replication of various stigmas – in Eastern Europe the estates symbolize the unwelcomed socialist period, while in North America they epitomize institutional racism and destructive urban dynamics. Given that researchers often inscribe in these discourses, macro-narratives on the drabness of the architecture and the hopelessness it – supposedly – creates are being perpetuated, leaving little to no space for the inclusion of local voices, those of the (former) residents of these estates.

It can be argued that despite recent changes, predominant discourse still overlooks the extraordinary intangible heritage hidden among the concrete slabs. In my research, I develop a framework grounded in the landscape identity circle model (Stobbelaar and Pedroli, 2011), which explores the capacity of memories to strengthen the sense of local pride among residents and to help improving the dialogue between locals and various stakeholders, such as the planning community. By uncovering emotional local knowledge, it also has the potential to produce new, more positive imageries that could, hopefully, contribute to shifting the narratives as well as changing the point of departure of discussions away from a problem-based discourse in favor of a reflection-based vision for these urban landscapes.

My presentation will look at preliminary results from the application of this framework to a neighborhood of Warsaw, Poland, subsequently reflecting on its meaning in the contexts of the Chicago Housing Authority's and New York City Housing Authority's former and existing public housing stock.

“Soviet” Architecture in the “Free World”: Ideological Narratives Against Public Housing in the US”

Michael R. Allen, Washington University in St. Louis/University of Birmingham

When conservative Republican Senator Robert Taft became a major supporter of post-World War II public housing construction in the United States, one right-wing colleague alleged that he had been infected with a “touch of socialism.” Thus began a long conflation of the construction of mass public housing with the wrong side of the Iron Curtain, and political, popular and expert narratives of public housing's supposed affinities with communist ideology. While public housing enjoyed a period of intense federal investment, “Red scare” tactics against its creation tarnished public perception.

This paper examines the origins of ideological narratives situating public housing as a supposed anti-American, communist architecture, while presenting analysis of the motives behind planners and architects that show that this was a deep miscalculation. In fact, public housing advocates long framed the architecture as antithetical to both communism and European welfare statism, which disavowed a firm commitment to federal involvement in housing production.

Ultimately, the success of right-wing narratives around public housing as a political program infected the ways in which mass media and architectural historians developed stories about public housing architecture, priming a wave of austerity measures against further construction within twenty years of the passage of the 1949 law authorizing mass public housing construction. Simultaneously, the ambivalent narrative of public housing's defenders, eager to prove that the architecture was American, failed to create a compelling public narrative and also failed to link the constrained goals of the American program with the ambitious goals of international mass housing production. Today, revisiting the ideological positioning of public housing in the US seems useful in understanding why public housing as a federal project and public housing as architectural heritage both continue to disappear.

Block 6: The Legacy of Mass Housing

Historic Areas vs Mass Housing: New Settlements in Old Belgrade (1945–1980)

Vladana Putnik Prica, University of Belgrade

The end of the Second World War in Yugoslavia marked a new chapter in the urban development of its capital. The new Communist regime took great effort in the redevelopment of the war torn country. One of the essential parts of the restoration program was to solve the housing crisis and build new settlements. Apart from the numerous new mass housing settlements that were erected in New Belgrade and other parts of Belgrade's suburbs, a certain number of locations in the city's central zone have been chosen for reconstruction. The newly built housing areas in the city's historic areas were mostly designed in an uncompromising manner of Socialist Realism, international Modernism and Structuralism. Newly built housing often had little communication with the pre-WWII environment. Although today considered rather radical, the urban interpolations created in the period between 1945 and 1985 represent very well the zeitgeist and the architectural tendencies of that time which were wholeheartedly supported by the ruling political party. This research has a goal to establish in which way the cultural and daily politics influenced the construction of a certain number of urban interpolations and whether all examples demonstrated the same methodology and approach towards the built surroundings. The relationship between the newly built architecture and the existing one will also be discussed, as well as in which manner these interventions influenced the transformation of the cityscape and the demographic.

Venture into Participatory Parametricism: GIMS Prefabrication System for Low Density Multi- and Single-Family Housing

Jelica Jovanović, University of Technology in Vienna

At the beginning of 1980s Yugoslav housing economy begun to slow down as the economic and political crisis worsened, while the taste of the end users started to shift away from the predominant mass housing models. Belgrade based Institute for Material Testing of Serbia - IMS Institute, whose major asset was the concept for the IMS Žeželj prefabricated housing system, based on the industrialized prestressed concrete technology, took a note of this shift. Institute's departments started looking into the ways of diversifying the system's outputs even further, and ways to enter the new housing market of small(er) scale buildings which were in demand. This is how and when the Generative IMS system - GIMS was developed: the system was utilizing the already existing concept of construction with prefabricated structural elements (pillar + slab) but scaled down for single family houses. The variability of the envelopes was already the feature of the system, but GIMS took it much further: the team of the Housing Center of the IMS started experimenting with residents' participation, collaborated with construction companies, delivered semi-finished structures which were then completed by the residents. They also organized student competitions and workshops, which resulted in the recruiting a small team of young architects who were advanced in computer science, to create one of the early CAAD parametric programs, based on the IMS system: GIMS-DDS and GIMS-EXPERT. The aim of the paper is presenting the products, creators and scholarship resulting from the last major experiment of Belgrade school of housing.

The Legacy of the Late Production of Modern Housing Estates in Slovakia

Peter Szalay. Slovak Academy of Sciences

The dominant part of the housing stock of Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, consists of "panel housing estates", modernist mass housing constructed in postwar communist Czechoslovakia. After the fall of the socialist regime when the open public criticism of this heritage began, several housing estates were still in construction. The aim of our presentation is to discuss the example of the Bratislava housing estate Dlhé diely completed in 1996 together with the issues of transformation of urban thinking and neoliberal deconstruction of planning and social policies in the post-socialist city. We will show that even before the fall of the socialist regime, the debate on the humanization of housing estate based on the ideas of the Athens Charter resonated. The so-called experimental mass housing Dlhé diely represents the effort for the postmodern reform of modernist dream. The return to more closed urban schemes, discussions on public and semi-public space, or struggle with the inflexible industrial production of the prefabricated elements of panel housing estates reflect gradual ideological change, parallel to many countries of late socialism. However, this most dense panel housing estate in Bratislava, passed after the fall of Communist regime an unprecedented construction boom. Dlhé diely has witnessed almost unregulated development within the free market transformation of Bratislava in the past three decades. The original "panel" housing blocks drowned in a structure of new housing complexes raise questions about urban, social and heritage values of postwar mass housing.

Privatization of the Environment of Mass Housing in the Neighborhoods of Cities on the Eastern Coast of the Adriatic Sea

Mariana Bucat, Jelena Borota, Andrej Babić, Arkitektonski Kolektiv

After the Yugoslavia breakup, Croatian legislation continued to implement a vast majority of former principles concerning ownership and other rights *in rem*. Mass housing continued to be identified as residential building land parcels in cadastral records and land registries while their immediate surroundings became state, regional or local government property instead of former "social ownership."

This paper will demonstrate one of the main reasons why such neighborhoods are so desirable to live in - the fact that the buildings constitute the private property, while everything around them is infrastructurally equipped property in public use, and why such properties are relatively expensive in the real estate market. Furthermore, this paper will show why these properties in coastal towns are particularly vulnerable in the said market, and how this fact encourages speculations.

Hypotheses will be proven by an overview of different models of privatization of the surrounding land and by questioning their legitimacy, using the examples of Adriatic towns. The paper will demonstrate the effects of privatization on the quality of urban life, as well as examples of successful prevention of privatization of the surroundings of mass housing properties.

In conclusion, research is expected to identify individual public space policies which might have a positive impact on the prevention of speculative trends and hence on the improvement of protection of the built environment, since this segment of urban planning is crucial for the preservation of modern heritage.

The Truth is Out There: Resident Architects, Glazed Balconies and New (Architectural) History in the Making

Sonja Lakić, CY Cergy Paris University

This is not just another research about the Yugoslav version of modernist architecture. This is the story about the lived form(s) of different housing blocks across the periphery of the country that is no more, and a portrayal of the practice of the everyday life, that is, contemporary dwelling and residing experience in medium-sized cities across former Yugoslav countries Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro. Unlike the thus-far studies, which have always stopped at the point when a building is completed, this research sheds a light on “the actual conduct of life” (Scott, 2008) by collecting intimate dwelling (hi)stories, which unfold against an architect-prescribed use of space, yet, always and forever in the name of the personal taste of a homeowner. Based on the self-developed mix-method of “Apartment Biographies”, the research takes off from the spatial artifact of the post-Yugoslav era – i.e. illegally glazed balcony - and next introduces a wide variety of do-it-yourself apartment transformations and contestations of space. Through a series of encounters behind the closed doors of personal domestic spaces and a variety of different media, primarily photographs, this unconventional study puts “resident architects” (Akcan, 2018) first and suggests that there is more to the story than meets the eye. Here, architecture serves as an excuse to narrate a whole new world of standards and principles, cultural values, as well as ethics and morals of the new post-Yugoslav societies. This is a call for more of an understanding of human lives, a testimonial to a balcony as the social process themselves, a conversation about authorship, a debate on the effects of privatization of social housing, and a tribute to the never-ending love affair between people and their homes. Finally, this research is a bare witness to the writing of the new architectural history of “open and unfinished nature” that is always and forever in the making, and an attempt to address what remains from the Yugoslav modernist residential architecture through the eyes of “open architecture” (Akcan, 2018).

References: Akcan, Ezra (2018) *Open Architecture: Migration, Citizenship and the Urban Renewal of Berlin-Kreuzberg* by IBA 1984/87. Basel: Birkhäuser. Scott, Fred (2008) *On Altering Architecture*. London: Routledge.