Large - form Novi Zagreb

A MODEL FOR A NEW COLLECTIVITY

Morana Mažuran, BSc

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Masterstudium Architektur

Technische Universität Graz
Erzherzog-Johann-Universität
Fakultät für Architektur

Betreuer:
Andreas Lechner, Ass.Prof. Dipl.-Ing. Dr.techn.
Institut für Gebäudelehre

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CONTENTS

Introduction

This work examines and argues the autonomy of architecture in its ability to mediate a specific vision of urban and social reality. The autonomy is here understood not in terms of design, but rather in terms of the *autonomy of the architectural project* - "the possibility of architectural thought of proposing an alternative idea of the city, rather than simply confirming its existing conditions"[1].

It is about considering the architecture as a political act which redefines the notion of the city in both its formal and social aspect. The *political* in architecture can be interpreted as its ability of formal separation.[2] Hence, the political aspect here differs from any kind of activism - it rather relies on the potential of architectural form in shaping the urban environment.[3]

Moreover, the attempt in this regard is to point to the power of *architectural thought*, which lies in its ability to project an intellectual value on the material object and shape the reality as such.

While being based on the architectural thought of its author, the autonomous architectural discipline takes an ambiguous position between its ideal condition and the existing reality, which enables it to become critical and to provoke the creation of new conditions, rather than improving the present state of affairs.

In this respect, the architecture of a large-form as an instrument of urbanisation is considered, as well as the possibility of establishing alternative living forms within its frames. The large-form represents the idea of the city formed by clearly separated finite forms, an antithesis to the endless urbanisation resulting in fragmented and shapeless territory of the post-transitional urban landscape. Moreover, it offers the potential to accommodate the collectivity, challenging the notion of private ownership in the form of housing, as an uttermost example of capitalist development. Because of its size, large-form enables programmatic density and diversity, providing a certain urban quality as such. Due to the separateness of its form it differs from the context, which enables it to frame a counter - world within it.

The proposed project, which manifests the stated theses, is placed in the context of Novi Zagreb – the city part which can be considered as the last example of urban development of Zagreb envisioned as the *project for the city*, reflecting a certain political and social vision. Within the frames of this work, Novi Zagreb is considered as a city part of distinct spatial and urban qualities, which was conceived as an autonomous project. It is analysed and reevaluated on that account, its potentials being detected and qualities emphasized in comparison to the subsequently developed city parts. The conceived project is intended to become the programmatic complement of the concerned area offering an answer to the unfinished modernisation of both the structure of Novi Zagreb and its urban society. Within the project of Novi Zagreb, which represents a significant legacy of Croatian modernism, a specific socio-political idea was expressed by the employment of modernist architecture. The new intervention, however, by means of the architecture of large-form, will define the border between modernisation and urban sprawl, thus reassessing the idea of the city and criticizing the current state of affairs. By establishing new habitation models within its structure, it will promote a new social vision, simultaneously ad-

1
See Aureli (2011), p. XIII.

2
See Aureli (2011), p. X.

3
For the interpretation of countering 'architectural activism' with the role of architecture in its traditional form – the discipline of designing buildings, see Aureli (2013), p. 15.

dressing the current predicament of Croatian society and the Croatian city as its manifestation. The project developed as both the consequence and a critique of the present condition. It is, however, not about abolishing the existing, but rather about creating an alternative reality, translating it in spatial terms. It is about instrumentalizing the conditions imposed by current neoliberal system in order to resist it.

Finally, this project is an attempt to express the power of architectural thought by means of its essential medium – architectural drawing, and its potential to influence reality.

01 ARCHITECTURAL AUTONOMY

AS A SOCIAL CRITIQUE/ MEANS OF RESISTANCE

AUTONOMOUS ARCHITECTURE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT

The concept of Autonomous Architecture dates back to the end of the 18th century and the time of French Revolution, when it was first determined through the work of French architect Claude Nicolas Ledoux. His ideas of the autonomy of architecture are related to the notion of moral autonomy, formulated by the philosopher Immanuel Kant.[1] Ledoux opposed the "Pavilion system" as free association of independent entities to the baroque principle of united sequence, introducing a new relation of a part and a whole. His architecture is characterized through the composition of independent parts and a fondness for simple geometrical forms. Beside this shift in formal understanding from the architecture of Baroque and Rococo, it is important to observe the emergence of Ledoux's architectural innovation in relation to the socio-political circumstances.

The aspiration to general change at the end of the 18th century in Europe was manifested in literature, as well as in socio-political movements. Among the fine arts, however, the effect of this period was demonstrated only in architecture of revolutionary architects, from whom Ledoux was the precursor.

The abolition of baroque formal principles, where the parts are subordinated to the whole in a unified sequence, reflected the abolition of feudal principles of a pre-revolutionary era. The purity of form manifested the purity of the ethos of the new time. The task of autonomous architecture was to play a part in moral enhancement of human kind. These aspects are obvious in his project of Ideal city of Chaux (The city of Salinas), whereby the new utopian vision of ideal city was introduced.[2]

According to architecture historian Emil Kaufmann, who was the first one to introduce the term of *Autonomous Architecture* in theoretical discourse, there is a continuous line of development of modern architecture from Ledoux to Le Corbusier. What connects the ideas of French revolutionary architects from the 18th century and their successors in the 19th century with the modernist architects of the 20th century is exactly this aimed idealism and the idea of architecture as a mediator of social improvements.

ARCHITECTURAL AUTONOMY
THE POSSIBILITY FOR THE PROJECT OF THE CITY

Within the political and economical context of 21st century, Pier Vittorio Aureli proposes a concept of Autonomous Architecture as a possibility to define an alternative idea of the city, which would oppose the idea of totalizing urbanization process, described as the "substitution of politics with economics as a mode of city governance".[3]

The term *urbs* – which signifies the materiality of inhabited space, based on economical organisation of private space as the primary organization of human environment - is opposed to the term *civitas* or *polis*, which stands for political life of the city.[4]

In order to exemplify the polarity of the autonomous architectural form as a forming element of the city, and the infinite urbanization process, Aureli associates the concept

1
Kaufmann (1933, reprint 1985).

2
Ibid.

3
See Aureli (2011), p. 11.

4
Ibid., p. 2 - 16.

01.1

5
See Aureli (2011), p. 27 - 31.

6
Ibid., p.45.

7
Ibid., p. 222.

8
Ibid., p. 199, 200.

9
Ibid., p. 177 - 227.

10
Both projects were published in the apendix of Koolhaas's *Delirious New York. A retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*, 1978.

of politics with the concept of form, whereby the formal designates the limit. He relates here both to the definition of *political* from Hannah Arendt, whereby the political space occurs only between confronted parts, and to the concept of Carl Schmitt, who claimed that political autonomy can be manifested only in a relation of clearly distinguished subjects/parts. The *formal,* however, exists as a limit between inside and outside, the subject and the situation. As such, the absolute (separated) form is relating to what exists outside of it. On this account, the formal corresponds to the political.[5]

Autonomous architecture as an absolute form thus offers an opportunity to reconsider the city as a political form made of finite and separate parts, which are counterposing each other and enabling the political space in between them. The idea of the city defined by frames and stoppages, limits and confrontation is critically opposed to the "bad infinity" of the urbanization process, being characterized through infinite repetition and production of new things. In other words, "the labour for the sake of production and profit"[6]

The counterposed units of absolute architecture represent the idea of Archipelago. The islands of autonomous forms are self-sufficient entities and city parts at the same time, confronting the sea of urbanization in between them and thus delineating the form of the city through their own limits. In this relationship, architecture can be seen as an opportunity to define the city as a political place of confrontation and coexistence, as "the last opportunity for the city to survive its decline".[7]

AUTONOMY OF THE FORM
FROM CITY ARCHIPELAGO TO BIGNESS

The notion of the city as an archipelago of autonomous architectural forms is present in the work of Oswald Mathias Ungers, which also had a significant influence on the early work of Rem Koolhaas and OMA. Ungers observed the city in its critical condition, not denying the fragmentation of urban form and instability of the program, but using these forces to create a dialectical field of contrasting elements instead. He considered the concept of archipelago as a possibility for the new political form of the city based on self – management of the community, independent from external urban order. This kind of communal autonomy could be achieved only within limited terms of space and number of inhabitants.[8]

The idea of clearly separated city parts as finite forms, contrasting the generic extension of the city, is legible in his projects of housing complexes from 1960s (Cologne Neue Stadt, Cologne Grünzug Sud, Märkisches Viertel Berlin), which were conceived as autonomous parts – cities within the city. This concept culminates in the project of Berlin as a Green Archipelago, where the city of Berlin is made of islands of intensity, representing the collective forms of living. The islands are conceived as dialectical complementary parts within the fragmented urban landscape.[9]

This concept is also legible in the model of the *metropolitan hotel*, demonstrated in the projects of OMA which are considered as the basis for "metropolitan architecture" of Koolhaas and Zengelis: Hotel Sphinx and Welfare Palace Hotel.[10] The projects were inspired by Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York, which accommodated a variety of services and functioned as a city itself. With the congregation of programs and functions, the connection to the transport infrastructure and by promoting temporary accommodation in a collective dwelling rather than individual private housing, this model was considered as an ultimate manifestation of urbanity and metropolitan lifestyle. As such it corresponded to the idea of the city made of finite forms, the points of congestion. The link between the ideas of Ungers and the theoretical concepts of Koolhaas, such as the theory of *Bigness* and the conceptual base of *Delirious New York*, is thus evident.

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01.7

01.10   01.11
01.9

THE PROJECT OF AUTONOMY
AUTONOMY OF POLITICS / AUTONOMY OF ARCHITECTURE

In order to explicate the concept of *autonomy,* in his book *The project of Autonomy. Politics and Architecture within and against capitalism*, Pier Vittorio Aureli draws a parallel between the idea of political autonomy that originated from the Italian political movement "Operaism", and the idea of autonomy which occurred in theoretical work of Italian architect Aldo Rossi and the architectural group Archizoom, within Italian intellectual discourse in 1960s and 1970s. Both of the aforementioned political and architectural protagonists shared the same perspective of criticizing the capitalistic system in its logic of totality and expansion, and agreed that *autonomy* was a way to resist it. This would be achieved not through destruction and reform, however, but through analysing and instrumentally using its structures in order to develop an alternative source of power. The autonomous project in this term should thus not be based on a critique and direct opposition to the capitalistic ideology, but on a specific *theory*.[11]

For Tronti, the core figure of the Operaism movement, political autonomy was the achievement of the autonomous political power of the working class. As the power of capitalism was based on a production system itself, the project of autonomy should begin not with reforming the means of production, but with taking power over them. In other words, the workers' control was not to be achieved through social reform of the system, but by overtaking the political power, and not through conflict but by means of the political negotiation instead. As the capitalist process of value creation was dependent on the working class, the political meaning of the latter lies in the negotiation of work. The counter plan to capitalism proposed by Operaism [12] was based not on political intervention but rather on cultural and theoretical reflection. This counter plan was built around the thesis that the working class should embrace capitalism as a modern form of development but assume itself as a modern form of power at once. In order to oppose capitalism it was important to understand its practical use of crisis. The instrumentalization of this crisis though, enabled the bourgeoisie to control the political forces of capitalism. Therefore taking over this negative mode of bourgeois thinking, rather than implementing an extremist or reformist political attitude, was recognized as the only possibility for autonomy for the working class. Thus, for the Operaists, political autonomy meant not the the autonomy of one part of the society in relation to another, but the autonomy of power itself.[13]

As a part of the counter plan, the city and architecture were important fields of political analysis, whereby the city was understood not in terms of overall planning but rather as a *theory of the city*. The city consisting of singular places where political autonomy could potentially be applied was considered as an opposition to capitalist planning and could provide the working class the opportunity to achieve the political autonomy as such. From this point the Operaist's idea of the city as a political form corresponded to Rossi's conception of autonomous architecture and singularity of the place.[14] Similarly, as with the view of Operaists that the negative mode of bourgeoisie thinking was a key answer to opposing capitalism, Rossi saw reappropriation of the legacy of the bourgeoisie city as the possibility of constructing the tradition of the socialist city. In the same way as the bourgeoisie appropriated the language of classical architecture to express its domination towards the old aristocracy, Rossi took over the rationalist architecture of modern tradition, not as a normative and functionalist language, but as a potentially autonomous architecture which would oppose the generic forms and open-ended development of neocapitalist urbanism. In order to exemplify his position towards the new theory of the city as a site of different political choices, he established the concept of *locus*, as a singular point within the frame of the city, as a counterpart to the theory of *city territory*.[15] While the latter was based on total organization of urban territory in order to increase its productiveness, and represented the capitalist instrumentalization of urban design as such, the *locus*

11
Aureli (2008).

12
The conclusion of theoretical approach of Operaismo was brought up in **Contropiano** - the last journal of Operaist movement, published from 1968 to 1971.

13
Aureli (2008), p. 31 - 53.

14
Ibid., p. 53.

15
This concept was proposed by Manfredo Tafuri and Giorgio Piccinato in an essay published in Cassabella continuità in 1963 as a new framework for studying urban landscape. The territory was understood as an open form created by a network of transportation and other economic flows. This position concerning urban territory was linked to the notion of the balanced mode of capitalism, which meant the rationalization of the means of capitalist production and distribution in order to achieve a more balanced social system. Hence this modified capitalism required a high level of coordination between the cities, production centers and urban territory lying in between them (See Aureli, (2008) p. 59, 60).

16
Urban artifact signifies the architecture of the city as a complex entity developed in both space and time. It contains unique qualities, no matter of its function, and structures the city with its form. In order to understand its qualities, urban artifact has thus to be comprehended in its totality. The important aspect of urban artifact is the experience of the people related to it. This collective experience of urban artifacts constitute the city (See Rossi (1982)).

01.12   01.13

17
Rossi defined the primary element as an urban element of a dominant nature which participates in the evolution of the city in a permanent way, major artefacts like public urban buildings. They have the ability of taking over different urban functions, yet their quality remains, thus enduring the transformation of the city over time. Moreover, they act as urban catalysts, accelerating the evolution of the city (See Rossi, (1982), p. 86-87).

18
Claudio Greppi, diploma project for a territorial factory near Prato, Italy, 1964 – 65; Archizoom, No – Stop City, 1968 – 70; the city as a perpetual condition reproducing itself, a generic city where living is reduced to producion and reproduction.

19
See Aureli (2008) p. 69 - 73.

01.14

meant the place as a political category, opposing the totalizing urban development by its separateness and limitation. The concept of the locus was based on the category of typology, as a representation of political choice through a concrete urban form, and the individuality of the *urban artifact* [16], which meant the precise decision of applying certain typology to the real city. Urban artefact in its finite form is the base for the city made of contrasting autonomous architectural entities, standing in relation to the social and political context. This urban theory thus proposed the idea of the city as a territory of singular events and decisions, being able to confront with the urban condition around them.

The theory of Rossi is manifested in the competition project for the new administrative centre of Turin, *centro direzionale*, conceived together with Luca Meda and Gianugo Polesello in 1962, called "Locomotiva II". They proposed a single monumental building, a 300 x 300 m square block of 28 storeys organised around a large open courtyard. The courtyard typology as an identifiable collective form represents a civic monument for the community. It is a *primary element* [17] which enables the development of the new city part around it. With its monumentality the structure dialectically counterposes Allesandro Antonelli's Mole - a colossal synagogue from the second half of the 19th century. Both buildings represent exceptional forms inside of the city, and are both the extrusions of the grid which defines the Roman plan of Turin. Nevertheless, while Mole is referring directly to the grid, Locomotiva is an analogous reconstruction of that grid on the periphery of the city. The grid was thus reinterpreted as a typological theme. As such, the project represents a dialectical confrontation with the existing city. In contrast to the idea of megastructure, which was very popular at that time, the closed limited form of Lokomotiva II excluded the possibility of a program expansion. With its precisely defined locus and clear form it contrasts other parts of the city and opposes the image of totalized city development. Because of its radical character the project was rejected, in the favour of projects representing the idea of megastructure, praising the technological development. For Rossi, however, autonomous architecture did not represent the architecture of resistance, but one of power, corresponding to the idea of the city of conflicting parts. According to his position, that architecture is always expressing the power of dominant class, with the project for *centro direzionale* Rossi aimed to reveal the role of the dominant class in the development of the capitalistic city. Within such a clear formal proposal, the dominant class could refer to its opponent, and political choice would thus be enabled. Nevertheless, as the ruling class was trying to avoid its political responsibility, it was understandable that the project of Rossi was not only rejected but also stigmatized as "reactionary architecture".

The autonomous politics of Tronti and autonomous architecture of Rossi were based on a common idea of demystifying the capitalistic development by opposing it with the separateness of society and the city respectively.

Another theoretical trajectory countering the capitalistic reality was manifested in the projects of group Archizoom[18], namely in the form of the *theory of the city*, which was not based on reform but on a critique of the existing capitalistic city. They saw the project of autonomy as the *autonomy of the theory* that would reveal the consequences of capitalistic developments for a city by exaggerating its mechanism. Relying on the Engels's thesis that there is no such a thing as a working class metropolis, only a working – class critique of an existing metropolis, Archizoom believed that the critique of the capitalistic metropolis, rather than an alternative proposal of the city, would enable the workers autonomy – not by the worker's resistance but rather by their appropriation of the city as a production space. The theory of Archizoom as such was corresponding to Tronti's theses, that the possibility of worker's autonomy was not in the reform, but in the exploitation of the production system.[19] The model of perpetual urbanization proposed by Archizoom can today be observed not as a future projection, but rather as a sharp description of our reality.

Following the polemics from the 1960s and the 1970s about the idea of the city, its form and politics within capitalistic development, Dogma[20] developed a theoretical project, Stop City [21], in the context of the 21st century's neoliberal policies and consequent capitalistic *laissez-faire* development of the city.

It is a critique of the concept of *informal urbanism*, whereby the capitalistic planning policy based on the ubiquity of production and expansive urbanization is disguised under the concepts of *flexibility* and *bottom-up* creativity, praising diversity and difference as such. In order to demystify its rhetoric, Stop City proposes the idea of a *limit,* as an opposition to the formless and limitless capitalistic city which is in permanent state of reproducing itself. Stop City is defined by architectural entities of high density - representing a city within a city - which accommodate multiple programs and activities. The empty area framed by architectural units defines the form of the city, it is the limit against urbanisation.

The project appropriates the non-figurative and generic language of Cerda, Hilberseimer and Archizoom, though reverses their concept of urbanization. The architecture without attributes is freed from every style and image. It represents the form of the city, framing the forms of cohabitation by setting up an order principle.

It is about creating a theory of the city which envisions the constitution of its political form by means of absolute architectural form.[22]

AUTONOMY OF DISCIPLINE
RESISTANCE OF ARCHITECTURE / CRITICAL ARHITECTURE

Foucault defined discipline as a mechanism of power that forms an infra-law by extending the general forms defined by the law to the level of individual lives. As such it is regarded as a counter-law, constituting a "private" link between individuals which is a relation of constraints completely different from contractual obligation. It represents "the political counterpart of the social juridical norms according to which power was redistributed".[23] Hence it can be considered that, as an autonomous discipline, architecture is able to create its own system of rules and has a possibility to overpower the regime as such.

Architecture as an autonomous discipline is based on the architectural thought of its author, which emerged from his subjective knowledge. The author has the ability to develop the knowledge which is alternative to the dominant culture and propose a new, distinct vision of the world.[24] The fact that this individual knowledge is based on the awareness of the historical and social situation, rather than being their product, enables the discipline to be critical. Hence an autonomous system excluded from the given situation has been established. Nevertheless, in order to be critical, architecture cannot be completely detached from the sphere of the real and understood only in its formal terms. Critical architecture exists within the temporal and spatial conditions of the real world, but opposes their absolute authority by indicating difference and discontinuity from the current conditions.[25] Exactly the ambiguous position of architecture transitioning between its ideal condition and the reality of the world in which it exists gives it a possibility to become critical.

This aspect of being independent from the external influences, but still considering the socio-political context of the reality within which it exists, is legible in projects of Rossi, Ungers and Dogma.

The main task of architecture as an autonomous discipline is neither to serve economical demands nor to improve the social circumstances, but to fulfil the *architectural condition* – the one which connects all conditions, both those intrinsic and extrinsic to architecture, in an architectural way. The architecture whereby this condition has been fulfilled is able to express the conditions within which it has emerged or even mediate a certain ideology, but at the same time it doesn't belong to any time and place, hence remains always contemporary. This *non-serving* architecture, based on an architectural thought,

20
Architectural practice based in Brussels, founded by Pier Vittorio Aureli and Martino Tattara in 2002.

21
A research project from Pier Vittorio Aureli and Martino Tattara, 2007; published in: *ARCH+ Hardcore Architecture*, 214, Heft 1, 2014, p. 110 - 114.

01.15

22
See Aureli, Tattara (2013), p. 36.

23
See Foucault (1995), p. 222, 223.

24
K. Michael Hays exemplifies the concept of resistant authority in the work of Mies van der Rohe. The repetition of his themes in his work enables the growth of architectural knowledge according to its own conventions, instead of being based on a preexisting references, neither cultural nor formal. As such, his authority is being able to resist the authority of a dominant culture; See Hays (1984).

25
See Hays (1984).

26

See Čeferin (2012).

01.16

shows thus another possibility of reality and becomes critical as such. [26] In the essay by Petra Čeferin, within the research project on Yugoslav modernization, these ambivalent characteristics are prescribed to the architecture of Yugoslav modernism, developed as a part of a modernist project which was based on the idea of creating a new society. Even uncompleted, this pretension was partly accomplished within Yugoslav territory, succeeding in the transformation of both the built environment and society. The transformation was, however, understood as a creation of the new, rather than an improvement of the existing. The quality and success of architecture as a non-serving practice, which was the instrument of this transformation, is visible in its ability to fulfil the conditions of any epoch.

Hence a conclusion can be drawn that autonomous architecture is the only possibility of the continuation of that transformative process. The only possibility for the new.
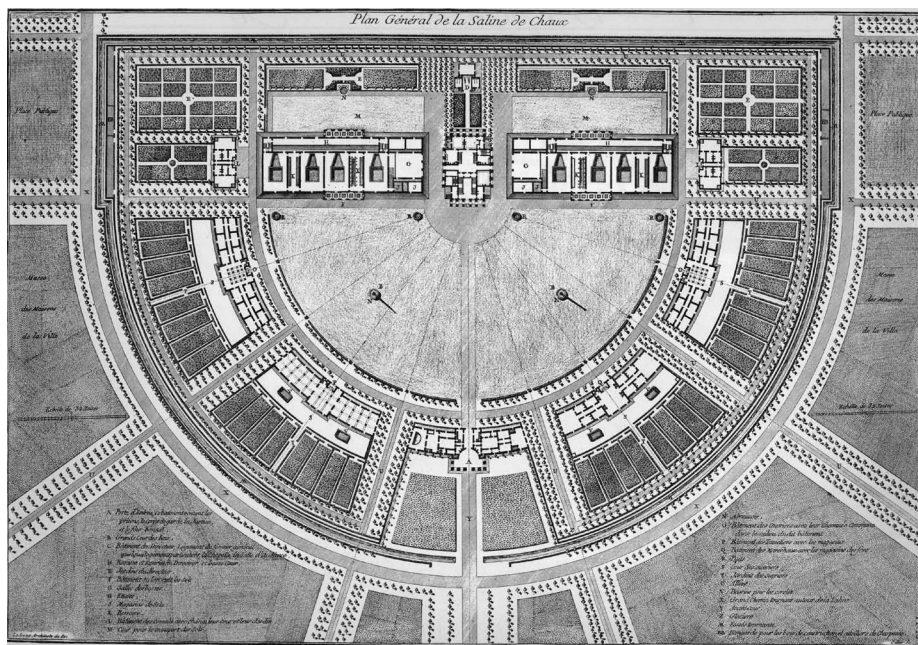
01.1
Claude Nicolas Ledoux, Plan for the
Ideal City of Chaux, 1775 - 1779 - the
city as a conglomerate of independent
parts.
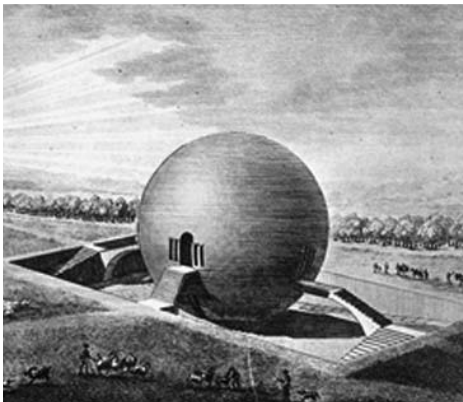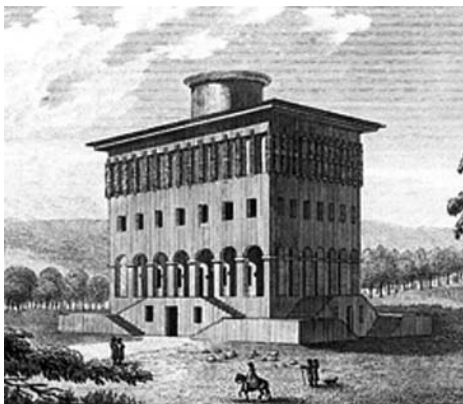
01.2
01.3
01.4
Claude Nicolas Ledoux,
House of Harmony;
House of a river guard;
House of a woodcuter.
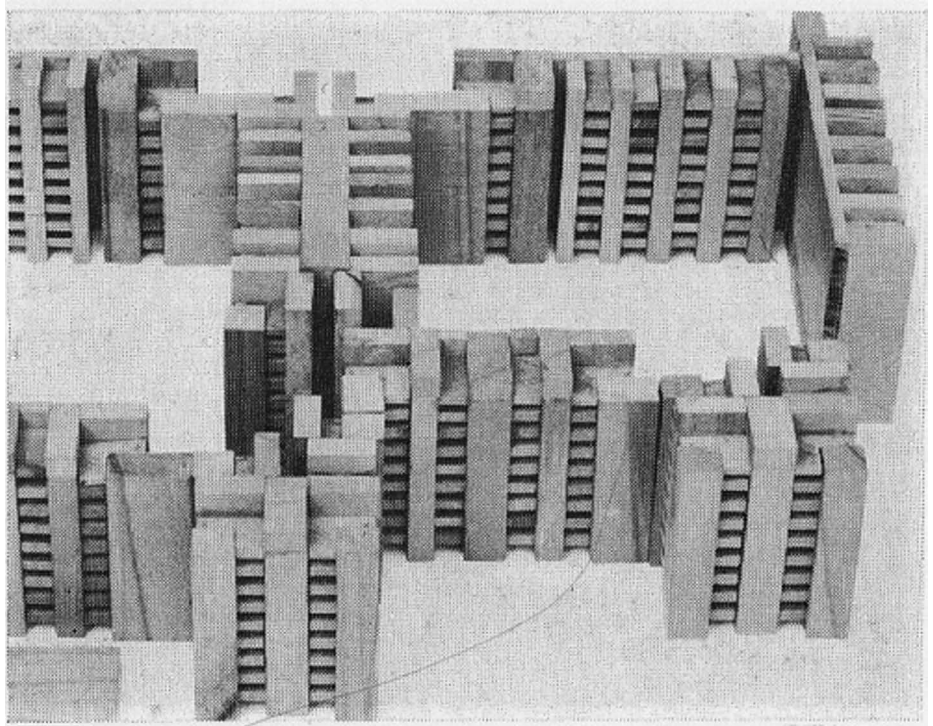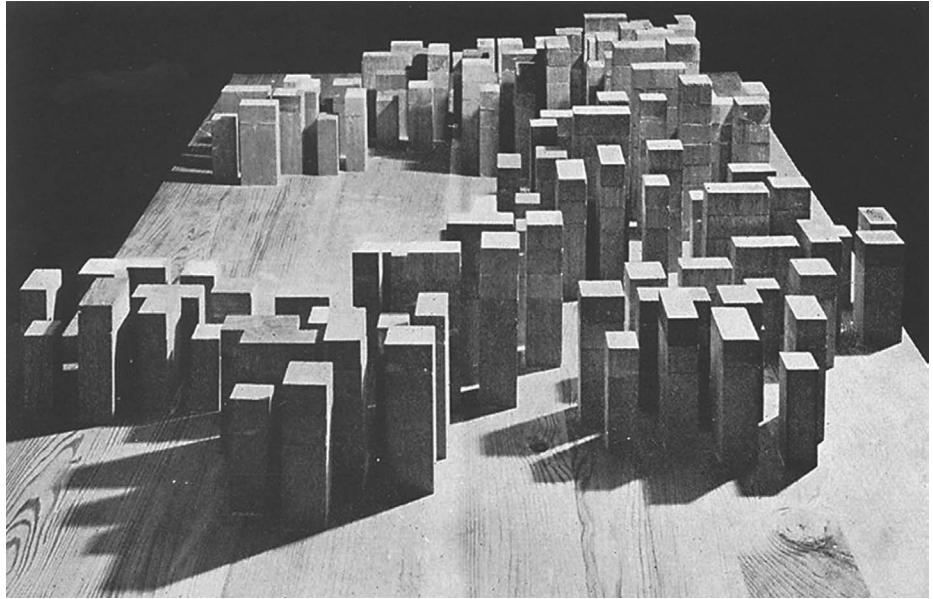
01.5
Oswald Mathias Ungers, Cologne Neue
Stadt, 1961 - 1964.

01.6
Oswald Mathias Ungers, Märkisches
Viertel Berlin, 1962 - 1967.
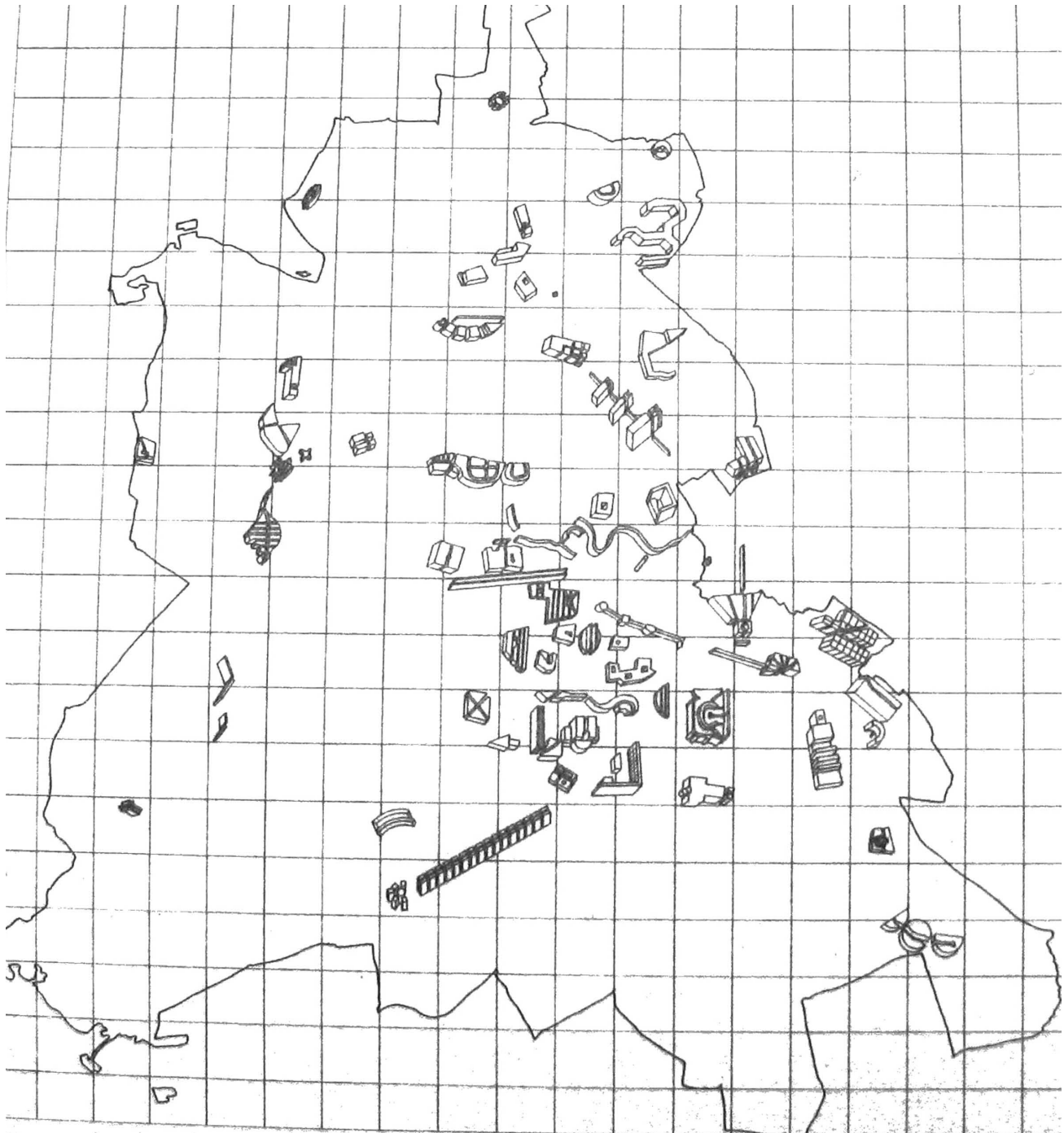
01.7
Ungers, Koolhaas, Koolhoff, Riemann,
Ovaska, *Die Stadt in der Stadt Berlin,
das grüne Stadtarchipel. Ein stadträum-
liches Planungskonyept für die zukünfige
Entwicklungs Berlin*, 1977, cities within
the city.
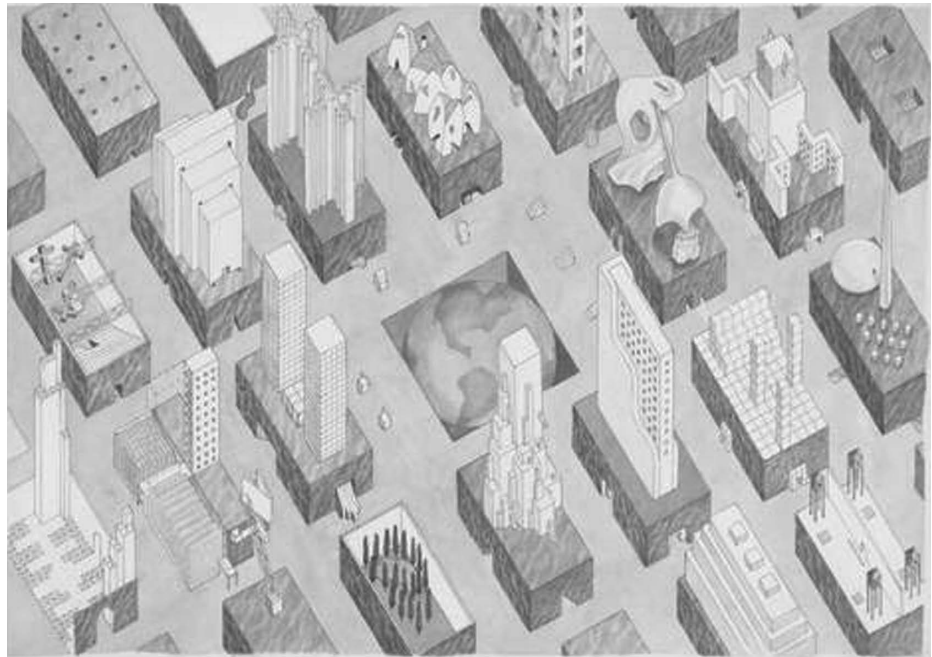
01.8
Rem Koolhaas and Zoe Zenghelis,
City of the Captive Globe, in: *Delirious
New York. A retroactive Manifesto for
Manhattan,* 1978.

01.9
Waldorf- Astoria Hotel, New York,
axonometric section.
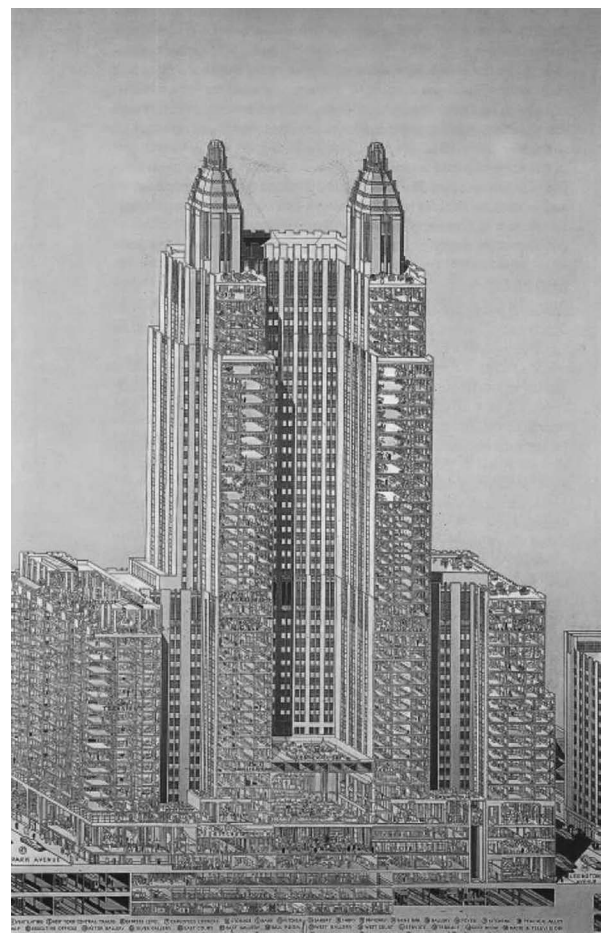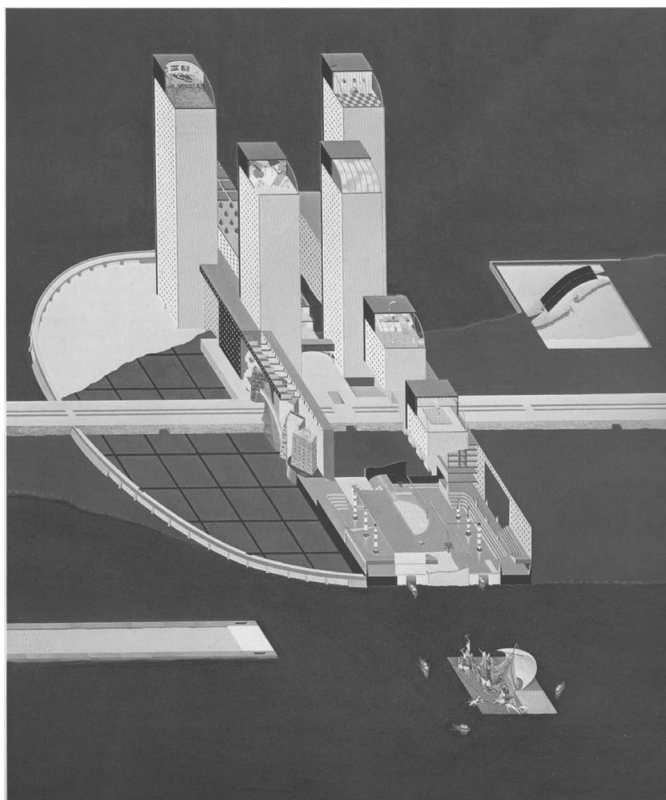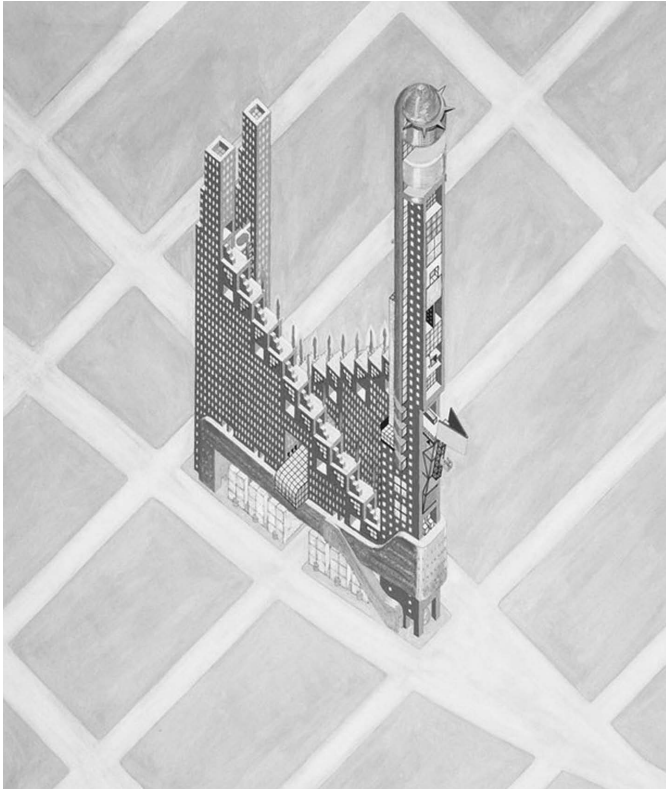
01.10
Elia and Zoe Zenghelis, Hotel Sphinx
in Times Square, New York, 1975,
axonometric view.

01.11
Rem Koolhaas and Madelon Vriesen-
dorp, Welfare Palace Hotel, Roosevelt
Island, New York, 1976,
cutaway axonometric.
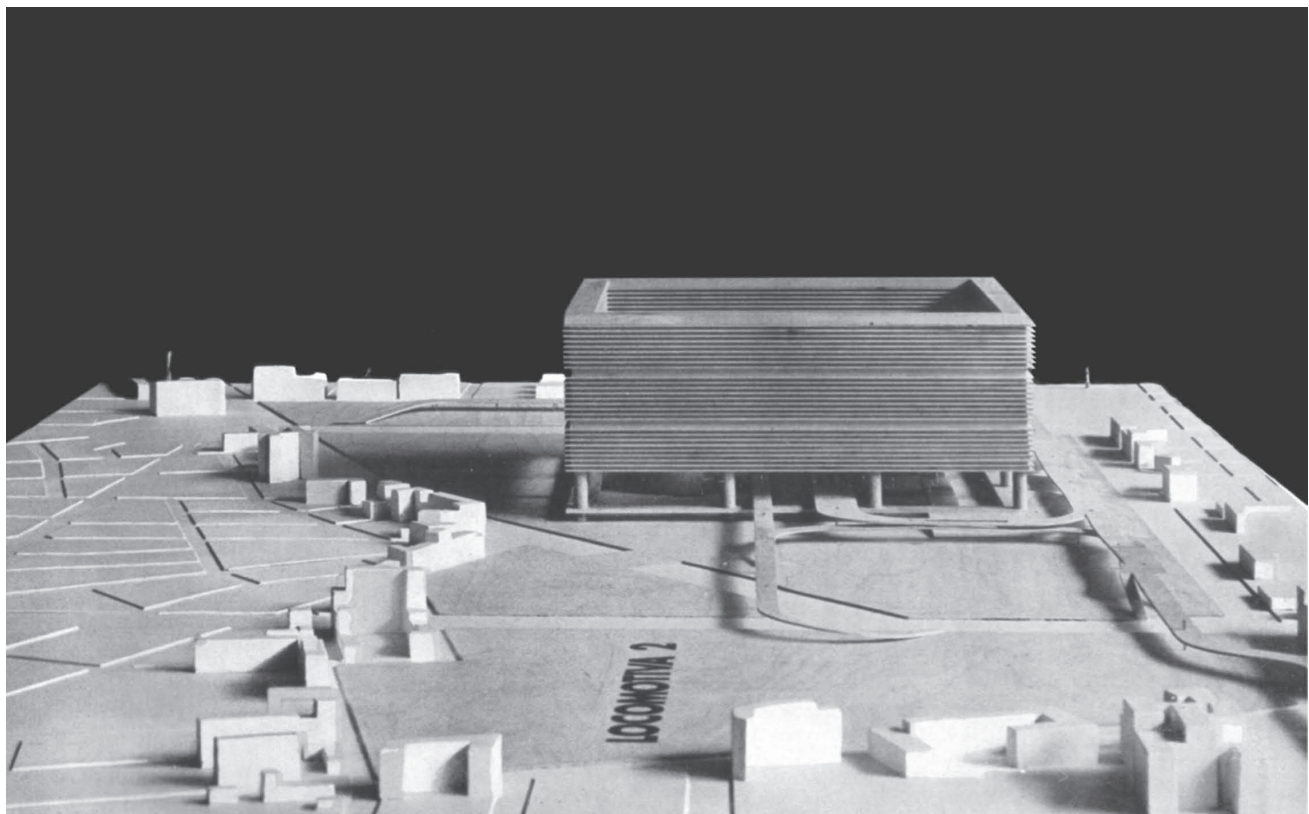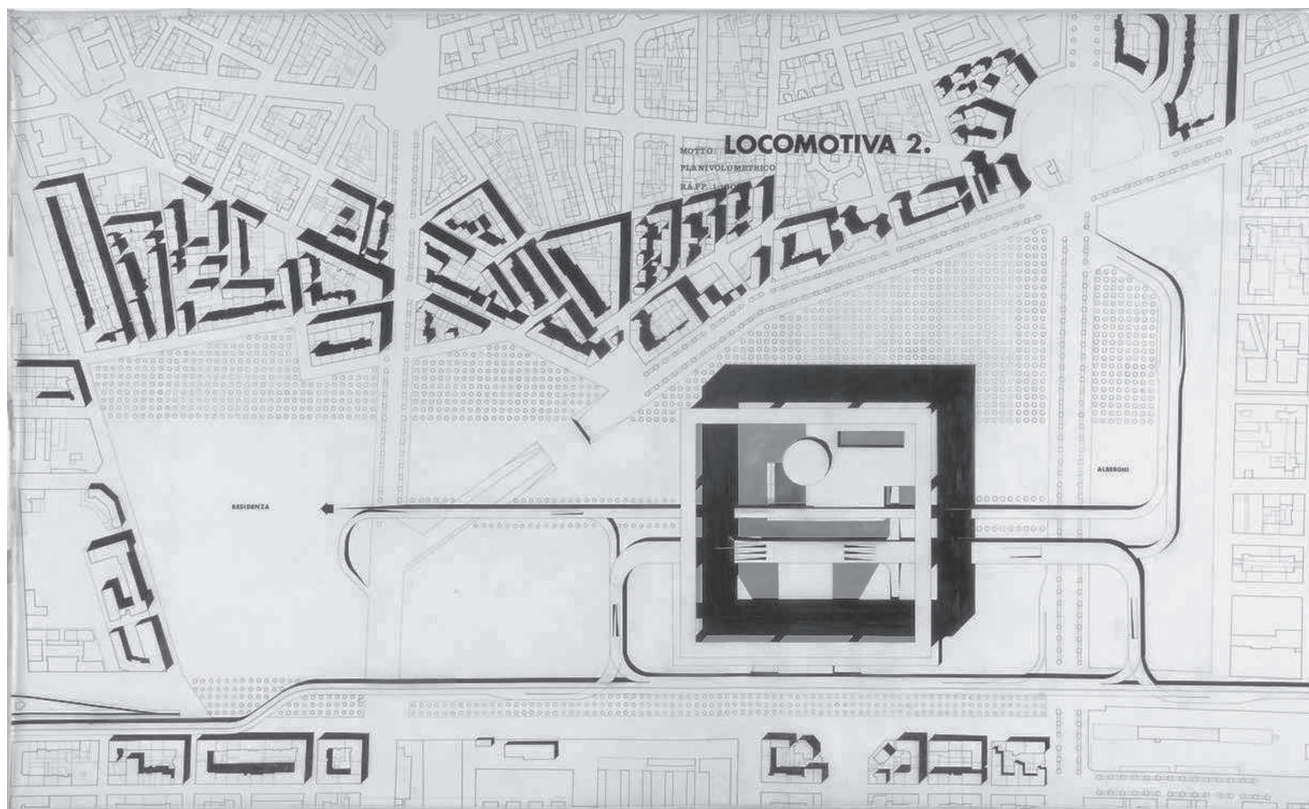
01.12
01.13
Aldo Rossi, Luca Meda, Gianugo
Polesello, competition entry for Centro
direzionale, Turin, 1962, site plan and
model.
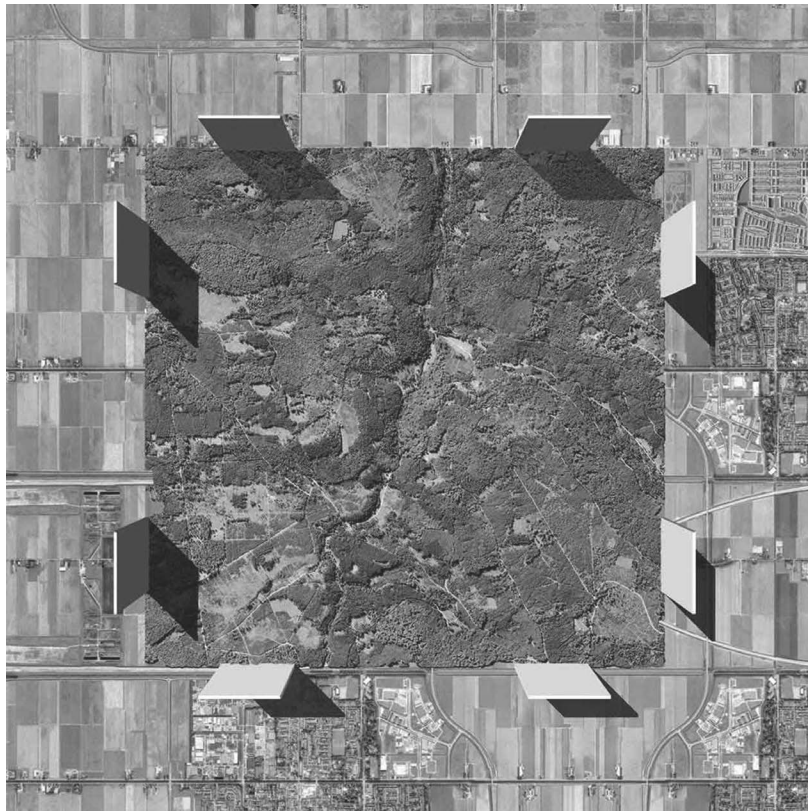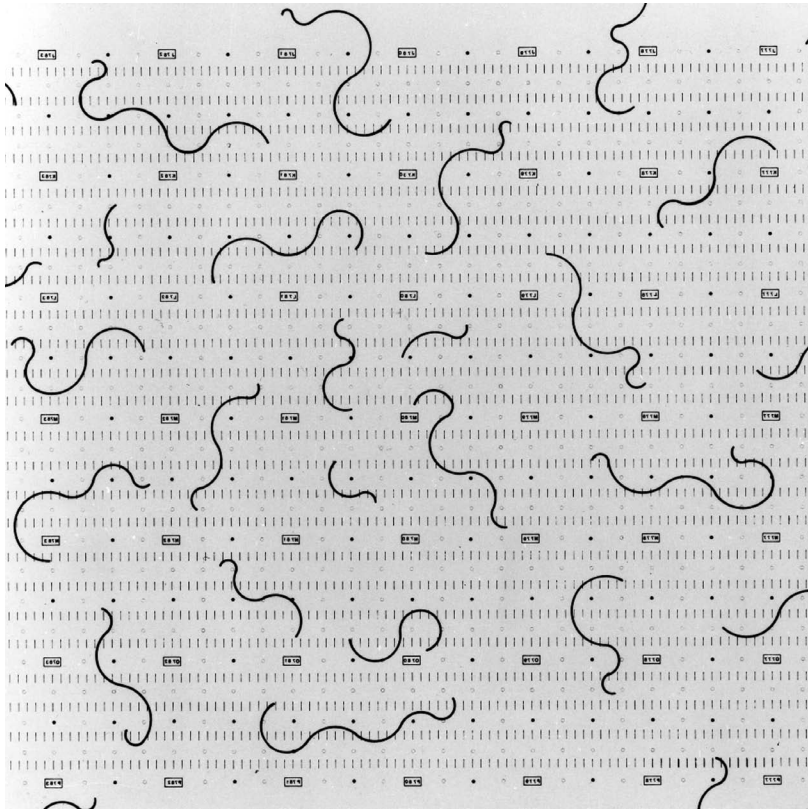
01.14
Archizoom, No - Stop City, 1968 -
70; the city as a perpetual condition
reproducing itself, a generic city where
living is reduced to producion and
reproduction.

01.15
Pier Vittorio Aureli and Martino Tattara,
Stop City, a research project, 2007.

23

01.16
Vjenceslav Richter, Yugoslav pavilion at
the World Exposition in Brussels, 1958.

02 THE LARGE-FORM

AS A MEANS OF URBANISATION

ARCHIPELAGO URBANISM

As early as the 1960s Oswald Matthias Ungers had anticipated the architecture of large-form as the most successful solution for further urbanization. In his publication *Großformen in Wohnungsbau* from 1966 and his article *Form in der Großstadt* from 1967, he brought up the potentials and benefits of the large-form in solving the problem of the rapidly increasing number of people and products in the cities.[1] The accommodation for the growing city population, inefficient building production and the lack of building plots are the issues which could be successfully solved by implementing the architecture of large-form as a method of urbanization. Moreover, through the precise definition of the elements, their meanings and relations, large-form establishes a certain order within it, providing thus a framework for undefined and unplanned events to occur. By imposing the order it enables the freedom.

> "The large form creates the framework, the structure, and the designated space for
> an incalculable, unplannable, animated process, for a parasitic architecture.
> Without these components, all planning remains rigid and lifeless"[2]

The potential of the large-form for Ungers is not in the monumentality of its size, but rather in the quality of its form. What is important is the integral whole. This quality of the whole is able to define the form of the city, as a counterpart to the fragmented and shapeless parts of the expanding urbanization.

Ungers saw the future of the city in densification and integration, which is both to be achieved through the architecture of large-form. The important conditions that are to be fulfilled here are readableness and unity of the single entity. Within this form of the city, determined by independent units, it is not about creating the society unified as a whole, but to enable the pluralistic existence of different entities which could prosper from its coexistence. Moreover, he saw the possibility of a large-form as a housing typology in its ability to merge housing function with work and traffic. The active tension which occurs between private and public space enables different events and social contact to take place. This interplay of public and private sphere is only to be achieved within the limiting order of large-form. The idea of large-form also corresponds to Ungers's attitude towards the housing issue and the question of land ownership. He saw housing as the same as infrastructure - as a part of the essential provision of the city - which ought to be allocated from the city or state government as such. Hence the concepts of large-form structures built on public property and encompassing different functions are consistent with such socio-political interpretation of the city. The issue of the large-form and the city was addressed in most of Ungers projects. In his publication *Schnellbahn und Gebäude* from 1968, he expressed the idea of a city consisting of infrastructural network and islands of large-forms based on a programmatic mixture.[3] This image of the city as a network of insular entities is opposed to the concept of a centralized city with hierarchical relation of its parts.

The theme of the city based on insular architecture is further developed in his project *Stadt in der Stadt. Berlin: ein grünes Stadtarchipel*, made in a collaboration with his former

<div style="float:right">

1
See Ungers (1967).

2
Ungers (1966, ed. Mühlthaler 2007), p. 39.

3
See Ungers (1968).

02.2

02.3

</div>

4
Ungers, Koolhaas, Koolhoff, Riemann, Ovaska (1977).

5
See Kollhoff, (1987), p. 93 - 98.

6
See *Architektur contra Städtebau*, Hans Kollhoff in conversation with Nikolaus Kuhnert, in: arch+ , 105-106, 1990.

02.4   02.5

7
Kollhaas (1998), p. 494 - 517.

8
Ibid., p. 511 - 512.

02.6   02.7
02.8   02.9

students Rem Koolhaas and Hans Koolhoff. The pluralistic concept of the city, which is formulated as a field of antithetic singular places, corresponds to the idea of the contemporary society of different individuals, where different views can find their place side by side.[4] The notion of a large-form as an instrument of urbanization is interpreted in the theory and projects of both Kollhaas and Kollhoff.

In his essay *Architektur kontra Städtebau*, Kollhoff signifies the relevance of the form of architectural object for the urbanization of the city, as an opposition to the schemes developed by urban planning. For him, the urban dynamic emerges from the juxtaposition of the autonomous form and the surrounding city structure.[5] His 1988 competition project Atlanpol, for the cultural centre on the periphery of Nantes, is about densification and urbanization of the peripheral area of the city by concentrating high programmatic diversity within a large-form. In order to enable access to the programs that emerged within the structure for a wide range of citizens, the link to the network of public transportation was established as an important aspect of the project.[6] On the example of this project it is legible how the large-form, while being on the one hand independent and self-sufficient, at the same contributes to both the local context (densification of periphery with the program) and to the city as a whole.

Differing from Kollhoff's focus on the monumentality of the architectural object, in his theory of *Bigness*[7] Rem Koolhaas dissociates the notion of *large* from the architectural object and reduces the quality of large-form only in the matter of the scale. In this exaggerated theoretical formulation, it is the pure quantitative aspect of Bigness that enables it to achieve congestion and multiplicity of events, as well as complexity and diversity of the program, these being the required qualities of the future city.

"Only Bigness can sustain a promiscuous proliferation of events in a single container. It develops strategies to organize both their independence and interdependence within a larger entity in a symbiosis that exacerbates rather than compromises specificity. Through contamination rather than purity and quantity rather than quality, only Bigness can support genuinely new relationships between functional entities that expand rather than limit their identities. The artificiality and complexity of Bigness release function from its defensive armor to allow a kind of liquefaction; programmatic elements react with each other to create new events - Bigness returns to a model of programmatic *alchemy*."[8]

However the idea behind this radical theory of Koolhaas is built on the same basis as the concepts of Ungers and Kollhoff. They all indicate that the architectural large-form is the (only) possible instrument of modernization and urbanization – the creation of contemporary metropolis. The notion of the city here is based on a possibility of events and activities, enabled by programmatic density and diversity. Moreover, all these theories interpret the city as a network of independent entities, thus countering the hierarchy of the parts imposed within the notion of the traditional city with the idea of equality and heterogeneity.

LARGE-FORM HOUSING STRUCTURES
POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING A SOCIETY

When we consider 21st century city development, large-form projects display the potential of re-establishing the collective and opposing the fragmentation of the land in small parcels caused by the neoliberal urban politics. Moreover, because of its formal and functional distinction from the context, large-form offers the possibility to create certain social and political visions. In this regard, it is worthwhile to subject the existing large-form housing typologies that developed between the 1960s and the 1980s to new analysis and reevaluation.

The density of living space and large public spaces within the structures can thus be considered as qualities whereby the field for negotiation of public and private sphere could be opened and social participation and interaction enabled.[9]

The notion of a large-form, as an instrument for accomplishing a certain social order and imposing a political vision was manifested in my own project of the inhabited wall located on the former railway station Gleisdreieck in Berlin.

The aim of the project was to create a social mixture within a large-form structure, by socially orientated programming and implementation of various housing typologies. Through programmatic diversity and establishment of a wide range of public spaces, an interaction is to be provoked in order to counteract the process of disintegration and gentrification.

In combining different housing typologies, access areas and public spaces, the conditions have been formed which enable the new forms of coexistence. A complex spatial system is achieved within a pure finite form, independent but still interconnected with the city, acting as a part of its infrastructure. The ambivalent character of the form corresponds to the autonomous social order and political vision constituted within it, though it does not deny the existing city, but offers a possibility for the city to adopt a different vision instead. As such it represents a world on its own, yet at the same time it creates a complementary part of the existing city structure. By means of an autonomous architectural form a vision of a different society came here into being.

UTOPIAN VISION – HETEROTOPIAN SPACE

In this relation the space created within a large-form can be considered as a Heterotopia. As Michel Foucault defines it, *Utopia* is fundamentally unreal space which presents the ideal form of society. *Heterotopia*, on the other hand, is a real space, a counter-site outside of everyday social and institutional space – an effectively enacted utopia with the location indicated in reality.[10] In its separateness and distinction from the context, large-form can establish a counter-world inside of it, which is *other* than the one outside.

> "Für den Philosophen scheinen der Gebrauch und die Aufhebung der sozialen Konvention, für den Architekten scheinen die Gestalt und die Herstellung der sozialen Konvention das Spezifikum des Heterotops zu sein"[11]

In the sociopolitical context of Yugoslav modernization, Croatian architect and designer Vjenceslav Richter developed a conceptual project envisioning the instrumentalization of the values of Yugoslav socialism by means of autonomous large-form structures as the instruments of urbanization. He exemplified this idea within the theoretical urban concept called *sinturbanism*, based on a synthesis of a whole as a life principle.[12] The synthesis meant for him the integrity of big objectives and minute actions and methodologies. The synthetic approach to life was a possibility to counteract the fragmentation of the spirit of the contemporary individual. The practice of sinturbanism should thus open the possibility for the constitution of a more focused and compact way of living, thinking and feeling, as a precondition for the emergence of the new and progressive socialist society. The concept of a sinturbanism is also a critique of the fragmentation of the contemporary city which is based on the principles of capitalistic growth and is lacking finite and defined wholes. According to Richter, the capitalist urban planning based on division of functions turned out to be inefficient, and has failed to comprehend the life as an integral whole. On the contrary, sinturbanism is able to solve those problems with an urban conception of accommodating all functions within a large-form. The potential which Richter saw in a large-form as a basic instrument of sinturbanism was the possibility of increasing the time efficiency, avoiding thus the loss of time which occurs as a consequence of territorial zoning.

9
Zareh (2011).

10
See Foucault (1984).

11
See Oswalt (2000), p. 165.

02.10

12
Richter (1964).

13
Ibid., p. 97.

14
Ibid., p. 99.

02.11

02.12

Moreover, the urbanism defined by a small number of large forms is able to maintain its formal system, for being based on variations of similar elements. The city would thus be defined by these entities, each accommodating 10 000 inhabitants, while the only other structures in the city are supposed to be the "monuments of exceptional formal value".[13] The basic unit is a pyramidal structure called "Zikkurat", placed on a plot of 300 x 300 meters surface. It consists of housing units of various sizes in an outer envelope and industry in the middle of the structure, while the area in between these two accommodates different services and social facilities. The ground floor of each Zikkurat is conceived as a public square. Beside the industry, the inner terraces, promenades and event halls are placed on the different levels in the middle part.

The integral system of living which would be constituted within these forms would have a catalytic impact on the shaping of the individual. Moreover, self-management as a tangible political function would be enabled, indicating the social community as a dominant feature of the socialist society. Hence only sinturbanism can correspond to the new social structure, because the old structures are not being appropriate for the new socialist society. Nevertheless, for Richter this project was not about the creation of utopia but rather about providing the proper social and technical service – the general quality of living - that every individual within the new social order deserves.

Richter, however, expressed his awareness of the scepticism that the project will confront with – "an unavoidable destiny of every novelty trying to propose another way of living, grasping into the common pace of life"[14]

Even though some of the mentioned projects of large-form structures were never realized, they should not be considered as "unrealistic". Nevertheless, what is legible in these ideas is the power of architectural thought. The power of architectural thought and of architecture as a project is in its ability to anticipate reality but also to become that reality. Architecture should thus always aim to reach the ideal condition, even though only small fragments of utopia are ultimately to be realized. Yet only with the ambition of reaching the envisioned model, are new ideas able to emerge and progress able to take place. Only by striving to the ideal is it possible to approach it.

02.1
Der Plan Monumental von Berlin, published by Carl Glück Verlag, 1860. On this plan the city of Berlin
is presented as being constituted of singular buildings, which are being held together with the street network.

us der Karte werden, laut Untertitel im Gutachten Ruhwald, die umbesenden Bauetruktur genet

02.2
Oswald Mathias Ungers, Gutachten Ruhwald, 1967, site plan. The project for a large-form housing complex with public spaces at the ground floor level. The surrounding built structures on the map are clearly differentiated and readable according to their distinct historical, social and cultural features.

02.3
Oswald Mathias Ungers, Shnellbahn und Gebäude, 1968. A plan of the city consisting of infrastructural network and islands of large-forms.
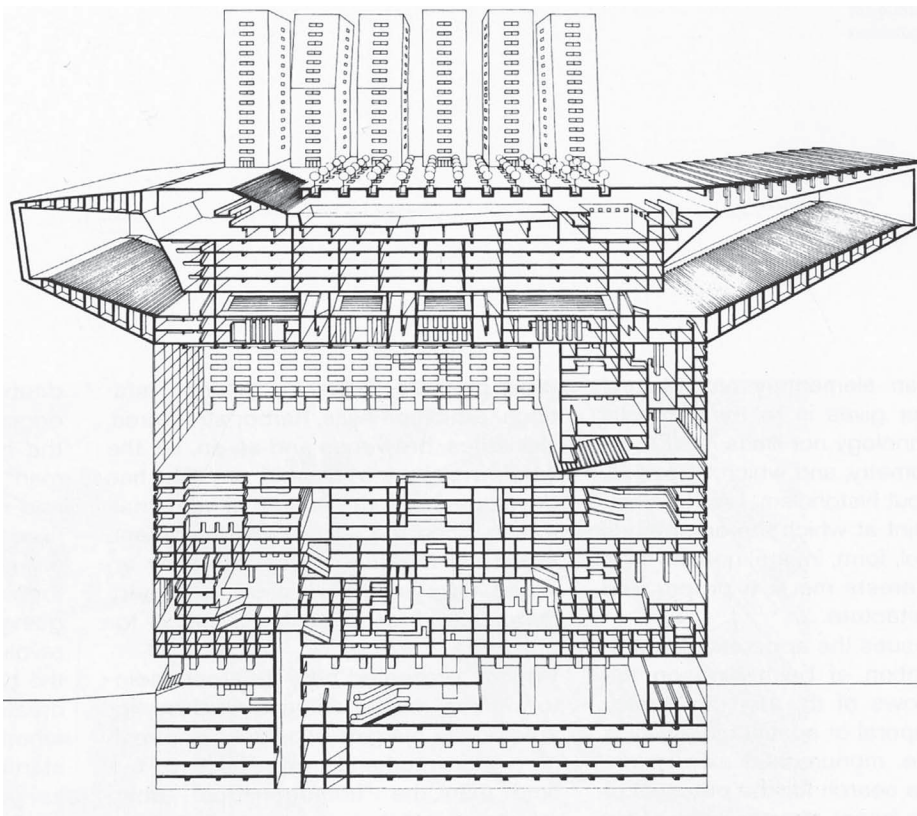
02.4
02.5
Hans Kollhoff, Atlanpol, the project for
the cultural centre on the periphery of
Nantes, 1988, photo collage and axono-
metric section. The large-form structure
is a programmatic container, accommo-
dating variety of functions:production,
research, university, cultural and leisure
facilities. By concentrating the program
within a structure, the surrounding
landscape remained untouched. The
large-form is with a metro station and a
tunnel connected with the city, so one
can directly access the green area.
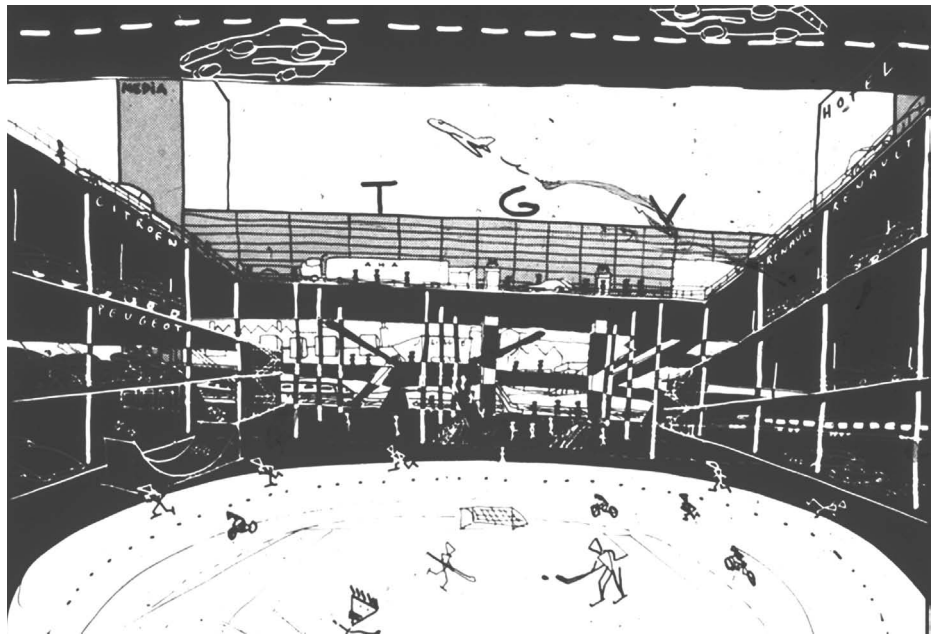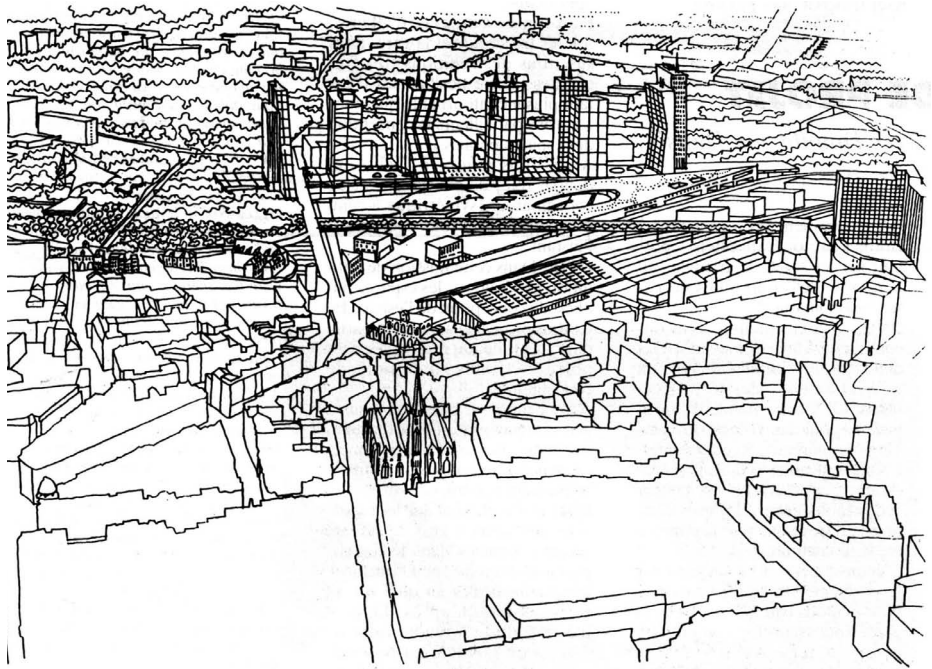
02.6
02.7
OMA, Euralille, 1988. A vast program
consisting of more than 800,000
square meters of urban activities - a
new TGV station, shopping, offices,
parking, hotels, housing, a concert
hall, congress. The main hypotheses
of thea project is that the programs have
become abstract in the sense that they
are no longer connected to a
place or a city. They rather gravitate
to that site which offers the highest
number and quality of connection. In
order to make the high programmatic
density visible, the existing infrastruc-
ture is emphatically visible in what
Koolhaas calls the "Piranesian space".
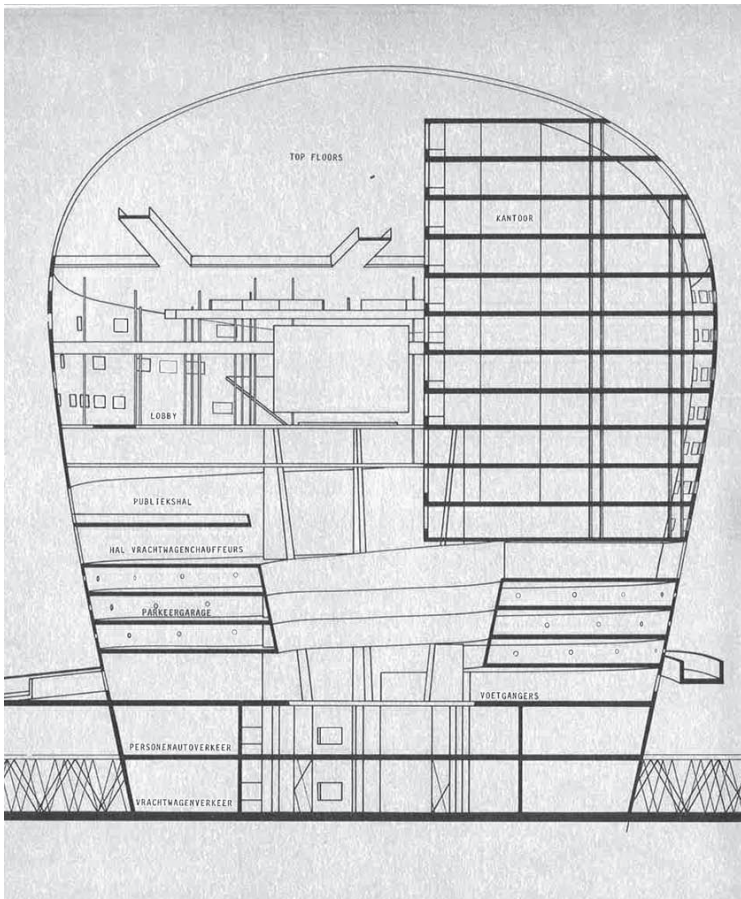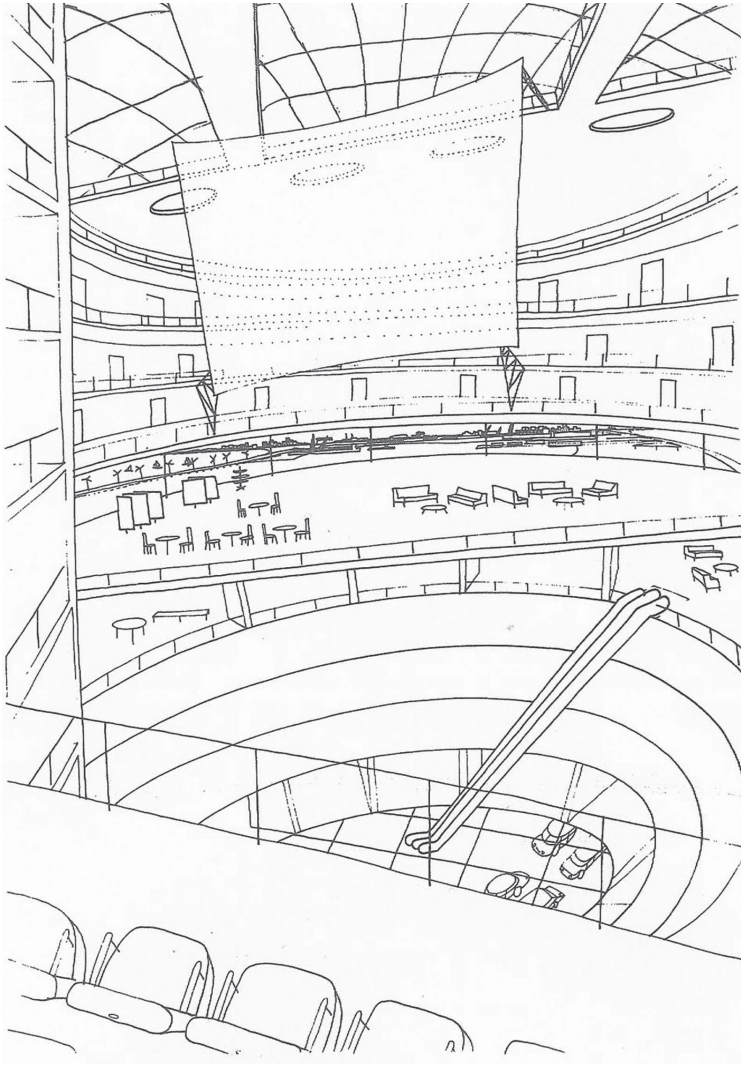
02.8
02.9
OMA, competition project for Zeebrugge Sea Terminal, 1988, interior view drawing and section. The structure accommodates different interconnected traffic terminals, combined with different urban programs, such as a hotel, office spaces, conference centre and casino. Visual connections between different functions are achieved whichat emphasizes the programmatic diversity. The form itself is a sign in the landscape, it resists any classification which enables it to become a landmark.
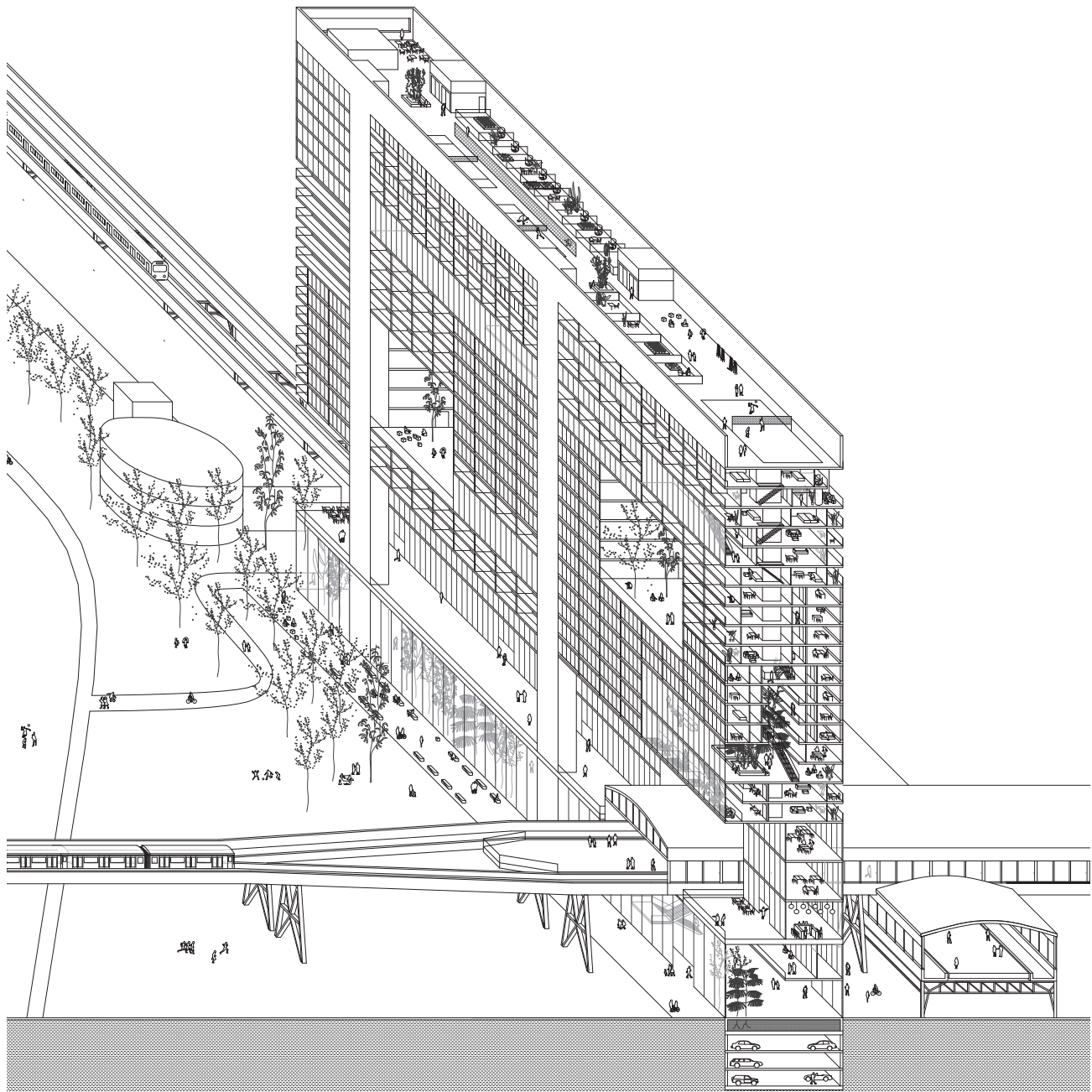
02.10
Inhabited wall, project for a large-form
at Gleisdreieck, Berlin, 2015, axono-
metric section.
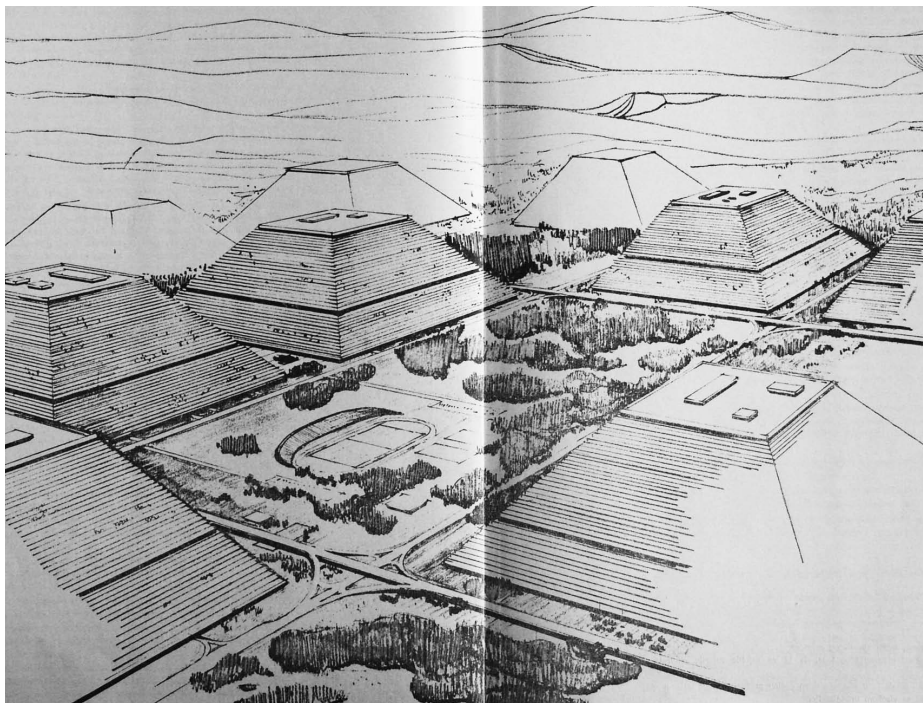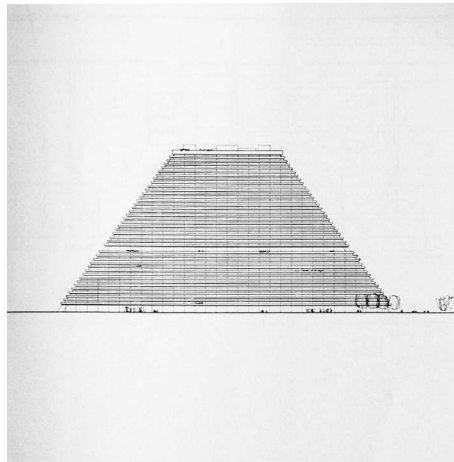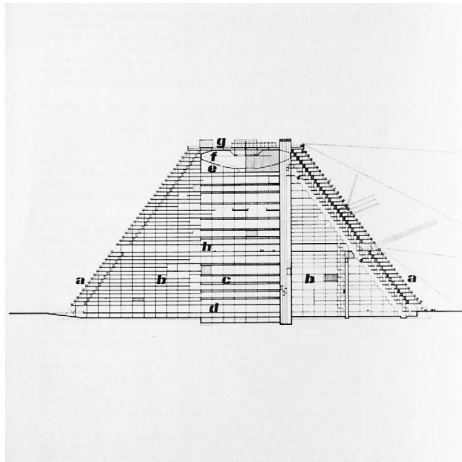
02.11
02.12
Vjenceslav Richter, large-form Zikkurat -
a basic unit of sinturbanism,
1964, section, elevation and a bird's
eye view.

02.13 a, b
Miroslav Catinelli, Super-Andrija
residential block, Novi Zagreb,
1972

02.14 a, b
Alison and Peter Smithson,
Golden Lane, project for a hous-
ing complex, London, 1956
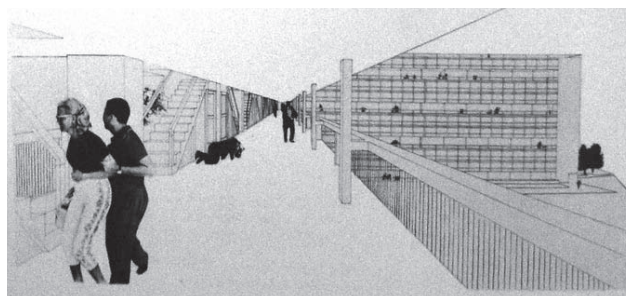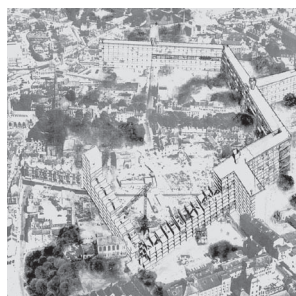
02.15 a, b, c
Residential blocks at Kottbuser
Tor, Berlin, 1962 - 1974

02.16 a, b
Inhabited wall, project for a large-
form at Gleisdreieck, Berlin, 2015
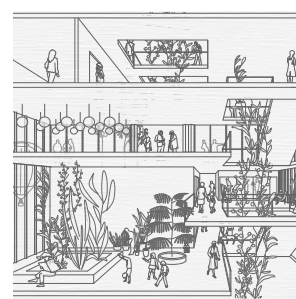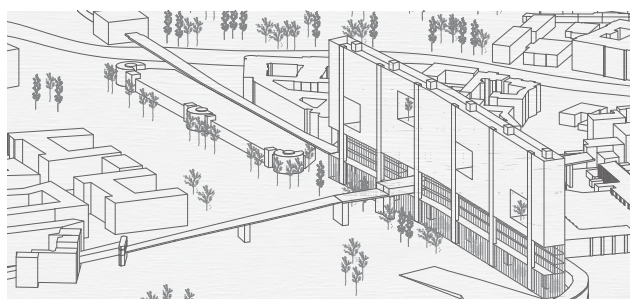
02.17 a, b
Đuro Mirković, Mammouth resi-
dential block, Novi Zagreb, 1974

03 THE NEW ASCETICISM

INDIVIDUALITY WITHIN THE COLLECTIVE

ASCETICISM

According to the original notion of asceticism, it signifies the way of living where *the self* is the main object of human activity and the life is understood as an art itself - it is given a certain form and becomes *ars vivendi*. To that effect, asceticism can also be seen as a way to reexamine the given social and political conditions and search for other possible forms of life.[1] In this relation, the possibility of asceticism as a resistance to the present conditions imposed by neoliberal policy is worthy of consideration. The term here, however, doesn't suggest the asceticism of indebted man, subjected to the constant dictate of neoliberalism, being encouraged to live with less in order to accumulate more. Rather it suggests the definition coming from Franciscans, which is on the contrary based on the rejection of private ownership. What has been rejected is the worth of the possession as potential capital. Hence it was about using life necessities rather than owning them. This living principle was also legible in the architecture of the monastery itself. The arrangement of minimal individual cells around a collective space enabled both life within the collective as well as the ability to live according to one's own rhythm.[2] Within the present neoliberal environment, where one is subjected to the pressure of constant productiveness, this way of living can thus be seen as a notion of luxury and individual freedom - luxury based not on possession, but rather on the ability of autonomously structuring one's own life.

CONTEMPORARY BARBARIANS

The notion of private ownership related to the question of inhabiting was disputed by Walter Benjamin in his short essays *Destructive character* and *Experience and poverty*. He described a contemporary individual as a *new barbarian*, who is, due to his uprootedness, able to leave everything behind and start from anew in every moment. With this figure he wanted to depict the precarious condition of individuals that emerged in relation to the economic crisis and rise of totalitarian ideologies in 1930s Germany and Europe. Nevertheless, this state of insecurity and uprootedness was transformed into a liberating and constructive force of *destructive character*, which destroys everything and leaves *tabula rasa* condition behind, providing thus the space for the creation of something new.[3] Similar to Benjamin's was Charles Baudelaire's interpretation of insecure and unstable life conditions in contemporary city as something positive and liberating. He refused to have a permanent residence and was devoid of any unnecessary possessions, in order to be able to experience the whole city as his habitation. Same as the *new barbarian*, Baudelaire's characters of *flaneur* and *dandy* could thus be perceived as urban ascetics.[4]

 The precarious living conditions that Benjamin referred to in the 1930s can also be seen in the permanent insecurity of today's creative individual. Nevertheless, in distinction to the *new barbarian* and Baudelaire's characters, a contemporary individual is still bound with the burden of private property, imposed by capitalist system.

1
See Aureli (2013), p. 9.

2
Ibid., p. 12 - 18.

3
Ibid., p. 23 - 28.

4
Ibid.

03.1
03.2

COLLECTIVITY REVISITED

5
Aureli (2013).

6
See Dogma + Realism Working Group
(2015).

7
Nerdinger (2012).

8
ancient Greek: *phālanga, phalanxes*;
the basic military unit in ancient
Greece, in a form of rectangle.

In his several theoretical works, Pier Vittorio Aureli consequently argues that the most powerful instrument of capitalist governance – in both social and economical terms - is precisely private ownership in the form of housing.

This form of private property binds the individual at one place and thus enables social control. What's more, the possession in the form of a dwelling unit can be considered as a minimal economic asset, which can be used for financial investment. Hence the society of owners and permanent debtors has been created.[5] Furthermore, the notion of private housing can be described as the acceptance of two conditions: the juridical framework of the nuclear family and a private property as a format of living. As such it represents not only an economical but a cultural problem as well. Therefore, in order to change these conditions it is necessary to overcome the idea of privately owning a home.[6] As a counter concept, the idea of collective ownership in relation to inhabitation should be revisited.

The architectural models of collective living had already been conceived at the time of the French Revolution, as visionary ideals of a new society. Those models were developed from early socialists as a critique of modern capitalistic economic system, which occurred with the beginning of industrialization at the end of 18th century. The problems of exploitation, inequality and trading profit were to be solved through the constitution of communities based on the collective property as well as collective production and consumption.

03.3   03.4   Robert Owen, one of the most significant early socialists in Great Britain, conceived communal settlements for 1200 – 2000 inhabitants based on collective agricultural work, which were arranged in rectangular complexes. The perimeter buildings would accommodate private housing units whereas the communal facilities, such as church, children daycare and collective kitchen, were placed in the middle of the site. In his economical theory Owen proved that within this model of collective life and work distribution, the production profit could be increased five times. He was in fact a magnate of the textile industry and he used his own factory complex in New Lanark to build a prototype of this new model. The model was further developed in the project for collective estate "New Harmony"in the USA, which failed in its realization.[7]

Another structure of the utopian community of that period was conceived by French socialist Charles Fourier. The communities, for 500 – 2000 inhabitants who would live and produce together, were called Phalanx[8] and the structure accommodating it

03.5   03.6   "Phalanstery" (*Phalanstère*). The architecture of the Phalanstery was based on the typology of the palace, though in terms of spatial organization completely transformed. The complex is organized in three parts: The central part provided the spaces for silent activities, such as meeting rooms, dining rooms and libraries, while the one of the lateral wings accommodated labour and other loud activities and the other was intended for the visitors. The grandeur of the whole ensemble, which was conceived as a small city, contrasted with the typologies of bourgeois single family houses on the outskirts.

The idea was that the production and consumption process are concentrated within the community, hence making the trading activity obsolete. The trade occurred not between the individuals, but between respective Phalanxes and the surrounding communities. The community gained the profit from both trading and the fees that visitors of Phalanstery had to pay for temporary stay. In this way, the economical autonomy of the community was enabled. The social structure was namely based on equality and individual freedom, which also included complete sexual freedom, abolishing the traditional patriarchal structures. Every member of the community, independent of his age and gender was granted according to three categories: capital, work and talent. Fourier believed that the highest possible individual diversity is a precondition of a harmonious and ordered society.

The Phalanstery according to the original concept of Fourier was never built. Neverthe- less, an industrial magnate Jean – Baptiste André Godin built the communal settlement for the workers of his factory in Guise called *Familistère*, which was based on the similar principles like Phalansteries. Within the complex the workers were provided the accom- modation which was much more affordable than the average in that time, and they had the possibility to use different public amenities.[9]

The important aspect of this social concept is that the social ideal was framed within a defined and finite architectural form, which enabled a clear distinction between the par- ticular community of different values and the world surrounding it.

Even though these examples never came to life, they are still very important as a base for the development of new ideas. Despite the fact that these concepts were not developed by architects, they display the possibilities of architectural form to accommodate a new vision of reality.

Concerning the issues of inhabitation and ownership in the context of today's social predicament, the Dogma and Realism Working Group developed an architectural model for communal life as another possibility within the existing conditions, which would be accom- modated in a form of a "Communal Villa".[10] The proposed model of tenancy is based on syndicate ownership, challenging thus the framework of private ownership. The typology of the villa, as a paradigm for an ideal of private housing property and domestic hierarchy, has been transformed in order to dismantle the traditional notion of housing and domesticity. The Communal Villa should accommodate artists, providing them individual living and working spaces in the frame of a collectively owned house. Its spatial structure is a translation of the economic structure of the syndicate ownership model and it is organized in a way which makes it impossible to return to the traditional domestic setting. The generic space of an individual cell opposes the domestic hierarchy, blending the distinction between life and work and suggests the equality of all inhabitants – every member of the community, adult or a child, is provided with an equal amount of private space and collective facilities.[11]

If the notion of private property is one of the basic foundations of the capitalist system, then the idea of communal life proposed in the aforementioned examples can be considered as a dissolution of that system. Nevertheless, it was not about trying to abolish the existing, but rather creating a kind of alternative reality. In the project of the Communal Villa, as well as in the utopian communities of early socialists, the vision of a different reality was precisely translated in spatial terms, thus materializing the new, imagined version of the world. Hence the power of architectural project as a means of resistance lies exactly in this ability of projecting an intellectual value in a material object, framing the new, envisioned reality and providing the space for the emergence of something different. The resistance to the existing system can be even stronger if it is based on the change of personal habits rather than on a certain ideology. Through practising the new way of living some new rules can be created, dismissing the old ones. By giving a form to the new established rules, however, architecture is able to shape this new reality.

9
Stumberger (2004).

03.7   03.8   03.9

10
The project of Communal Villa was de- veloped in the frames of the exhibition *Wohnungsfrage* in Haus der kulturen der Welt, Berlin, 2015. The exhibition explores the possibilities of social and self-determined housing.(www.hkw.de/ wohnungsfrage) The model of individual unit from Communal Villa was exhibited in 1:1 model.

11
See Dogma + Realism Working Group (2015).

03.10

03.1
03.2
Le Corbusier, monastery Sainte-Marie de La Tourette in Éveux, 1956 - 1960, aerial photograph and floor plan (4th and 5th floor). Besides narrow units of bed chambers, the housing part of the monastery accommodates a study area, an area for recreation, work, a library and a refectory (dinning area):

(1) Cell for the sick
(2) Nurse's cell
(3) Cell for visitors
(4) Father's cells
(5) Monk cell's
(6) Student Priests' cell
(7) Oratory
(8) Student brothers' cell
(9) Lay brothers' cell
(10) Sanitary office
(11) Church

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF ONE OF THE NEW COMMUNITIES AT HARMONY.
IN THE STATE OF INDIANA NORTH AMERICA.
AN ASSOCIATION OF TWO THOUSAND PERSONS FORMED UPON THE PRINCIPLES ADVOCATED BY

ROBERT OWEN
STEDMAN WHITWELL, ARCHITECT.

FIG. I.

FIG. II.

FIG III
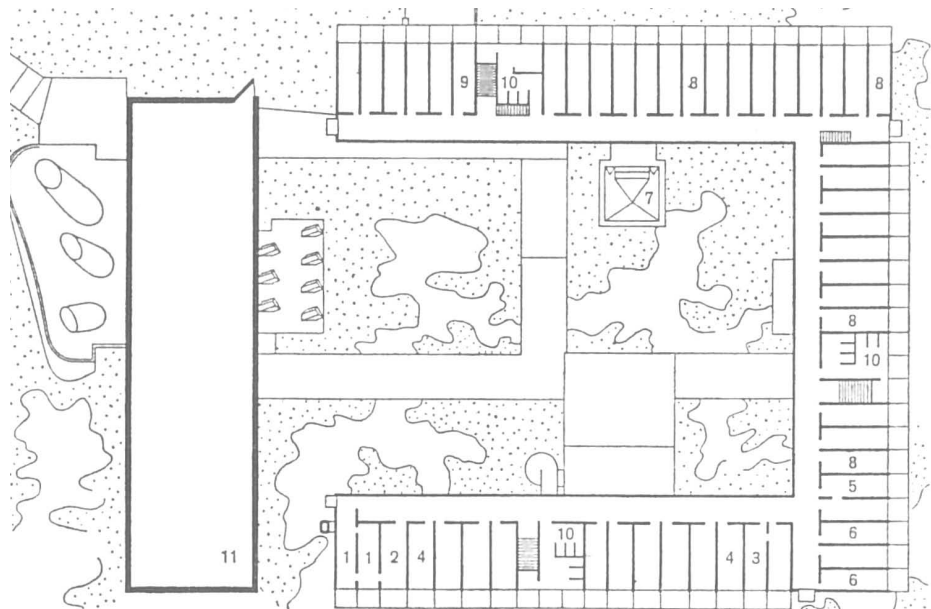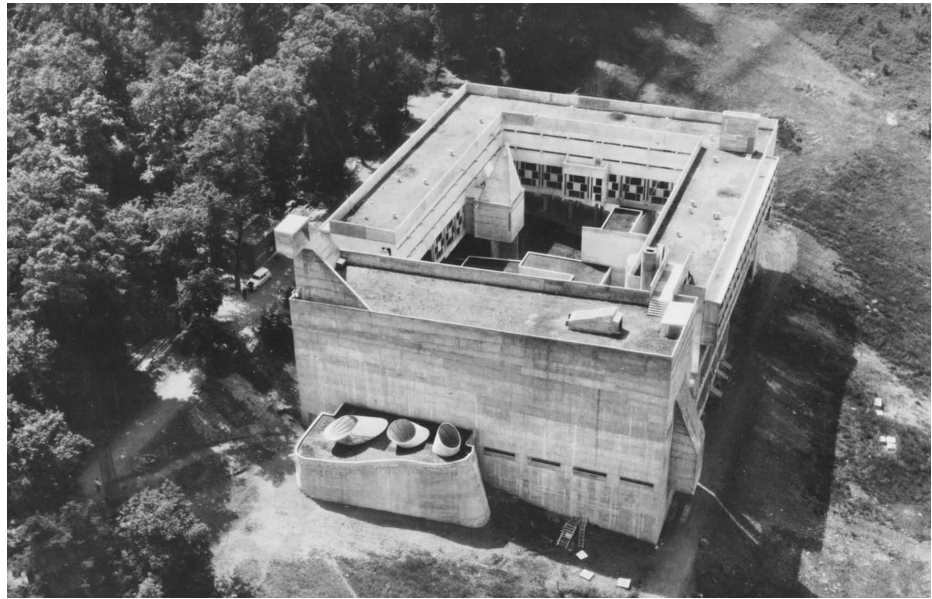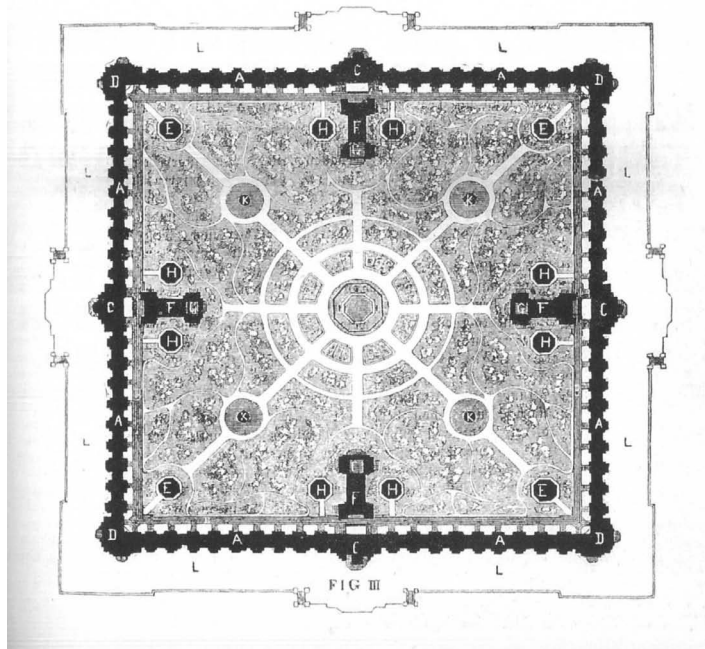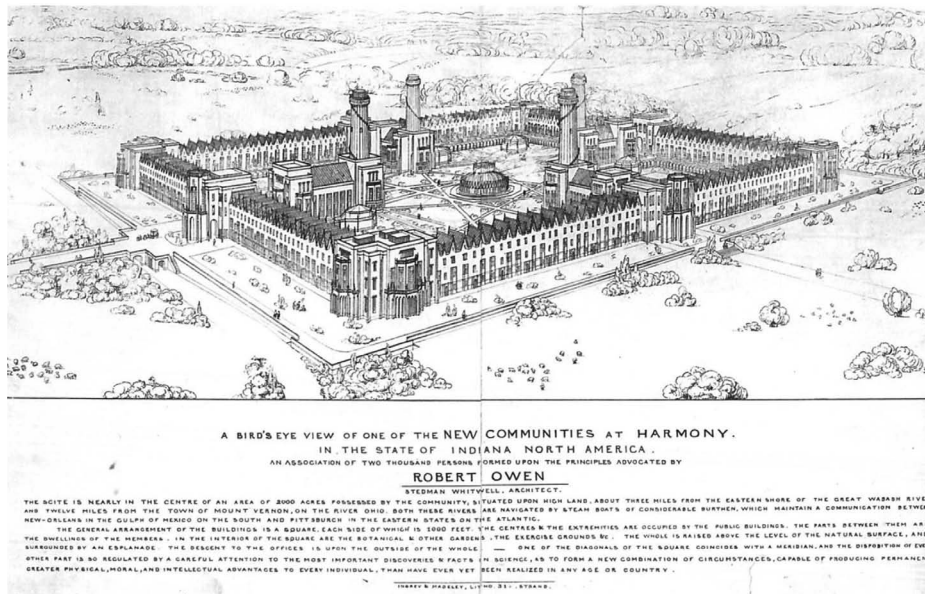
03.3
03.4
Robert Owen, New Harmony collective estate, 1824, a bird's eye view, a plan and elevations.

03.5
03.6
Charles Fourier, Phalanstère collective estate, 1840, a bird's eye view and a plan.

Skizze eines Phalanx=Gebäudes (Phalanstère).

46

LE FAMILISTÈRE OU PALAIS SOCIAL — MANUFACTURE
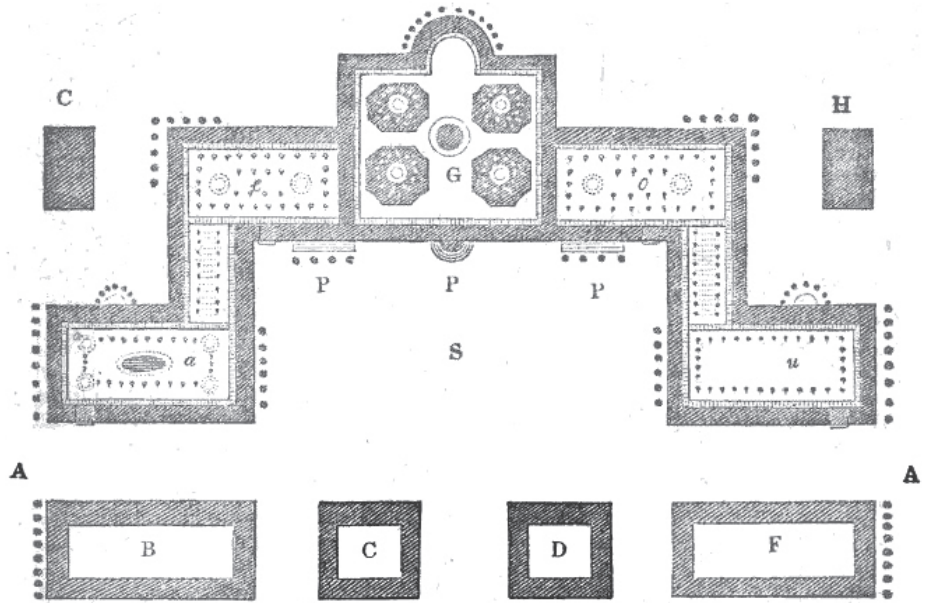
03.7
03.8
03.9
Jean – Baptiste André Godin,
Familistère - communal settlement
for the workers of factory in Guise,
1859 - 1885, a bird's eye view of the
residential complex and industrial area,
inner courtyard as collective space and
a floor plan of the residential complex.
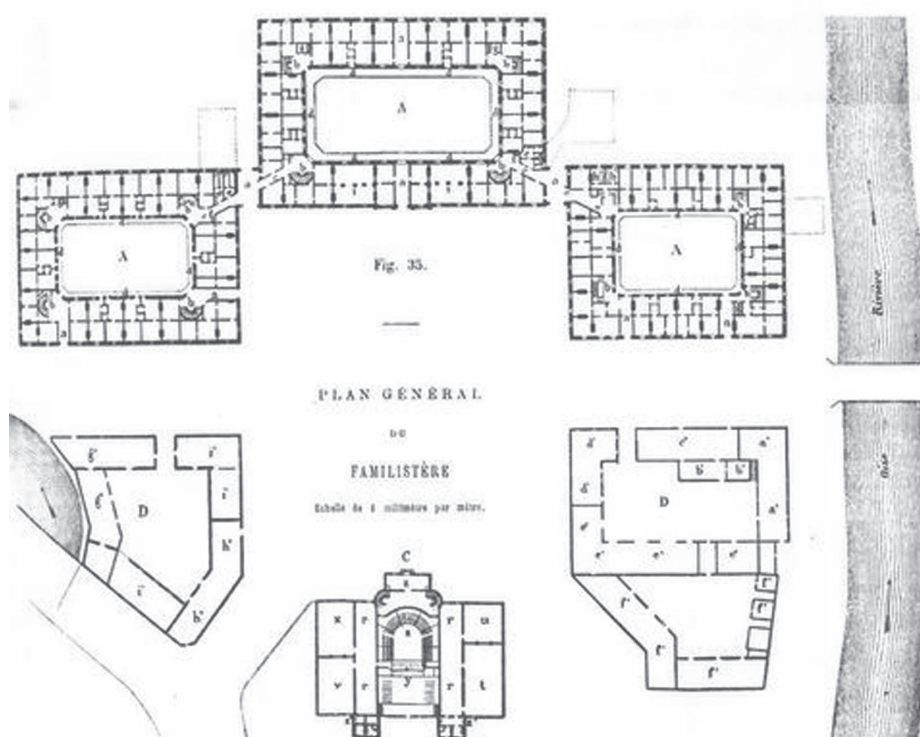
03.10
Dogma + Realism Working Group,
Communal Villa - a model of collective
living for artists, 2015, typical upper
floor plan and a section:

(1) kitchen
(2) collective multipurpose space
(3) room
(4) storage
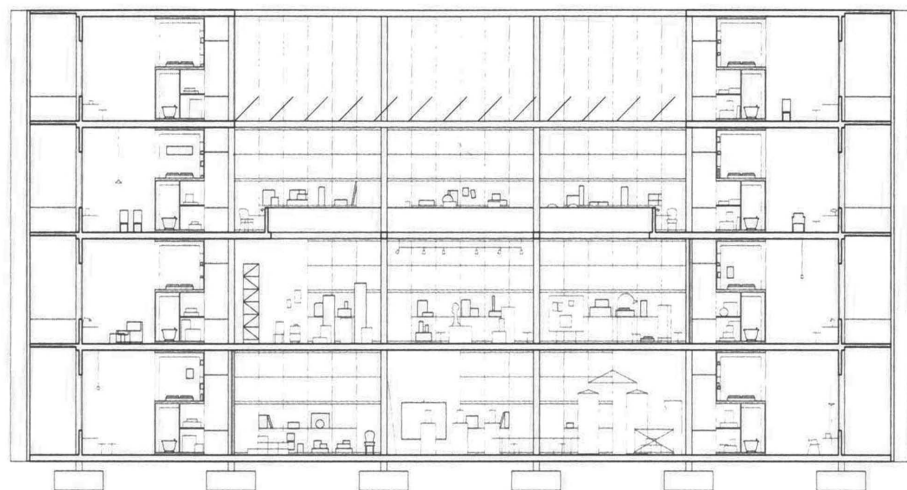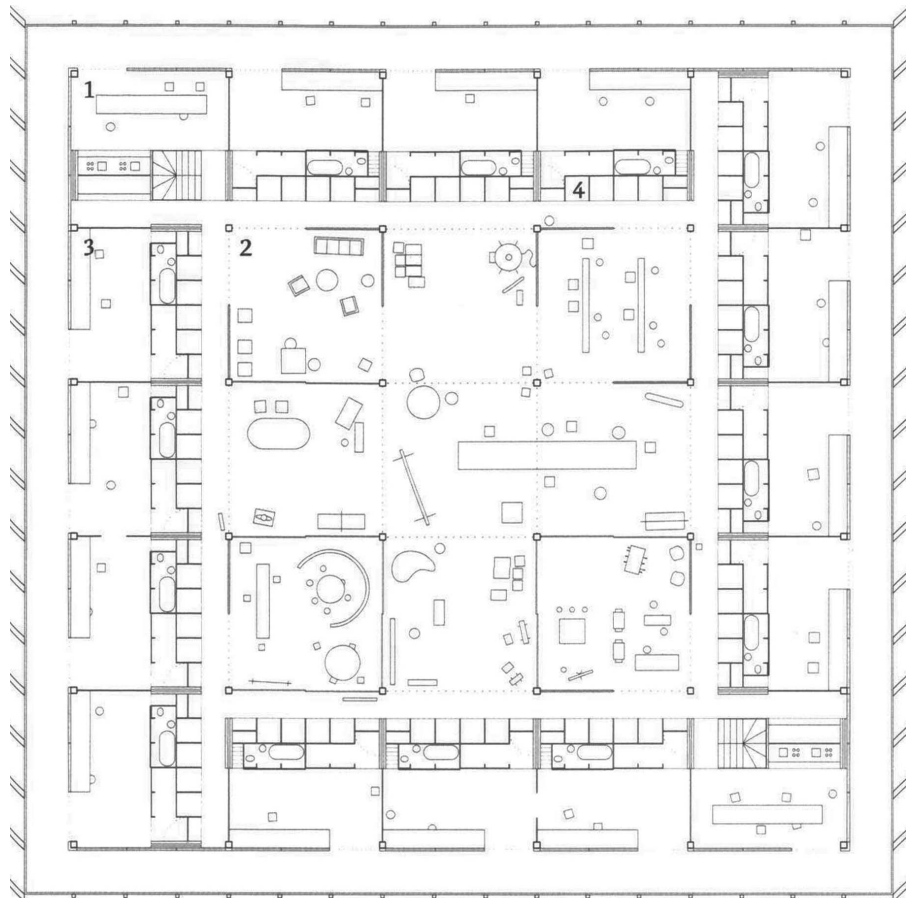
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04 THE STORY OF NOVI ZAGREB

DEVELOPMENT OF NOVI ZAGREB WITHIN YUGOSLAVIAN MODERNISATION

1. CREATION OF THE NEW SOCIETY
THE MODERNISATION PROCESS IN YUGOSLAVIA UNDER SELF – MANAGING SOCIALISM

When observing the Yugoslavian modernisation process and attempting to uderstand the relationship of architecture and town planning with the social system of the country between the conclusion of the second world war and the end of the 1980s, the specific geopolitical context of the region must be considered.

Due to its intermediate position between socialist East and capitalist West, economically developed North and underdeveloped South, a unique political system was developed in Yugoslavia in order to differ from both state socialism (Stalinism) and capitalism.

After cutting adrift from Stalin and Cominform in 1948, the new socialist economic model of self-managing socialism was established in Yugoslavia. It was based on decentralized politics and decision making, the structure of worker's self-management. This system corresponded to original reading of Marx and the idea of "free association of producers", whereby the factories would be in the hands of producers. The worker's self-management was followed by the development of local or communal self-management in the mid-1950s. The nationalized factories which were in the period between 1945 and 1948 controlled from Belgrade, as the governmental and administrative centre of Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, were now under the workers' and local governance. The immediate result of this reform was rapid economic growth, urbanization and modernisation of industry and infrastructure, as well as liberalization of society (intellectual freedom, rising standards of education, more open media and freer practice of religion). The system was further decentralized with the Economic Reform Constitution of 1963: ownership of the means of production remained communal but the decisions were made by local government of republics and individual enterprises. This form of economy was called "market socialism". The self-managed enterprises were opened to western markets, the banking system was decentralized and the financing of investments was transferred to the banks controlled by local communities. Even though the major infrastructural projects were still the responsibility of the central government, local communities became self-managing units responsible for providing their own social services and funds to finance them.[1]

As such the Yugoslav socialist system fundamentally differed from the Soviet socialist model, which relied too heavily on the state. In the case of self-managing socialism, not the state, but society represents the main political unit. The idea of Yugoslav socialism was to advance society to a more progressive and more modern form – technologically, socially and politically – and to transform it from class-based to class-less.[2]

The Yugoslav modernisation process was based on utopian vision of achieving an egalitarian and self-regulated society guided by the working class. It also included transformation from rural society to urban and industrial.

In this process, architecture and urbanism acted as important mediators of putting these progressive values into practice. The techniques and organisation of construction were

1
See Blau, Rupnik (2007), p. 205.

2
See Mrduljaš, Kulić (2012), p. 18.

04.1
04.2
04.3

3
See Mrduljaš, Kulić (2012), p. 13.

4
Ibid. 5-11.

5
The short 20th century, originally proposed by Iván Berend (Hungarian Academy of Sciences) but defined by Eric Hobsbawm, a British Marxist historian and author, refers to the period between the outbreak of the First World War and the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe (Hobsbawm (1995)).

6
Piketty (2013).

7
See De Graaf, *A century that never happened*, series of lectures in 2014 and 2015.

8
See Blau, Rupnik (2007), p. 285.

9
See Mrduljaš, Kulić (2012), p. 12.

10
See Blau, Rupnik (2007), p. 285.

improved and international connections were reestablished. Urbanisation was to be performed by building rapidly and pragmatically, nevertheless with the long-term vision of achieving the ideal environment for utopian society. Hence, a little bit of utopia was built into every fragment of modernising pragmatism put into practice, while the utopian ideal should have been, and to certain degree was, achieved through pragmatic actions.[3]

The time of socialist modernisation was the time when architecture and city-planning were still seen as a public matter. That was the last period of architectural production, in which dreams and visions were formulated, in order to develop an architecture for large numbers and a homogeneous, universal-happiness society.
The urbanisation projects from this period remained mostly unfinished. The completed segments, however, reflect the visions of the ideal modernised city. Today they are still vital and functional parts of urban fabric with a high level spatial qualities (housing estates which are still heterogeneous and un-gentrified, buildings of educational and cultural institutions, hospitals).[4]

Concerning the economical and political context, it is not surprising that the period of existence of Yugoslavia, in all different forms of governance, corresponds to the period of "the short 20th century"[5] - the historic period marked by a tension between two competing global ideologies. According to economical theoretician Thomas Piketty, this was the only period in the history of Western civilization, when capital accumulated by labour exceeded the capital acquired on wealth, and consequently the period of the highest social mobility.[6] Moreover, this period corresponds to the last era of utopian thinking in architecture and city-planning, manifested in modern architecture.[7]

The civil war in early 1990s and destruction of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia resulted in territorial and administrative instabilities in the region. Croatia employed the Western model of market-driven development, which resulted in large-scale unemployment and the corrupt privatisation of national industries and property. Croatian society and governance gradually shifted towards pluralist democracy and privatized economy but simultaneously neglected the issue of public domain. These circumstances have been manifested in an urban landscape of entropic spatial disorder.[8] From the 1990s onward the new real-estate business is transforming the built environment, with no progressive modernising ambitions but rather in the spirit of a *laissez-faire* neoliberal development and speculative building campaigns. At the same time the institutional and professional practices of urban planning are unable to mediate between individual and private good, while the institutions which are in charge of public good are losing their operational and nominal autonomy.[9]
Concerning both the concepts of urban development and politics of space, the remains of previous unfinished modernisation, however, seem superior to the current situation.

Nevertheless, the foundational public infrastructure from the period of socialist modernisations in Zagreb has still not been completely dismantled and the tradition of urban culture established in that time still exists. Moreover, a number of outstanding achievements of contemporary Croatian architects in last 20 years demonstrate the continuity of architectural tradition, despite the "continuous discontinuity"[10] of urban development.

2. DEVELOPMENT OF NOVI ZAGREB - FROM ZAGREB FAIR TO MICRO-RAYON

Since the early 19th century Croatian peripheral society (first as a part of the Habsburg Empire and then as a part of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) has endeavoured for national integration. On that account a recognizable national centre had to be developed, and thus in its future development Zagreb was perceived as the Croatian metropolis. While having its centres of power located elsewhere (Vienna, Budapest or Belgrade) the local authorities developed certain autonomy in order to negotiate the city's development.

Due to its peripheral position, Zagreb developed its autonomous urban culture,

which was based on the tradition of artistic experiment and of continuing research and change. The cultural development could not so easily be controlled by the ruling power, as military and economic forces could be, which enabled the city to become the locus of architectural innovation and experimentation. What's more, instead of reflecting social circumstances the city became a project for changing those.[11]

The enterprising Mayor of Zagreb, Većeslav Holjevac (1953-63), saw the new system of worker's self-management as an opportunity for Zagreb's urban development. He encouraged self-managed enterprises to invest in the city by offering them urban amenities and other incentives. The economic model of self-management had been translated into an urban cultural model, turning the city itself into a self managing enterprise.[12]

ZAGREB FAIR - URBAN GENERATOR

Development of Novi Zagreb was initiated by the relocation of the Zagreb Fair "Velesajam" to an unbuilt area south of Sava River, what was instigated by Mayor Holjevac in 1957. The relocation of the fairground enabled the expansion of the city by bringing technical infrastructure (gas, electricity, water and transportation) to the area south of the river, for which the city had neither the means nor the authority. The Fair thus presented an important instrument for providing local, federal and economical support for urban projects that would otherwise been impossible for the municipality to propose and realize, as the political regime had no particular interest in the expansion of Zagreb.

As one of the city's oldest institutions the Fair had already many times been used as an instrument of urbanisation and modernisation of Zagreb. It can thus be considered in terms of what Aldo Rossi described as a *primary element* – urban element accelerating the evolution of the city, acting as a catalyst.[13] From the first Fair on Jelačić square the Fair moved five times, in each case to a location on the edge of consolidated urban fabric, becoming a strategic urban patch which would generate the city around it. In these 100 years the Fair developed from local livestock market to Cold War global meeting place - it was namely the only International Trade Fair at which the United States, the Soviet Union, and Third World countries exhibited regularly throughout the Cold War.[14]

The Zagreb Fair was of both global importance for Yugoslavia and local importance for the city of Zagreb. It was a platform where Yugoslavia could showcase its architecture, design and products to both international and domestic markets. For Zagreb, beside enabling its urban development, the Fair meant increased income, prestige and access to both technological and cultural Western innovation, as well as opening locally manufactured goods to global markets.[15]

In addition, the new fairground became a field for architectural experimentation which was demonstrated through various national pavilions of different formal approaches, designed by both local and foreign architects. Among them are several masterpieces of Croatian modernist architecture, such as the Pavilion of the Nations designed by Ivan Vitić and Mašinogradnja Palace from Božidar Rašica.[16]

As Yugoslavia fell apart, Zagreb Fair lost its significance. Although it remained active up until these days, due to insufficient maintenance of the infrastructure the complex became inadequate for contemporary urban and trade fair requirements. Hence its spatial potentials currently remain underutilized.

FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD EXHIBITIONS - PREPARING THE GROUND FOR DEVELOPMENT OF HOUSING COOPERATIVES

The Fair displayed the contradictions of Yugoslav socialism – propagating both a socialist lifestyle and Westernised consumer culture, [17] what was the most obviously presented at didactic exhibitions of "Family and Household Group", which took place at Zagreb Fair

11
See Vranić, (2014), p.56.

12
See Blau, Rupnik (2007), p. 205.

13
See Rossi, (1982), p 86-87

14
See Blau, Rupnik (2007), p. 214-233.

15
Ibid.

16
See Mrduljaš, Kulić (2012), p. 136.

17
See Blau, Rupnik (2007), p. 224.

04.4
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04.10   04.12

18
Vukić (2007), p. 234-237.

19
Ibid.

20
See Blau, Rupnik (2007), p. 246.

21
The pavilions with self-service grocery
stores from the Family and Household
exhibitions were transplanted into vari-
ous strategic locations in the city. The
stores provided a model for a network
of centers distributed throughout the
city that blended consumption, politi-
cal propaganda, cultural production,
design, and commercial advertising
(see Blau Rupnik (2007), p. 228).

22
See Vukić (2007), p. 236.

04.38

04.21

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04.23

04.34 04.39

23
The Green Horseshoe is a U-shaped
sequence of parks and squares with
freestanding representative build-
ings, conceived by Croatian architect
and urbanist Milan Lenuzzi in 1882.
The design demonstrates the idea of
a "ring," which had been executed in
other European cities as well, such as
Ringstrasse in Vienna. The Horseshoe
is the focal area of Lower Town which,
together with the Upper Town, today
represents a historical city-centre (See
Knežević (2009)).

04.30

24
See Mlinar (2014), p.10-20

25
Gulin Zrnić (2009), p. 47

in the late 1950s. In order to educate the population about the new consumer culture, the products of mass consumption were promoted in the pavilions with self-service grocery stores, representing the key elements of a free market economy. The further purpose of the occasion was to educate about the lifestyle related to cooperative living in the new urban landscape. In this regard the emphasis was put on the optimization of housing construction and the mass production of furniture, as a way of re-establishing the postwar economy. Relating to that, the new conception of applied arts occurred in artistic discourse of 1950s, which was based on the integration of art with industry, in order to increase the quality of the entire material culture of mass production that was supposed to shape the fabric of the city.[18]

At the exhibition the concept of urban unit as a cooperative of 5000 inhabitants was promoted, as a new urban model which would enable direct political participation in urban life. Through the technological modernization as well as activism and the solidarity of individual members of society, the living standard - and to that effect the productivity of individual - would be increased. The idea of modern Zagreb as a project of socialist self-management here becomes legible: The city was conceived as a hybrid of an industrial and an administrative city – "the city as a factory" - based on a collective participation and treated as a place of social negotiation.[19]

THE CITY AS A NETWORK OF SELF-MANAGING COOPERATIVES
THE CONCEPT OF THE MICRO-RAYON

The reflection of self-managing socialism in urbanism is legible in the conception of residential neighbourhoods as autonomous self-managing cooperatives, as the basic units of urban plan. This socialist "new unit of settlement" (NUS) was the *micro-rayon* – an integral urban matrix of residential buildings, social infrastructure and landscape, based more on socio-spatial relationships than on formal typologies.[20]

The concept of the micro-rayon as a basic urban unit is manifested in General Plan of 1961, which represents the whole city as a network of interconnected urban nodes, centred on the interpolated pavilions from the Fair.[21]

The realization of the first housing cooperatives became possible in late 1950s, after nationalization of large land parcels and with the formation of a Common Housing fund in 1956. [22] Together with construction of the Bridge of Freedom and strategic relocation of Zagreb Fair all preconditions for building the new city on the agricultural land around the fairground were completed.

According to the Urban plan of South Zagreb from 1962, the area was divided with orthogonal raster of traffic routes. Over the surface of 2350 ha, 78 200 apartments in 24 housing developments (micro-rayons) were distributed, intending to accommodate 250 000 inhabitants. The plan also included three regional centres and a new town centre east of Zagreb Fair was planned along the central axis, which was a prolongation of the axis with the Bridge of Freedom, Zrinjevac Extension and "Green Horseshoe" [23] from Lower Town.[24] Several designs for Novi Zagreb City centre were developed in 1960s, including a plan from Dutch architect Jakob Bakema which was simple but offered lot of potential for future additions. All off these plan proposals foresaw the centre as an integral whole, with developed traffic infrastructure connecting Novi Zagreb to the old centre and accommodating different public facilities, which corresponded to the city centre. In addition, with the General Urban Plan of 1971, the sequence of parks and recreational zones known as the "Blue Horseshoe", which presented the enlarged version of the Green Horshoe, was planned for Novi Zagreb.[25]

From 24 planned housing communities only ten were realized, in the period between the late- 1950s and mid-1980s. The city- centre has never been built, the lot where it was planned was parcelled out, and single buildings were erected: the office building of oil and

gas company INA in 1989, "Avenue Mall" shopping centre in 2007, the Museum of Contemporary Art in 2009 and the office and apartment complex "Centar Bundek" in 2012. The area of the planned city-centre has consequently been built up completely, but as the buildings were planned independent from one another, the present situation doesn't correspond to the integrity of the initial idea. Moreover, the Blue Horseshoe has never been completed, as the large "Park Novi Zagreb", which was supposed to be its southern enclosure, was not realized. This unbuilt southern belt remained under the permanent status-quo concerning its further development. At the same time, the new housing estates in the spirit of *laissez-faire* neoliberal spatial policy and of substandard formal qualities are rapidly developing on the southern borders of Novi Zagreb and threaten to grasp the edges of this ground. Nevertheless, the area has a huge potential and can be perceived as a buffer zone between Novi Zagreb - as one of the last examples of coherent urban planning of Zagreb with a vision - and the growing, unconsolidated built landscape which is emerging around it. Hence exactly here the answer to the aspects of unfinished modernisation of Novi Zagreb can arise. There is a potential to establish negotiable ground, through which the trajectory of the development of the city and it's society could be re-examined.

STRUCTURE OF EXPERIMENTAL HOUSING COOPERATIVES OF NOVI ZAGREB AS A REFLECTION OF SELF-MANAGING SOCIALISM

The micro-rayon, as a basic unit of urban life, represented an independent and self-sufficient residential community, and was thus introverted in its urban character.[26] One micro-rayon encompasses the surface of 30-40 ha and consists of 4-6 residential neighbourhoods. A neighbourhood has 2500 – 3000 inhabitants, each containing a kindergarten and a grocery shop. A micro - rayon has correspondingly 10 000 - 12 000 inhabitants in 2500 – 3000 apartments. Each has its centre with a school and small shopping and service centre. Furthermore, 4-6 micro-rayons with 40 000 - 70 000 inhabitants create a residential development with the main centre comprising of different public facilities – cultural facilities (cinemas, libraries, theatres), administration facilities, restaurants and cafés, big shopping centres, bank and post offices, emergency services and pharmacies.[27] All these numbers are derived from precise normative calculations according to the supposed number of inhabitants. Every square meter, as well as the spatial capacity of public facilities, open spaces, and parking was precisely calculated. This standardization of living conditions and everyday life according to an "average" corresponds to the ideal of equality, as one of the core values of Yugoslav socialism.[28]

The diversity of everyday life was supposed to be framed in this model which anticipates the needs of people and defines the conditions for their fulfilment. However, at the same time the model has shown its transformative potential to accommodate new forms of everyday life, according to the change in the political and economic system of the last 20 years. The potential lies in densification of the area in the first place, as well as in implementing programmatic diversity within the residential buildings.

The micro-rayon model displays a high compatibility with the socialist system, but at the same time a degree of independence and adjustability to social and political structures. It thus encompassed the tensions between the transformative potential and fixedness, existing differences and foreseen similarity of everyday life as well as the tension between the system and the individual.

The administrative system of housing communities of Novi Zagreb was established together with the territorial-administrative re-organization of the city from 1974. The city administration was decentralized by constituting the municipalities as basic administrative- political units. This reform corresponded to the political idea of the community as a self-managing unit of governance, being independent from the central state government in decision making.[29]

26
See Gulin Zrnić (2009), p. 266.

27
The structure of micro-rayon system was defined in the concept for urban planning of South Zagreb from 1962, authored by: Bešlić, Delfin, Ivanović, Knežević, Kolacio, Maretić, Smolej and Uhlik.

28
See Gulin Zrnić (2009), p. 50, 263.

29
Ibid. p. 82.

30
See Gulin Zrnić (2009), p. 267.

31
Until 1975, the development of the city south of the river Sava was called "southern Zagreb" (this name occurs also in first urban plan for this area - The concept for Urban Planning of South Zagreb from 1962) and under the term "new Zagreb" was considered everything that was built in the city after WWII. The change of a name has an ideological significance of apprehending the neighborhoods of southern Zagreb as an urban whole – the new city.

32
See Gulin Zrnić (2009), p. 266.

33
Ibid., p.261.

34
Ibid, p. 71, 72.

35
Ibid, p. 72, referring on: Holston, The modernist City. An antrophological Critique of Brasilia, p.46.

36
Ibid, p. 72.

37
See Šerman (2007), p. 24.

Each micro-rayon presented a self-governing unit - a "Local Community" possessing specific autonomy and certain financial independence. The function of the Local Community was the provision of all necessary facilities prescribed by the urban plan but still not constructed and organised, as well as the organization and networking of various activities involving the residents. The activities were based on the socialist principles of activism, engagement and voluntarism of all, and their main purpose was to create the feeling of belonging. Through these communities the new values, social relationships and relationships to the environment, such as equality and activism, were to be implanted in the society. In the same territorial frame of housing development, the community of Roman Catholic parishes coexisted with the Local Community. Every community had its local parish accommodated in the flats which were adjusted for religious activities. Those communities were neither formal nor informal. The activities have been registered, however they never received official permission but were also never banned from the authorities.[30] The existence of the Parish Communities in a system which officially didn't support religious practice is another sign that the structure of society was determined through self-managing communities, rather than being governed by the institutions of central government. Also, through the name "Novi Zagreb"[31] the emphasis was put on this novel social vision. The peripheral position of Novi Zagreb, due to the separation from the "old" city with Sava river, contributed to its autonomy.

In its structure, the model of micro-rayon represented the smallest units of socialist ideology, built in the newly shaped space.[32]

This new city for the new society was, however, given a shape by modernist architecture.

MODERNIST ARCHITECTURE - YUGOSLAV SOCIALISM

The spatial articulation of Novi Zagreb was developed in the context of architectural and urbanistic concepts of post WWII development based on the ideas of *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM), while the social articulation was established on socialistic values as well as quantitative sociology and methodology derived from Marxism.[33] However, a certain degree of compatibility between the concept of the modern city from CIAM and socialist system are recognizable. In the Athens Charter it was claimed that the city governance should have come into possession of the grounds surrounding the city because the problem of ownership is obstructing balanced development of the city and the expropriation of private land should be carried out for that matter.[34] The aim of modern city of CIAM was namely to solve the urban crisis of the capitalistic world and to preclude spatial and social segregation. This was supposed to be achieved through urban planning which wouldn't be guided by interests of market and individual entrepreneurs, but considered as a public matter systematically guided by state or city governance, in order to create a classless city.[35] Moreover, the Athens Charter promoted the equality of living standards for everyone. This egalitarian tendency of modern planning resulted in standardization of the object and housing unit, as well as unifying the conditions of urban life.[36]

With the newly established political system of self-managing socialism, Croatian architects considered the architecture of functionalist modernism as an appropriate instrument for defining a modern Yugoslav city for the new collective society. The style reflected progressive perspective of Croatian architecture and despite being imported from the West it was locally adjusted according to tradition and circumstances, ready to house a new healthy society within its pure forms. In it's clear rational geometry it was appropriate to standardization and mass production, which was an important feature corresponding to the new collective design tasks and limited economic potentials.[37] Hence, the concept of Novi Zagreb emerged from an overlapping of architectural and socialistic discourse, both aiming to transform the society. The potential and adequacy of modern architecture as an instrument of realization of socialist society was a widespread topic in architectural and social discourse in 1960s in Yugoslavia.

CRITICISM

The urban model of Novi Zagreb was however already by the time of its development highly criticized, in terms of both its architectural and social aspects.

    In the 1960s architectural practice was gradually breaking its ideological bounds to the system and becoming more independent, which resulted in more individual architectural expression. Furthermore, due to the new market policy of the state the new apartments were intended to be sold on a free market. These changes were confronted with the critique of socialistic discourse. The modern architecture of international style and functional city urbanism were namely criticized as alienating and as such inadequate for mediating socialist values. The architects were also accused of basing their projects on personal whim and not according to the social model. The other critique was concerning the incompleteness of housing developments, as a result of the model of financing, which included only the realization of demanded housing units, neglecting the development of public facilities and services which were also required according to the plan. It was quite unclear who was responsible for financing the public (infra) structure.[38] This particular aspect, however, can not be considered as a failure of urban planning, or even less of architecture, but rather as a drawback of the city-management and it's policy.

    Further objections to the planning of Novi Zagreb from the 1970s mostly referred to the weak spots of CIAM urbanism, such as the destruction of the street as a public space, the lack of identity, as well as formal monotony of built structure. Moreover, the tendencies of anticipating the urban life and determining sociability were condemned as restraining the individual. The criticism of this period could yet be observed as a part of a postmodern critique of modern architecture and urban planning in general. For instance, in his book *Form follows fiasco* (1978), Peter Blake used the example of Novi Zagreb to explain the failures of modern urbanism, more precisely, to exemplify how the destruction of traditional street caused the impoverishment of life in modern settlements.[39]

    The critique of the 1990s was focused more on the irrationality of urban development, which occurred as a consequence of considering the nationalized land as a "cheap good", being irrationally managed as such.[40] This observation is however reflecting the criticism of the new system towards the old one.
Nevertheless, in the transitional period from 90s until today, none of the successful alternative ways of urban development and city-governance have been proposed so far.
The stigmatization of Novi Zagreb, as an monofunctional residential area - "a big dormitory" - is still present today, even though a certain degree of programmatic diversity has been developed, especially in the course of the previous decade. This image is however based more on the respective critical discourse than on the real spatial experience.
According to the original planning documentation, the parterre zone was carefully designed as a space for association and gathering.[41] The homogeneity of a program is thus a result of the incompleteness of the urban concept, due to the shortsighted nature of the city politics. The spatial and functional qualities in the housing estates of Novi Zagreb are today, however, becoming more and more recognized, especially in comparison with the newly emerging housing construction and its questionable formal and functional qualities.

3. REEVALUATION AND INTERPRETATION

The first settlements of Novi Zagreb dating from 1960s are characterized by pure functional aesthetics of clear volumes, laid out in geometrical composition. Nevertheless, the following settlements from 1970s are already conceived with the tendency to morphological diversity. Through variations in the shapes of architectural forms and diverging from rigid raster, each settlement was provided with an individual image. Distinctive

38
See Gulin Zrnić (2009), p. 55.

39
See Blake (1978), p. 83-97.

40
See Gulin Zrnić (2009), p. 61.

41
Ibid., p. 256.

42
Maretić (1970), Kollenz (1975).

43
See Gulin Zrnić (2009), p. 64, 269.

44
Ibid., p. 164, 166, 272.

45
Ibid., p.176.

46
See Rossi, (1982), p 130 - 131.

47
See Koolhaas (1998), p. 1248 - 1249.

48
See Oswalt (2000), p. 27 - 29.

physiognomy of settlements should have generated a certain spatial identity, which would provoke a feeling of belonging by its residents.[42] What's more, the monotony of the built environment was prevented through the implementation of various housing typologies. Every settlement can thus be observed as a way of architectural experimentation. Furthermore, an emphasis was put on the development of pedestrian zones and local public spaces. Even though the traditional street and square were abolished, other forms of public spaces emerged, such as parks and recreational fields. This local public areas are more introverted and they are lacking the transitive aspect, which is a feature of public spaces in the city centre. However, these public spaces are marked by a routine of usage, which enables the creation of certain familiarity. Due to the mutual personal recognition of individuals, the possibility of communication occurs, social relations are being stimulated and a feeling of social security has been created. In this aspect, public spaces of modernist settlements could provide many possibilities for social interaction and consequently determine a certain identification with the built environment. Another aspect of association is based on the shared experience of the inhabitants. As the housing estates were developed as ready made products, lots of people moved in at the same time. Through the common situational experience of adapting to new living circumstances these new residents created an identity from zero. Everyone was equal and had to develop the sense of belonging to this new environment.[43]

Concerning the social structure, the settlements of Novi Zagreb were characterized through so called *heterogeneous homogeneity*. Despite the high degree of social, ethnic, regional, educational and other diversity, the general social structure was perceived as homogeneous. The similarity and levelness reflected the idea of equality, in the correspondence to the socialist system. The coexistence of such diversity was balanced through the levelling of urban culture. In other words, a kind of informal social control was set, which affected the adjustment of individuals from different backgrounds to a life in collective systems.[44] The conclusion could thus be drawn, that the forms of collective living played an important role in urbanization of the population in the postwar Zagreb. According to its inhabitants, the present social relations in the area of Novi Zagreb are characterized by certain indifference to social or ethnic origin, as a proof of persistence of heterogeneous homogeneity that emanated from the old system.[45] Exactly this equality in diversity, as well as a certain degree of indifference, are the qualities which are distinguishing the metropolitan from provincial environment.

Moreover, among inhabitants of Novi Zagreb a kind of a local identity has evolved, which is not based on history and tradition, but has rather been developed successively with the pace of their lives. The *collective memory* has been created. According to Aldo Rossi, exactly this aspect gives the specificity to an urban structure, and in order to comprehend its complexity must be considered.[46] Within the critiques of Novi Zagreb though, this aspect was taken out of consideration. Hence an argument juxtaposing this criticism is that the individuality of urban structure is based on this collective memory which emerges from the succession of events, rather than on tradition and history. The absence of historical identity can also be seen as an advantage, increasing the possibilities and ensuring freedom and flexibility related to further development, whereas too much of identity and history obstructs progress and diminishes the most efficient performance of the city as an agglomeration of people and processes.[47] In the case of Berlin, for instance, it is obvious how exactly this lack of a precise identity, which in this case occurred due to the overlapping and discontinuous development of many different cultural and social layers, enables the constant dynamics of the city, as well as providing the potential to absorb highest possible variety of people and processes.[48] In other words, its main urban quality arises exactly from the absence of a certain identity and traditional definition. The potential of Novi Zagreb as a stimulating and progressive environment, which would embrace dynamism and diversity, lies maybe exactly in its rootlessness and lack of tradition.

. A further significance of Novi Zagreb is that it manifested the specific idea of the city, implied in the General Plan from 1961, which differed from the previous and subsequent urban plans. In the diagrammatic abstraction of the plan, the similarity with the concept of modern metropolis from the beginning of 20th century - "unbegrenzte Großstadt" by Otto Wagner - is recognizable. Wagner's metropolis is polycentric, flexible and adaptable, whereby each urban node typologically replicates the city-centre. [49] Moreover, this image of the city development represents the idea of the city as a network of independent entities, as a counter concept of the traditional city based on the hierarchy of city parts, which was examined by Oswald Mathias Ungers on the example of Berlin in 1960s and 1970s. Due to its exemplary attributes, the model of micro-rayon can furthermore be compared with Superquadra, the prototype of the urban block which is forming the residential system of Brasilia. The idea of Superquadra is to represent a microcity – a basic unit incorporating the urban complexity - unlike other parts of the city, whose meaning can be reduced merely to their relationship with other urban elements.[50]

These different readings of its urban structure, however, open various perspectives, which are necessary to grasp comprehensively the meaning and significance of Novi Zagreb.

NOVI ZAGREB AS AN AUTONOMOUS PROJECT

The social ideas and matters of collectivity were already in the 1930s spreading through the whole cultural discourse in Croatia. In that period, quite earlier than Tito's break with Stalin and the reform of the political system, Croatian architects, as with artists and intellectuals, showed the resistance towards the Social Realist doctrine by opposing it with the ideas of modernist architectural thought and functional city.[51] The persistence of these concepts in Croatian architectural practice and theoretical discourse indicates the autonomous development of architectural tradition in Croatia [52]. The autonomy of the discipline was manifested in the project of Novi Zagreb, thus its development can be claimed as an autonomous project. As Pier Vittorio Aureli exemplified, the idea of autonomy here is not understood in terms of design, but in terms of *autonomous architectural project*, "the possibility of architectural thought of proposing an alternative idea of the city, rather than simply confirming its existing conditions" [53] In other words, the possibility of the autonomy of architectural discipline to become the mediator of political change.

Croatian architect Dubravka Vranić developed a detailed study to prove her hypothesis, that the project of Novi Zagreb was an incorporation of the act of resistance of Croatian architects towards the current political regime.[54] According to the study based on archival research of political decisions from that period, the infrastructural planning in the area south of river Sava from 1940s and 1950s aspired to the construction of the new city, much earlier than the first urban plan for southern Zagreb from 1962 appeared. Those infrastructural projects could thus be seen as a part of autonomous project, aiming to realize the idea of the new modernist and functional city.[55]

The formation of obligatory public architectural competitions in the interwar period stimulated experimentation and innovation through paper architecture, which had an additional impact on the development of architectural discipline in Croatia. As there were no competitions for the urban development of Zagreb, the majority of Croatian architects took part in the competition for New Belgrade. The influence of Social Realism poetics was, however, in this immediate after-war period still quite strong, and for design of the party and state buildings the "monumental and representative architecture" was thus required. The proposals from Croatian architects were granted with two out of three first prizes, yet the modernist poetic of their projects was criticized by the official party as "empty, fruitless and purely mechanical, a clear signifier of bourgeois West". As an answer to those critiques, the Croatian theorist of architecture Andre Mohorovčić devel-

04.38

49
See Blau, Rupnik (2007), p. 247, 258

50
Tattara (2011), p. 46-55

04.35
04.36
04.37

51
See Vranić, (2014), p.58

52
During the interwar decades Zagreb was a prominent centre of modern functionalist architecture, which had an effect on all building types: residential and commercial buildings as well as representative public buildings, which was marked through both formal and conceptual rigor and simplicity. The tradition of abstraction in Croatian art established in this period, which was a foundation for new postwar abstract developments, was thus put into practice through architecture as well. The architecture of functionalism and international modernism was in part introduced in Zagreb through the education of young Croatian architects by international teachers, such as Loos, Corbusier, Poelzig and Behrens, as well as their participation on CIAM congresses. Nevertheless, The choice of formal rigor, abstraction and simplicity was not only the matter of aesthetic preference but came more as a result of continuously difficult historical, political and economic circumstances. And yet this persistent scarcity of means, instead of turning into a limiting factor, resulted in some sort of heightened creativity which was filtered through sharp conceptual rigor and discipline (See Šerman (2007), p. 19-29).

53
Aureli (2011), p. XIII.

54
See Vranić, (2014), p. 58.

55
Ibid., p. 55.

56
See Vranić, (2014), p.57-61.

57
Foucault (1995) , p.222.

58
See Vranić, (2014), p.62.

oped the term *comprehensive functionalism*. It described a form of Croatian functionalism that was constructional, economical and functional, whilst simultaneously considering the layers of aesthetics, history, politics and regional morphology. This form of modernism was based on the Western model, yet simultaneously corresponded to humanistic aspirations, thus fitting the socialist system. Despite all the criticism coming from Belgrade, Croatian architects were defending the idea of comprehensive functionalism as an instrument for representing socialist order, both through the competitions of New Belgrade and current architectural discourse.[56] The values of comprehensive functionalism were directly applied in planning of Novi Zagreb, which represented a paradigm for the modern Yugoslav city.

Development of Novi Zagreb was initiated from the group of architects and other intellectuals, the protagonists of the Croatian cultural scene, who formed the autonomous artistic and architectural discourse. According to Foucault, "The minute disciplines, the panopticisms of every day may well be below the level of emergence of the great apparatuses and the great political struggles" [57] Through a counter-law mechanism which is based on private links, the autonomous discipline succeeded in realizing its ideas, despite the political regime which at the moment showed no will to invest in the development of Zagreb. The architectural practice showed however its possibility to overpower the political system, and therefore can Novi Zagreb be recognized as an example of autonomous project.[58]

According to the study, the initiative of creating a new functional city south of Sava emerged before the political switch to self-managing socialism. In other words, the architectural and intellectual ideas of this period, which developed in the frames of Zagreb's autonomous urban culture, preceded political remodelling. Novi Zagreb could thus be seen as a reflection of the resistant culture and architectural thought, which resulted in the democratization of society, and not the other way around, as the reflection of this democratization. Hence the conclusion can be drawn that the reform of the political system was only an opportunity for the realization of the idea and not its determining factor. In other words, architecture as an autonomous discipline influenced social reality instead of being an instrument of society.

In view of the former success of architectural practice as a means of the resistance, which was manifested in the creation of the city that is still nowadays providing good living conditions, the architectural autonomy could be considered as a starting point in critically answering the current social circumstances emerging in post-transitional neoliberal society, as well as an efficient instrument for solving the problems of the contemporary Croatian city.

04.1
Marshal Josip Broz Tito handing over the plan of governance from the Party to the workers on the opening of the factory Rade Končar.

04.2
Worker's self - management meeting in Rade Končar Factory, the most important Yugoslav electrotechnical factory based in Croatia.
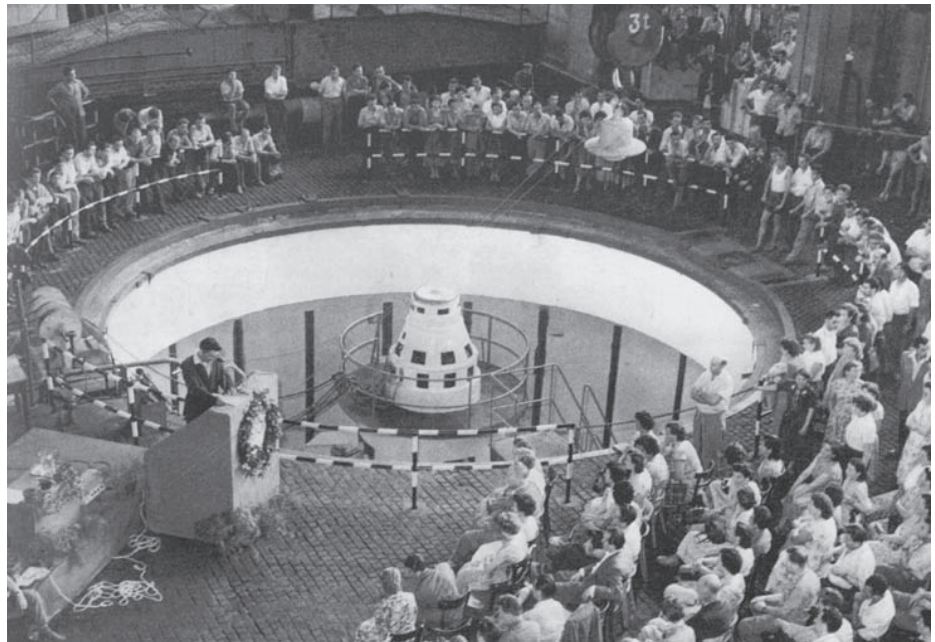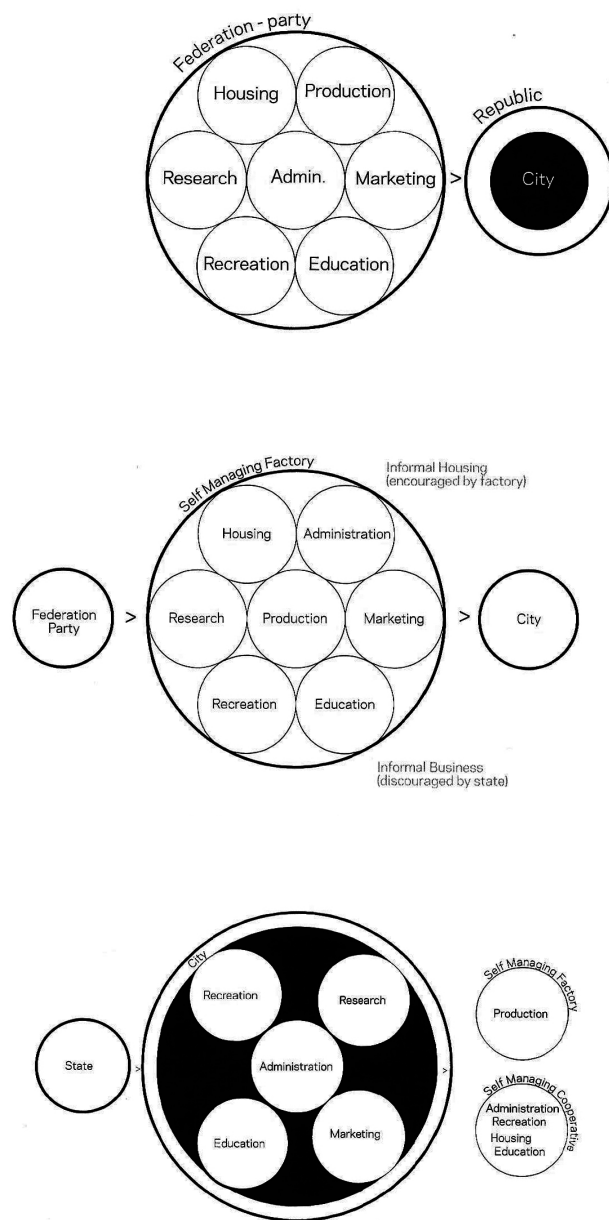
04.3
Different models of economic management in Yugoslavia in the period 1946 - 1962:
a) Organizational model of the (Soviet) Command Economy, 1946-1951
b) Organizational model of Worker's Self-Management, 1952-1956
c) Organizational model of Local Self-Management, 1957-1962
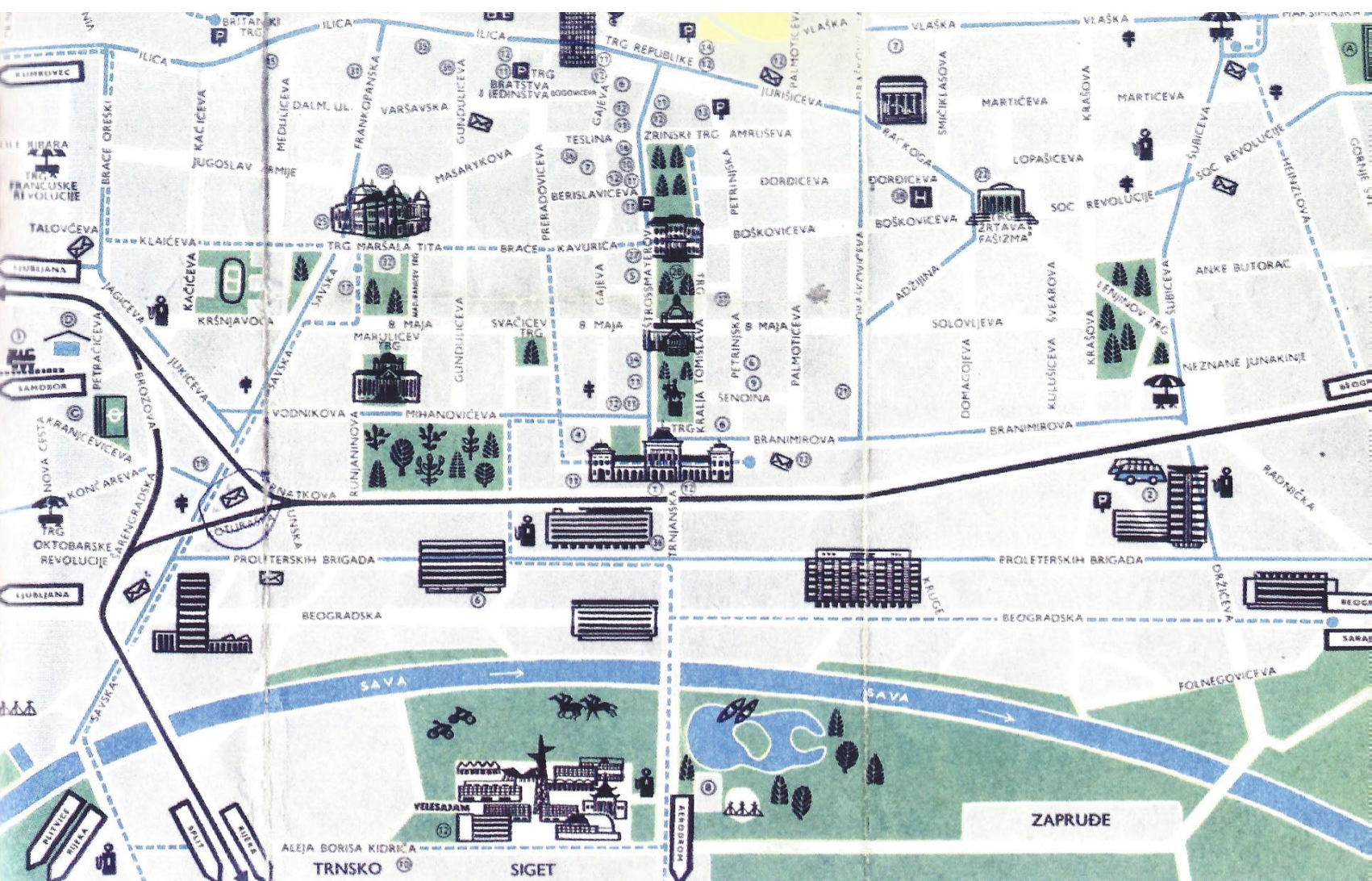
04.4
Tourist map showing the pavilions of
the Zagreb Fair in Novi Zagreb and
significant cultural buildings in Lower
Town and Trnje district, 1960s.

04.5
Areal view of Zagreb Fair after the third (and final) completion phase, 1970.

04.6
Exhibition pavilion of non - aligned countries in Zagreb Fair, 1964. The circles represent the distribution of Yugoslav companies throughout Africa and Asia.

04.7
M. Premužak: Sowjet pavilion, 1956.

04.8
Božidar Kolonić, Slovenian pavilion, 1956.

04.9
Giuseppe Sambito: Italian pavilion, 1961.

04.10
Božidar Kolonić: Austrian pavilion, 1969.

04.11
Božidar Rašica: Mašinogradnja pavilion,
1957.

04.12
Ivan Vitić, structural engineer Krunosav
Tonković: Pavilon of the Nations / Hall
20 / Pavilion 40, 1957.

04.13
Tito and his wife demonstrating self -
service shopping at the Fair, 1958.

04.14
Yugoslav Children's Encyclopedia, com-
parison between old and new lifestyles,
1960s.
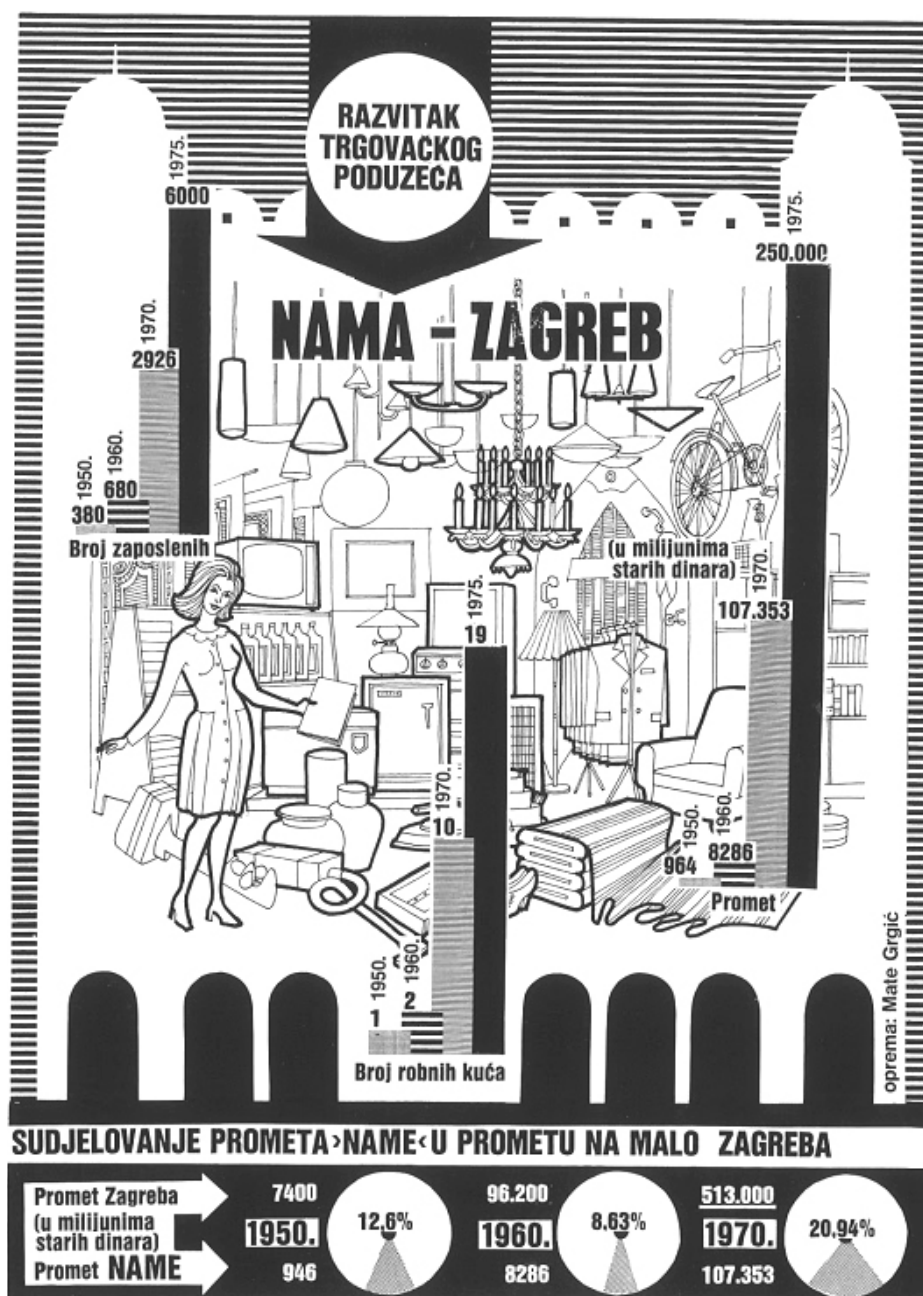
04.15
The poster illustrates development of
Nama enterprise and its share in overall
retail within Zagreb, 1970.
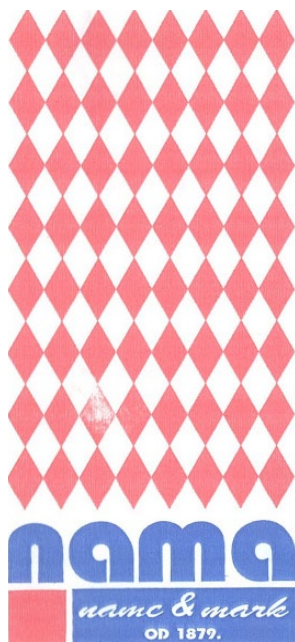
04.16
04.17
Prototype NAMA (NAši MAgazine, "Our Store") Department Store at the Family and Household Exhibition, 1958.

04.18
Prototype NAMA Department Store reassembled on the Avenue of the Proletarian Brigades, 1960.

04.19
Prototype NAMA Department Store reassembled in Trnsko, Novi Zagreb, 1966.

04.20
Prototype NAMA Department Store reassembled on Kvaternikov Trg, 1968.

04.21
04.22
04.23
Preconditions for the development of
South Zagreb:
Relocation of Zagreb Fair;
Construction of Naval Institute (1953)
due to which the main roads connecting
the area with the city on the north were
constructed;
Construction of the Bridge of Freedom
(1959) which connected the city in the
north with the airport and the Fair in
the south.
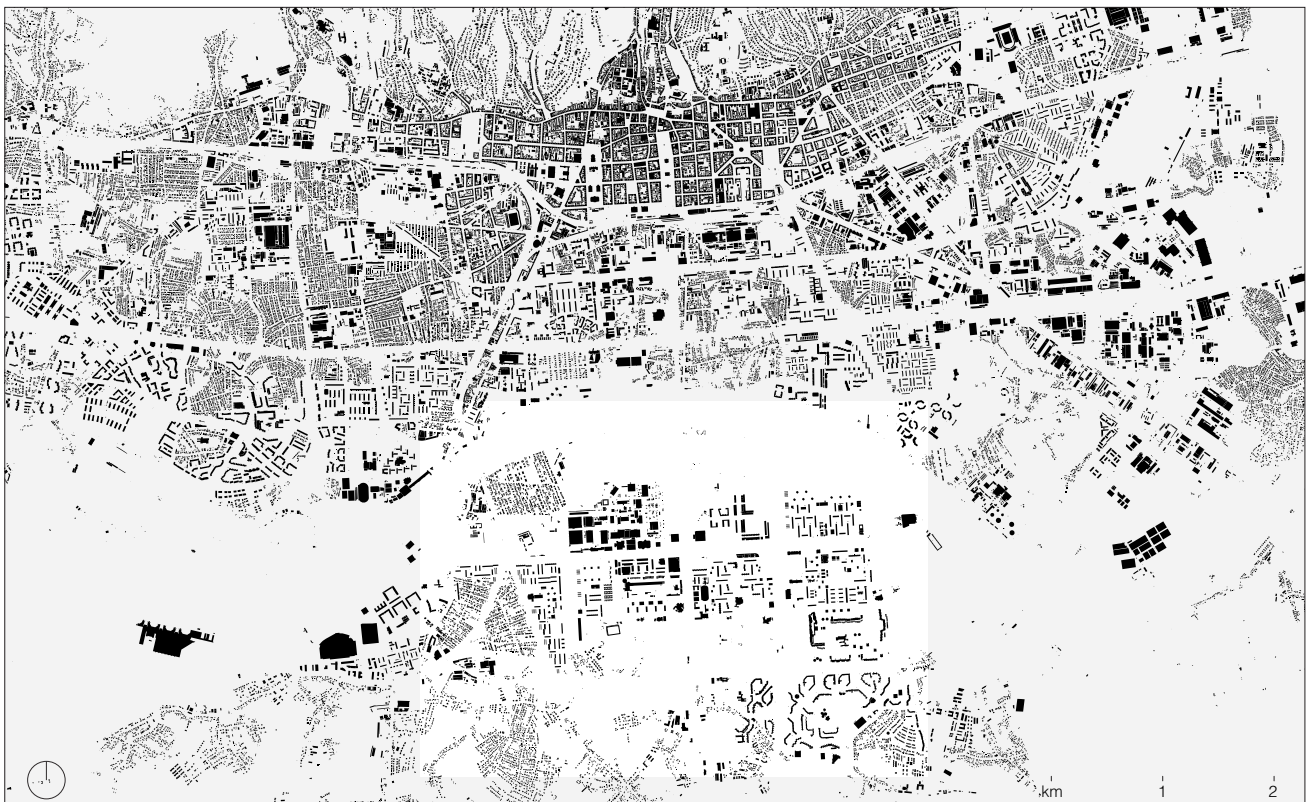
04.24
Novi Zagreb, urban morphology, 2012.

04.25
Zagreb, urban morphology, 2012.

04.26
Novi Zagreb, ortofoto, 2003.

04.27
Zagreb, ortofoto, 2003.

04.28
Park Mladenaca;
Blue Horseshoe western arm.

04.29
Park Vjekoslava Majera;
Blue Horseshoe eastern arm.

04.30
Zagreb, ortofoto, 2003
Green and Blue Horseshoe.
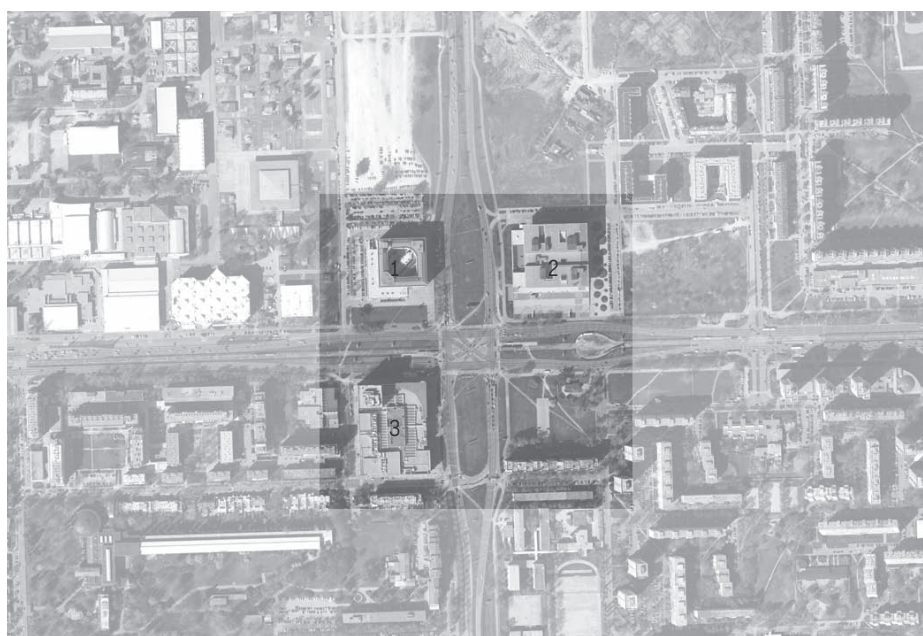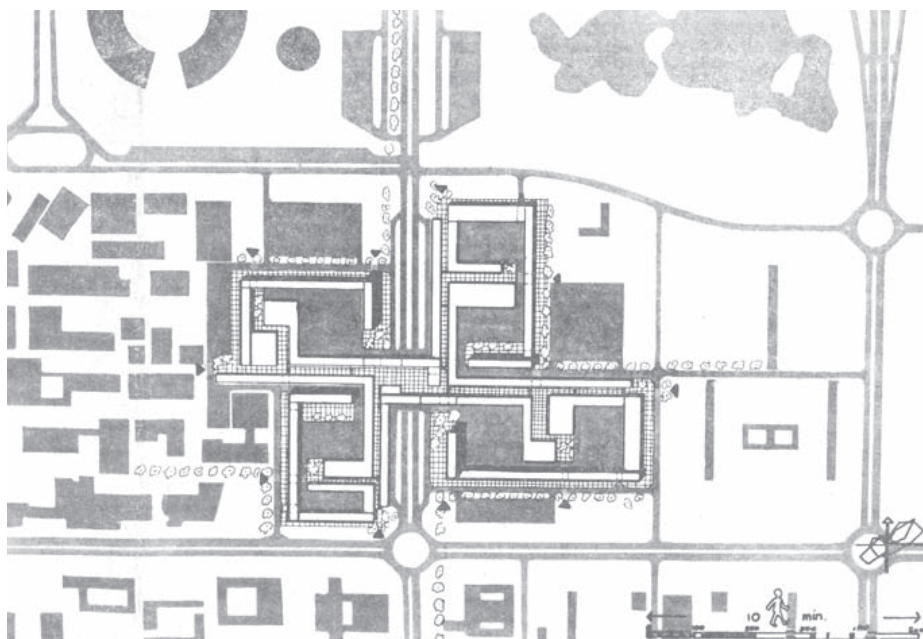
04.31
Jakob Bakema, Plan for Novi Zagreb Centre (1960).

04.32
Božidar Rašica, Plan for a cultural centre as an eastern extension of Zagreb Fair (1957).

04.33
Present state: Fragmentation

INA Oil Concern Headquaters (1)
Museum of Contemporary Art (2)
Shopping Centre "Avenue Mall" (3)

04.34
Unfinished modernisation: North - south artery and Blue Horseshoe;
Along the central north - south traffic axis, which extended from the eastern part of the Green Horseshoe in Lower Town, representative and governmental buildings were planned. Going over the Bridge of Freedom, this axis is a main connection route for the northern part of the city, with Novi Zagreb, continuing further to the airport. In the area of Novi Zagreb the sequence of parks and rec-reational areas were planned - the "Blue Horseshoe" - presenting the enlarged version of the Green Horseshoe.
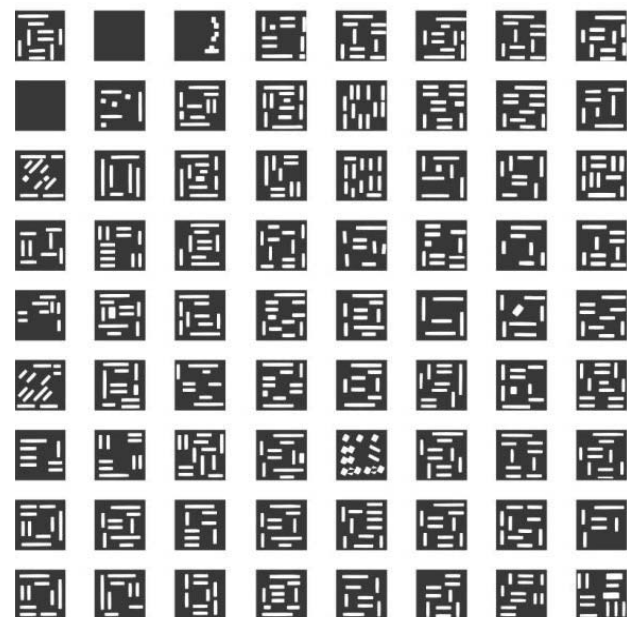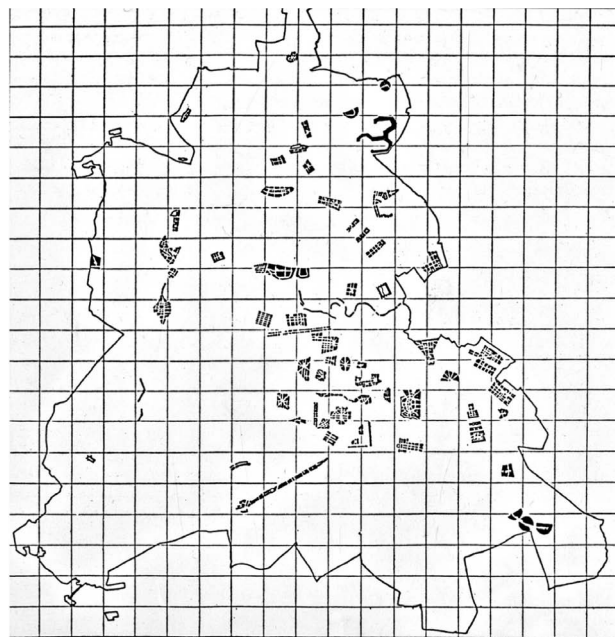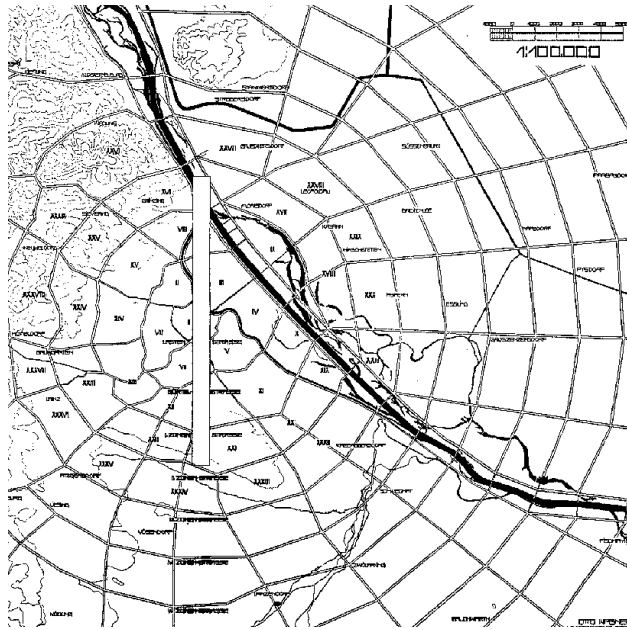
04.35
Otto Wagner, *Unbegrenzte Großstadt,*
Plan for general regulation of Vienna,
1911.

04.36
Berlin as archipelago of insular entities
within the fragmented urban landscape;
Ungers, Koolhaas, Koolhoff, Riemann,
Ovaska, *Die Stadt in der Stadt Berlin,
das grüne Stadtarchipel. Ein stadträum-
liches Planungskonzept für die zukünfige
Entwicklungs Berlin*, 1977.

04.37
Lucio Costa, *Superquadra* - a large-
scale 300 x 300 metre (984 x 984
foot) urban block, Brasilia, 1957;
scheme of prototype variations.
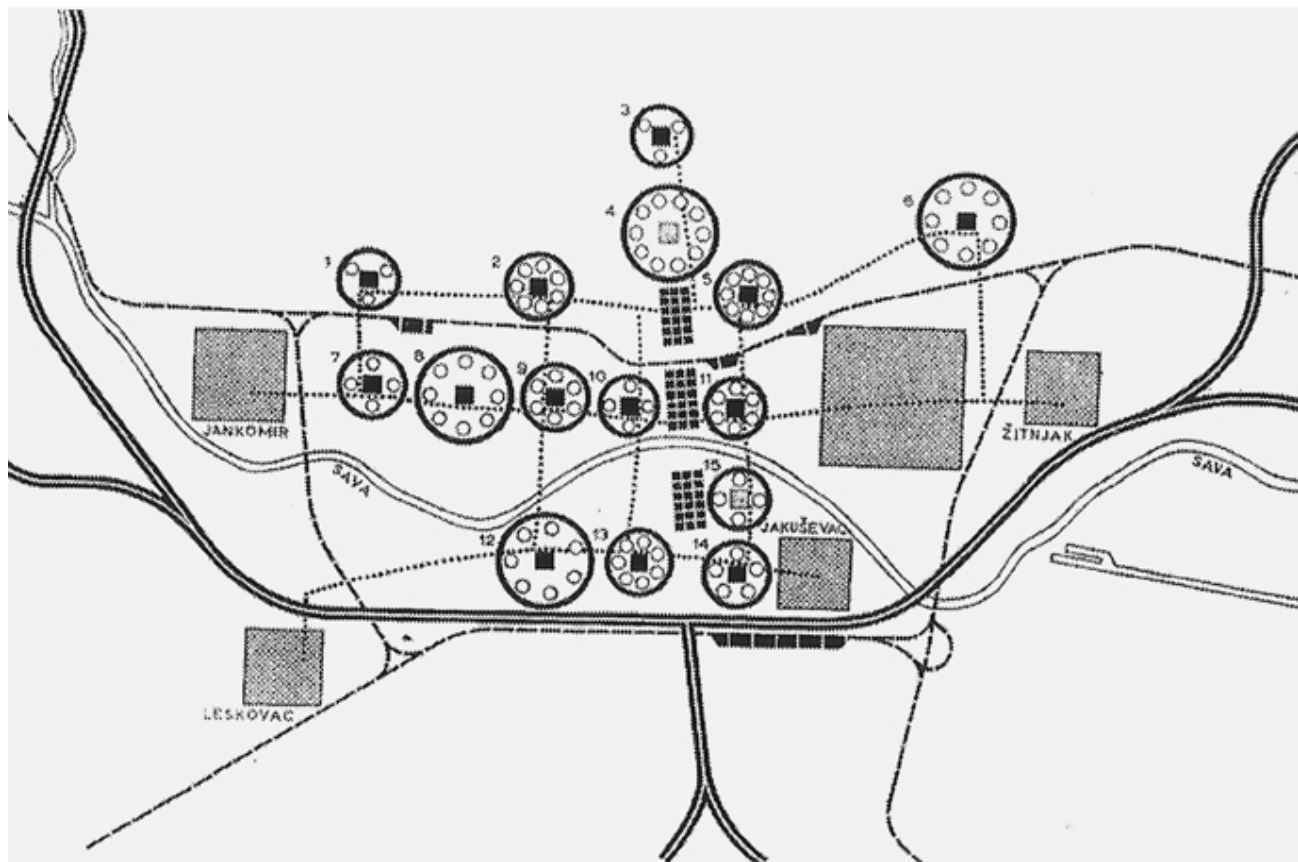
04.38
Zdenko Kolacio, Zagreb General Plan:
City as a network of self-managing
cooperatives, 1961.
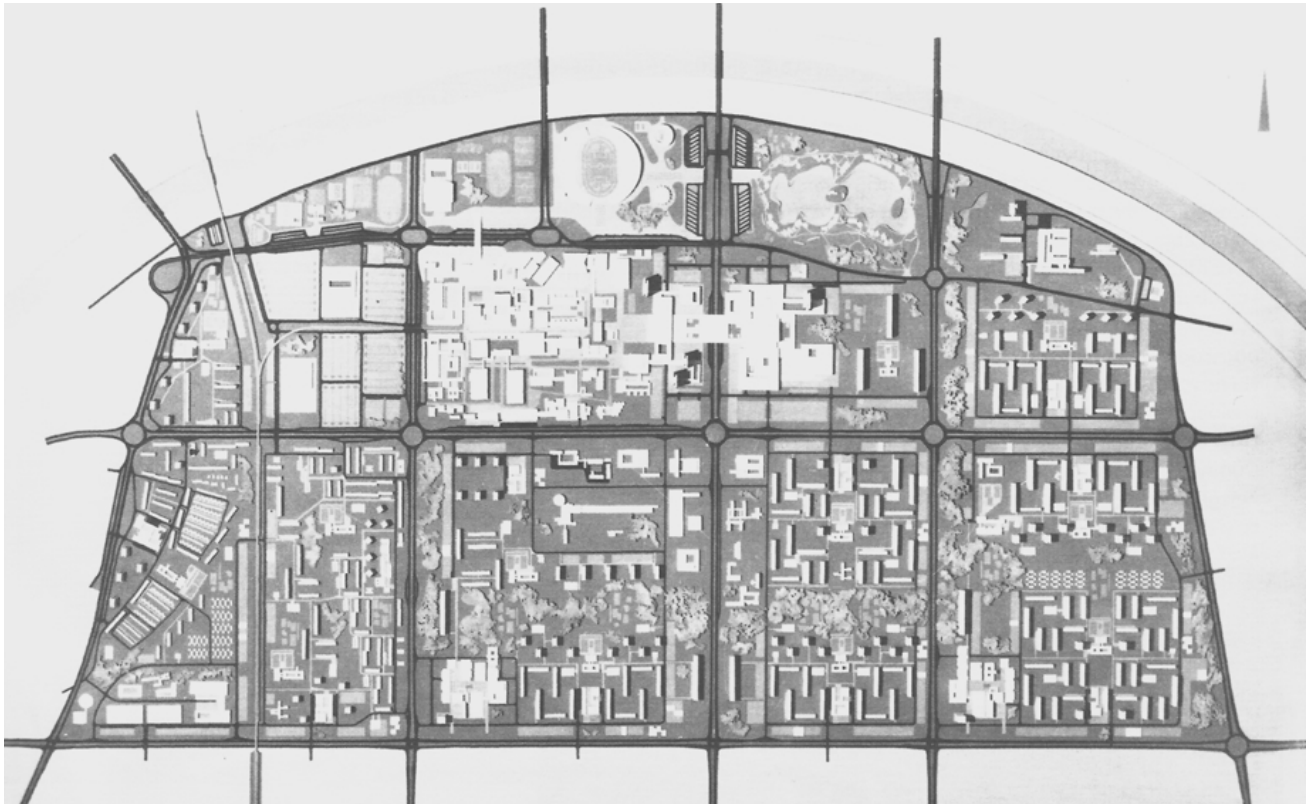
04.39
Concept for the urban planning of South
Zagreb, 1962, illustrating all 24 planned
micro-rayons as well as a sequence of parks,
forming the Blue Horseshoe and a city centre
on the central axis.

```
————————————————  main streets
.........................  railway
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . .  river
```

1   Zagreb Fair (1956)

Micro-rayons

2   Središće (1980)
3   Zapruđe (1962)
4   Savski Gaj (1957)
5   Trnsko (1959)
6   Siget (1963)
7   Sopot (1970)
8   Utrine (1969)
9   Travno (1974)
10   Sloboština (1978)
11   Dugave (1975)

04.40
Novi Zagreb, scheme of realized micro-
rayons.

ZAPRUĐE

TRNSKO

SOPOT

SIGET
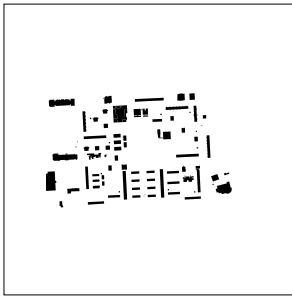
UTRINE
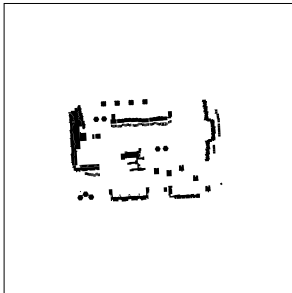
TRAVNO
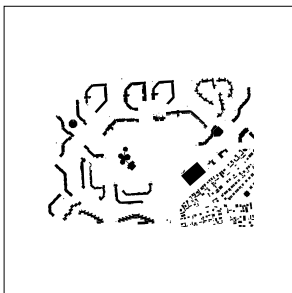
DUGAVE
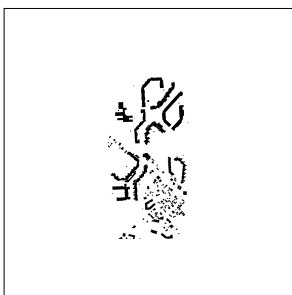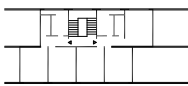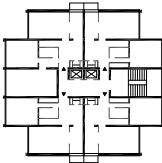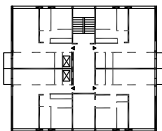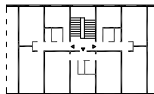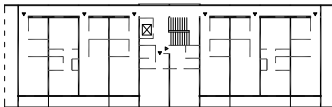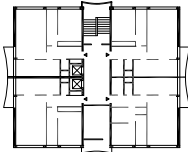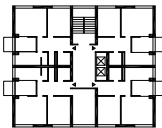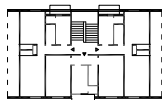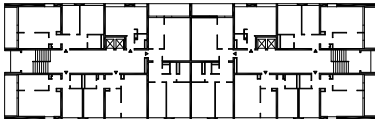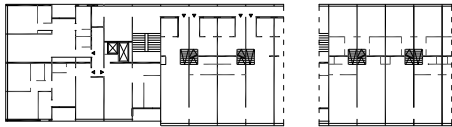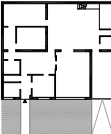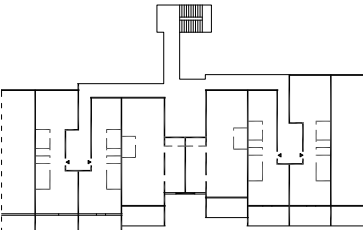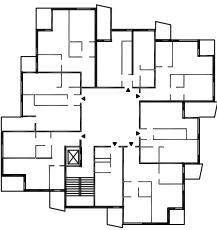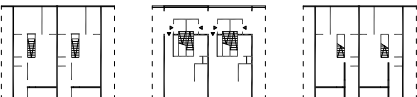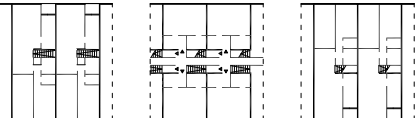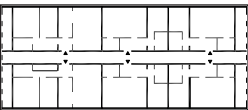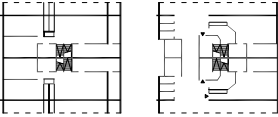
SLOBOŠTINA

SREDIŠĆE

HOUSING TYPOLOGIES OF NOVI ZAGREB			
MICRORAYON	TYPOLOGY	UNITS	FLOOR PLAN 1:1000
ZAPRUĐE	slab "Jugomont 61" access: central staircase standardized construction	2, 3 room apartments	
	tower, type Jelinek standardized construction	2, 3 room apartments	
TRNSKO	tower, type Jelinek standardized construction	2, 3 room apartments	
	slab, type Volta access: central staircase standardized construction	2 room apartments	
	slab, type Bartolić access: central staircase standardized construction	1, 3 room apartments	
SOPOT	slab, type Jelinek access: gallery standardized construction	1, 3 room apartments	
	tower, type Jelinek standardized construction	2, 3 room apartments	
SIGET	tower, type Tempo standardized construction	2, 3 room apartments	
	slab, type Tempo N8 access: central staircase standardized construction	2 room apartments	
	slab, type Tempo T43 access: central staircase standardized construction	2 room apartments	
	tower block	1-3 room apartments	

MICRORAYON	TYPOLOGY	UNITS	FLOOR PLAN 1:1000
SIGET	open block access: gallery	2,3 room apartment, 3 room maisonette (split level)	
	atrium row houses	3 room dwelling	
	row houses	3 room apartments on each floor	
TRAVNO	open block access: gallery	2, 3 room apartments	
	tower	2, 3 room apartments	
DUGAVE	open block access: gallery	1 room apartment, 3 room maisonette apartments	
	open block access: inner corridor	1 room apartment, 3 room maisonette apartments	
		2, 3 room apartments	
SLOBOŠTINA	open block access: gallery	1 room apartment, 3 room maisonette apartments	
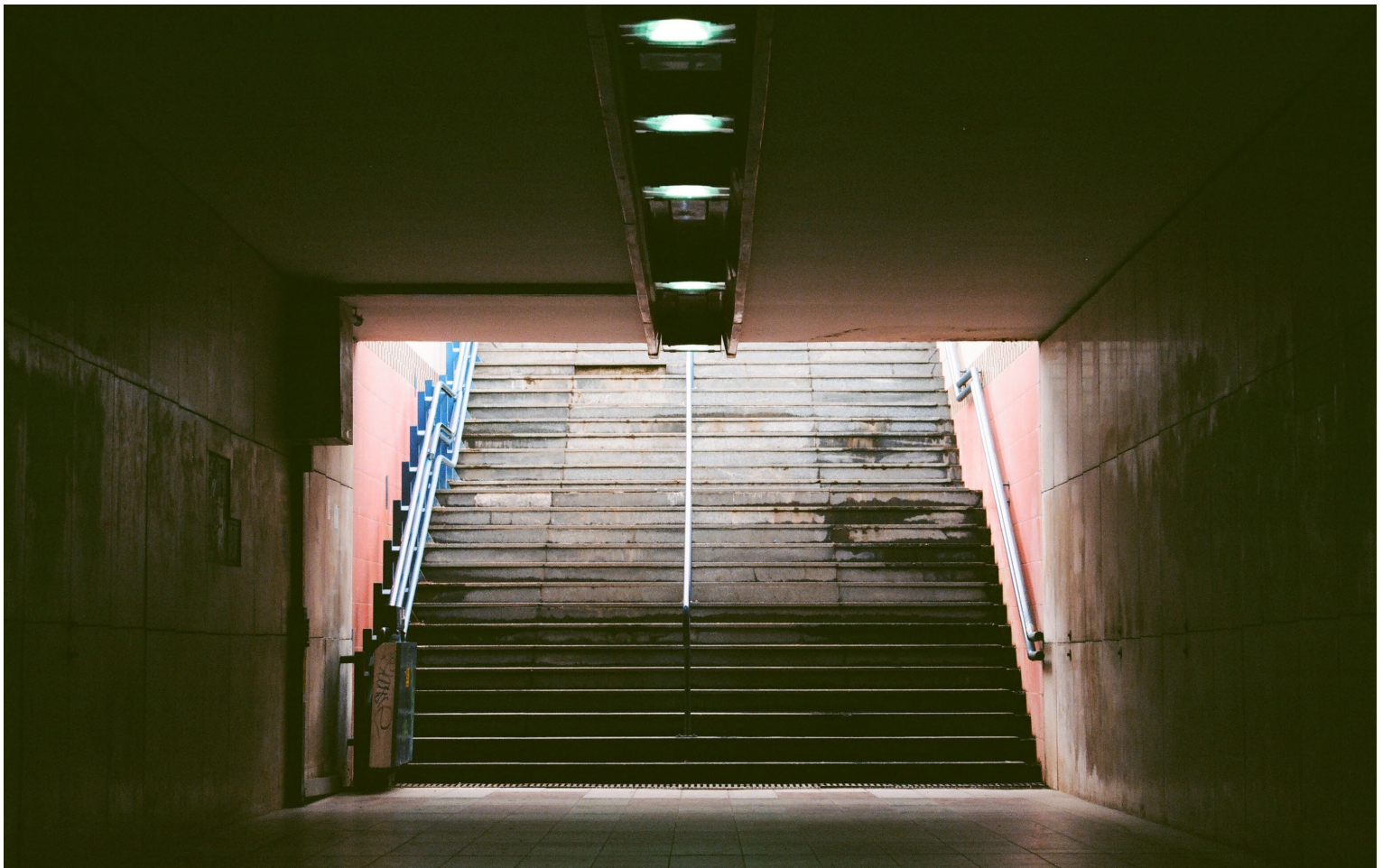
05 LARGE-FORM IN NOVI ZAGREB

THE PLATFORM FOR THE NEW SOCIETY

CREATIVE PRECARIAT

Referring to Aureli's thesis, I will point out the problem of dependence on private property in the context of the general housing issue in Croatia and its effects on the emancipation of young people. There are two reasons for this dependence. Firstly, the notion of private ownership is embedded deeply in Croatian culture due to the tradition of domestic hierarchy and patriarchal family structure, which remained basically the same throughout history, even in urban environments and within more liberal and open minded social groups. Also, during the socialist period, despite emphasizing the ideas of community and collectivity, the idea of housing was based on acquiring a private property. It was only the way of crediting and financing that was different.[1] The other reason, more related to the present condition, is of an economic nature. Corresponding to the current Croatian standard, for the costs of renting out a home a high percentage of an average income should be allocated. In addition to that, tenant rights are not regulated by the law.[2] In that sense, people rather choose to pay off the credit, thus investing the money in their own property, than to 'waste it' on the rent without having any rights and security. Hence, in the context of the current economic problem and unaffordable loans, most young people live with their parents until they find a kind of a stable employment, which would enable them to become debtors for the next decades, in order to acquire their own minimal living space. As a result of this condition, young people that have difficulties with emancipation or simply reject this kind of life structure are are in many cases leaving the country. This number, though, is constantly increasing, which certainly has a catastrophic long-term consequence on Croatian development, as the country is losing the skilled workers and experts after having invested in their education. The emerging "brain drain" leads thus to degradation of Croatian society. This generation of educated emigrants, however, has the highest potential to become the main protagonists of a new established society. The generation, which was born and raised in civil war, cannot regret for the past which it doesn't know and does not believe in the future of the new system because it has let them down. Without faith in any ideology they have nothing to lose and are able to start from nothing, which leaves them the opportunity and motivation to create something completely new, something third. Yet in order to do that, they need a space, a frame for their actions.

In the frame of the general problem concerning this demographic and social group, I shall focus on the young independent artists and other members of the cultural production workforces and creative industry in Zagreb, exemplifying their position and thus proposing them as the main representatives of an alternative system. There are several reasons why the proposed project will refer to this group as being particularly important. As protagonists of the cultural production of the city, artists have an important role in establishing the global image of the respective city and country. Moreover, cultural development is an important precondition of social progress, in spite of being neglected with the occurrence of a political and economical crisis. Another aspect is the historical importance of Croatian artistic and cultural scene in creating an autonomous identity of the nation that has never been independent, but always within the frames of

1
In socialist Yugoslavia for instance, the companies would grant workers the apartments which were to be payed off by the new owners in a course of time, yet under very affordable crediting conditions. In the same way the state used to grant intellectuals, state clerks etc. the apartments. The system was thus just a more affordable variation of today's purchasing of real estate properties by means of bank loans.

2
In contrast to most European countries, neither rights for housing for every person nor duty of the state to take care of the accommodation of all its citizens are mentioned in the Constitution.

different monarchies and federations. The last reason for examining the position of this part of society is that, when addressing the social matter in Croatia, the facts about the struggle of this certain group are for me subjectively the most well known and comprehensible.

Within every social and political system the independent artists were always confronted with precarious life conditions. However, as independent art depends basically on the state funding, the unstable state economy compounds the situation. Moreover, the absence of a strong base since its postwar dissolution has lead to the fragmentation of the art scene in Croatia. At the same time, the members of the creative industry are being confronted with the requirement of flexibility and adaptability in the context of overall globalization which seized art production as well. In addition, within such a difficult socio-economic context as the current one in Croatia, artists must cope with permanent insufficiency of funding, together with the shortage of working spaces and performing/exhibiting facilities. In contrast to industrial proletariat of 20th century which had a possibility to organize themselves within the factories and thus became able to politically represent their class, today's creative precariat haven't managed to establish a collective through which they could politically react. By framing their activities within a large-form, the class of creative workers would be given an opportunity to combine their forces and take their position. The establishment of public domain within the large-form will enable them to stand out as a distinct class, which is an important contribution to the city life and creation of a global image of the whole society.

LARGE-FORM AND A DIFFERENT IDEA OF THE CITY

Besides providing the frames for the reestablishment of urban culture and an exhibiting platform for it, the large-form tends to become a social centre of gravity. Since its programmatic diversity will be accessible to the rest of the city population, the respective community residing in the large-form will be able to interact with the surrounding parts, which will result in reciprocal influence.

Novi Zagreb can be considered as an urban part of distinct formal and functional qualities and spatial structure, an embodiment of an idea of the city, different to others, with a specific notion of urban life. According to Rossi's definition it could thus be interpreted as an *urban artefact*.[3] Following the preceding observations on the autonomous architectural form and large-form structures together with the detected qualities and problems concerning Novi Zagreb, a large-form could be seen as a programmatic complement which would contribute to the urban quality of the city part. With the variety of functions and programs it would densify the area, giving it a metropolitan character, thus following the initial idea of creators of the city who envisioned Zagreb as a metropolis, much earlier than it officially became the Croatian capital.

Implemented on the edges of its territory, a clear form will signify a different idea of the city, in contrast to the post- transitional urban sprawl, which became the dominant form of urbanization in the course of the last decades. Against the expansive city development, large-form promotes the idea of densification from within, through distinct points of intensity. The proposed model has the potential of becoming a prototype which can be replicated on other big vacant sites within the city, always in the shape of a finite form. What's more, a large-form opens another possible perspective of a city structure, which counters the current hierarchy of city parts. The monocentric structure of Zagreb can also be compared with the centralized structure of the whole country. While everything is concentrated in the capital, the country is wasting its regional richness, failing to develop exceptional qualities of individual parts and exploit their potential. Similarly, on the scale of the city, the concentration of activities, programs and services within single centre discards the specific character of different city parts and inhibits their development. The large-form, however, indicates an idea of the city divergent to that one, the idea of a city as a polycentric territory, promoting coexistence of different identities and diversity

of choices as a metropolitan quality.

As a programmatic container positioned on the traffic axis, which was supposed to be the main north – south artery in the city, and by defining the vacant area which was conceived to be the southern enclosure of the Blue horseshoe, the large-form will answer three aspects of unfinished modernization of Novi Zagreb. [4] Moreover, the location enables it to become the transitive spot between the airport and the city, taking its position in the global network as well. This area, of a high infrastructural potential, is one of the few vacant plots on such strategical position which remains in the possession of the city. Yet privatization and the subsequent fragmentation of the land is already taking place. In this regard the large-form offers a solution to retain the whole.

PROGRAM – HABITATION MODEL – FORM

By concentrating the program in two linear structures, the space in between remains free, hence the vacancy, as one of the main advantages of this area will be preserved. One of the slabs will provide the accommodation for independent artists, including both living and working spaces. The other slab is intended for hotel rooms for temporary residents. The idea is to finance the maintenance of artist's accommodation from the income of the hotel rent. During their stay, however, the hotel residents will be able to enjoy the cultural and leisure amenities offered within the structure together with the pleasant environment of green and open spaces of Novi Zagreb, while having the quick access by public transport to both the railway station and the airport, as well as the historical city centre.

The model of a residential hotel challenges the notion of the individual household by proposing a new way of communal living, liberating its inhabitants from the burden of domesticity and enabling them to fully participate in metropolitan life.[5] Applying this model will mean putting up a statement of this new choice of life form, thereby legitimizing uprootedness, migration, and a rejection of ownership. The precarious conditions, insecurity and uprootedness which occurred as a result of the neoliberal forces will become the means of its abolition.

Concerning the surroundings, the form itself doesn't imply a separation of two different territories, it rather discerns itself from both, defining its own limits and the surrounding parts at the same time. Moreover, its linear character corresponds to the development of Zagreb which is set out in horizontal layers, determined by imposed limits of strong linear morphological features. Because of its size and monumentality, the form displays potential to become a new object of orientation embedded in the collective memory of the inhabitants. It has an opportunity to become an urban catalyst of Novi Zagreb, as the Zagreb Fair initially was. It will represent a monument to a new society built on the foundations of a sustained culture.

Novi Zagreb was built for the new time, new man and new society. The modernist architecture following the functionalist principles was an instrument for urbanization and modernisation at that time, reflecting an ideal vision of society. Today, however, the answer can be an autonomous architecture of large-form, which can set the frames for establishing the new order, based on remodelled values and ideals.

Despite the general attitude that the time of utopia is gone, and regardless of global economical circumstances whereby it seems that any effort of architecture being autonomous and non-serving is an illusion which has no potential to be realized, the notion of *architectural thought* and *architectural project* as a potential force of resisting current circumstances should not be abandoned.
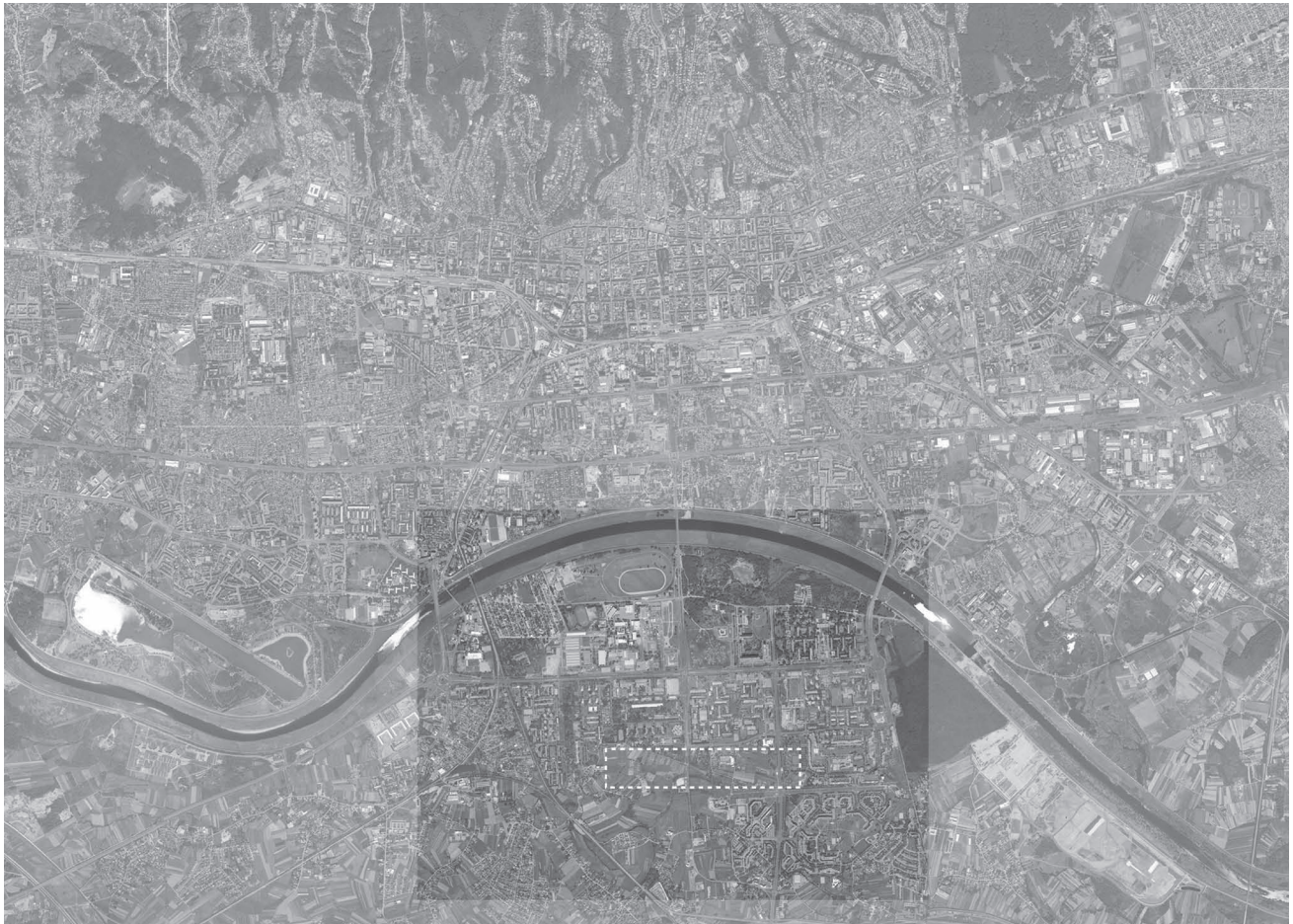
05.1
Zagreb, ortofoto, intervention area.

km   1

05.2
Zagreb, urban morphology with large-form proposal.
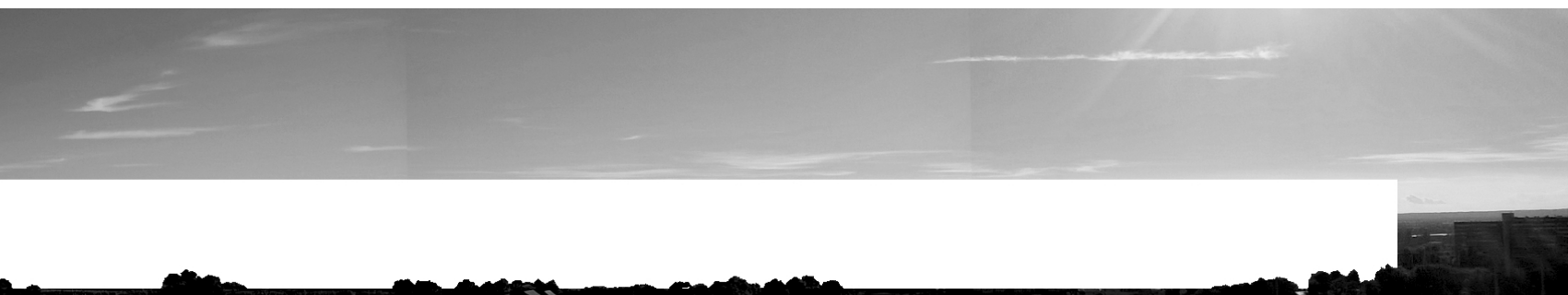
05.3
The linear border.
Aerial view of the structure, concep-
tual collage.

05.4
05.5
Bridge of Freedom, view to the north:
natural limit Medvednica mountain;
View to the south: large-form.

05.6
Horizontal layers: natural limits and
large-form, collage drawing.
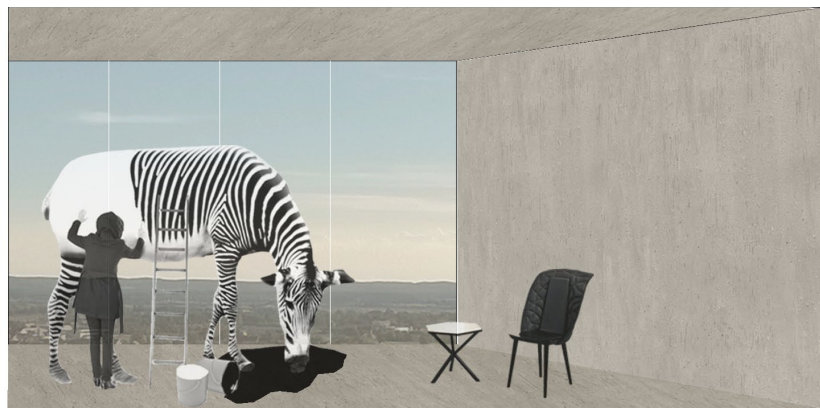
05.7
Living and working cells, southern
block, collage drawing.

05.8
A room of residential hotel, northern
block, collage drawing.
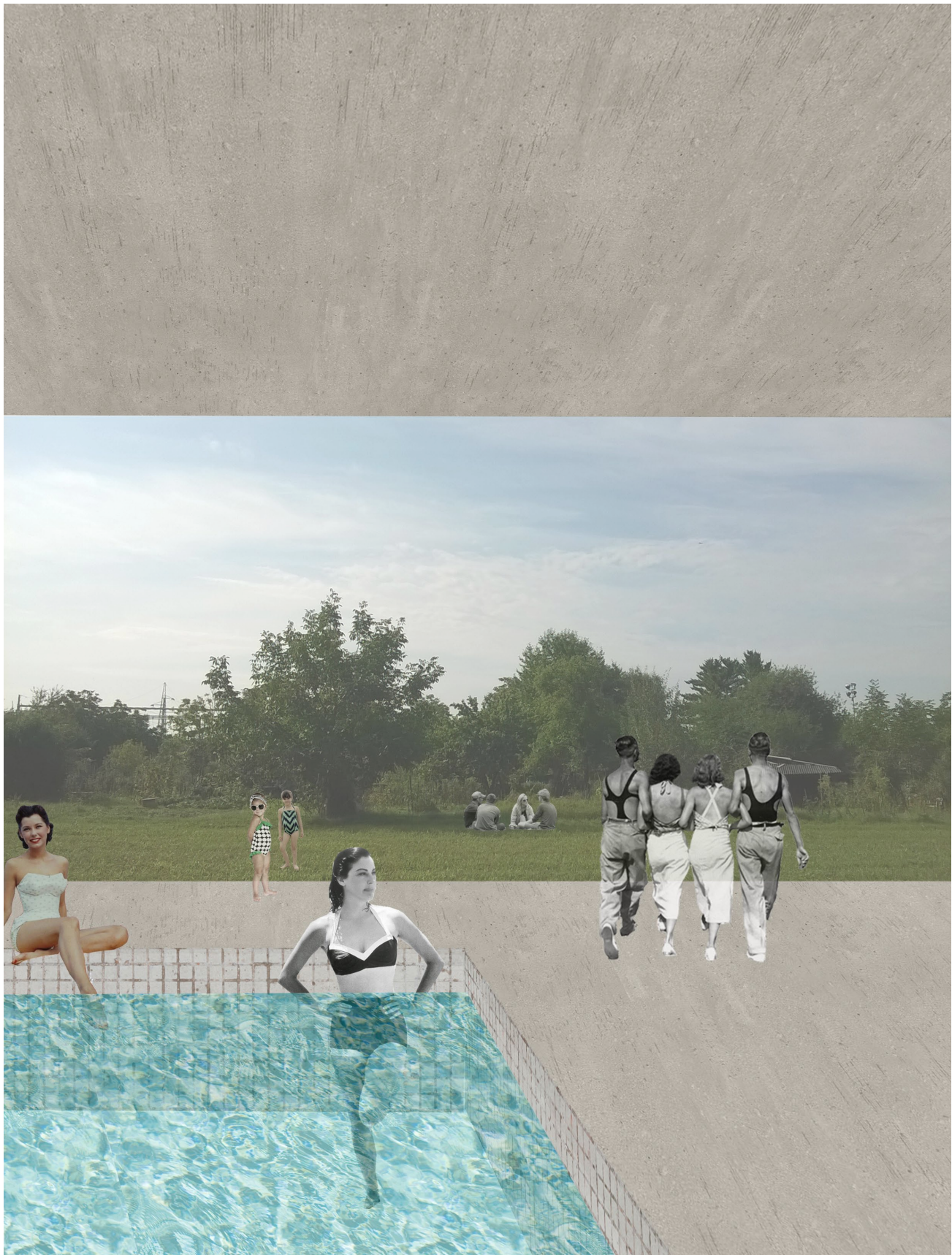
05.9, 05.10
Ground floor - the permeable border,
collage drawing.
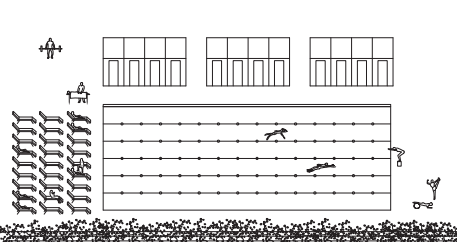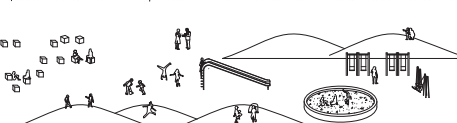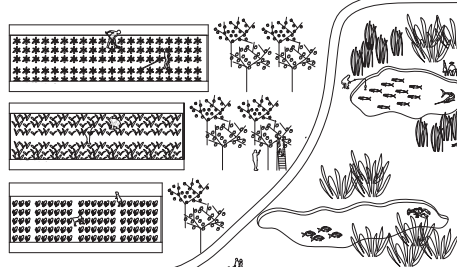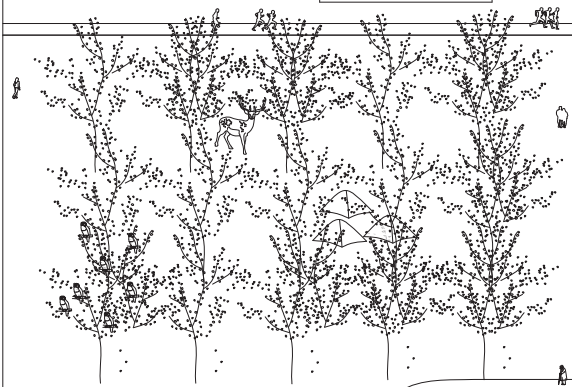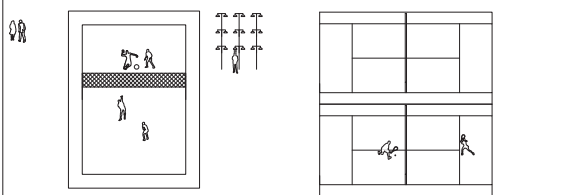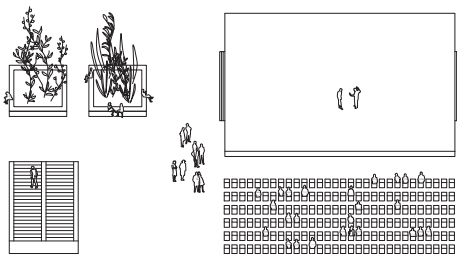
Südblock

THE ELEMENTS

A WALL AND A GARDEN

The wall, with its linear but finite character, limits, divides, defines and contains the space. Its abstract structure, however, doesn't refer to the context in any way.

> "The wall is understood as something that forcefully limits space but also, by remaining resolutely itself, leaves its surroundings free."[1]

The inhabited wall accommodates the program. Its generic structure contains the activities of production, reproduction and consumption. By implying life on the assembly line, the project brings the aspect of overall production to the extreme.

A service wall – the structural element present on the level of both the basic unit and the whole - accommodates the activities of reproductive labour, thereby leaving the rest open for free individual or collective use, for the activities of production and consumption.

According to the Zoroastrian theology, paradise represents the most perfect place on earth, where society is able to achieve the ultimate purpose of creation, which is happiness. The word *paradise* literally means 'walled (enclosed) estate', yet the wall here is not understood as a defensive wall, but rather as the 'divider of space'. It divides and separates, therefore it produces space.[2] The notion of the garden here is associated with the idea of a paradise, with it's main intention of creating happiness. As such, it counters the productive character of the wall. The production of happiness is juxtaposed with the production of capital and profit, as a driving force and the main goal in neoliberal society. The garden is a linear sequence of free spaces, public surfaces, landscape and nature. Its vacancy provides a space for multiple activities and events to take place. It is a surrealistic place of magic, freedom and possibilities, the platform for encounter and confrontation. By framing the vacancy with its clear form, the wall, however, enables the garden.

THE STRUCTURE

The main tissue of the walls will consist of basic habitation unit – namely the units of residential hotel in the northern block and living and working cells for the creative workers in southern block. Their generic arrangement will occasionally be interrupted with the voids containing open terraces and recreational facilities – the segments of the garden in the air, as an interruption from the repetitive rhythm of everyday activities.

The structure will be raised on massive pillars, containing the main vertical communication cores which enable the access to the residential upper floors. Consequently, the ground floor level will remain free, allowing the permeability of a delineated border and enabling the interaction between the garden and the surrounding context. Between the ground floor and residential levels, two mezzanine levels are inserted, accommodating various public facilities. Within the north block are gastronomic and shopping amenities, as well as libraries, lecture halls, conference rooms and other servic-

1
Aureli, Tattara (2013), p. 36.

2
Khoravi (2014), p. 39-53.

05.11
The linear garden

121

es, while the south block accommodates collective work and exhibiting spaces for the creative industry - such as workshops, ateliers, rehearsal halls, studios, exhibition and lecture halls, together with all the necessary infrastructure placed within the service wall. Underground, below the crossing with the main north-south traffic artery, the station of the new proposed metro line will be located, as well as a parking garage. In addition, the underground level will accommodate the heterotopian world of artistic production and presentation - larger facilities such as a theatre, concert and cinema halls, film studios, and exhibition halls.

THE UNIT

The structure defined by the service wall enables the spatial zoning, which provides the areas of different qualities. Unlike the fixed arrangement within the wall, the remained living space can be used in various ways. The winter garden, as the extension of the main space, offers a possibility of internal communication, potentially linking the units.
The extended access and communication space represents an optional space, the buffer zone between the collective and private, which offers the possibilities of different individual or collective use.

The generic character of the basic unit addressed two issues: By providing each individual / family member the same amount of space, it dismantles the patriarchal hierarchy of the traditional family structure. Moreover, with its structure and zoning it implies on the productive and reproductive aspect of life within neoliberal present reality. The conditions of that reality are, however, being accepted and legitimized, and consequently turned into potential freedom.

DRAWINGS

01. Site plan 1:5000
02. Ground floor level 1:500
03. Mezzanin 1:500
04. Residential floor 1:500
05. Underground level 1:500
06. Axonometric section 1:500
07. Section / Elevation 1:500
08. Habitation unit, plan 1:200
09. Habitation unit, axonometry
10. Urban morphology 1:25 000
11. A wall and a garden, collage drawing
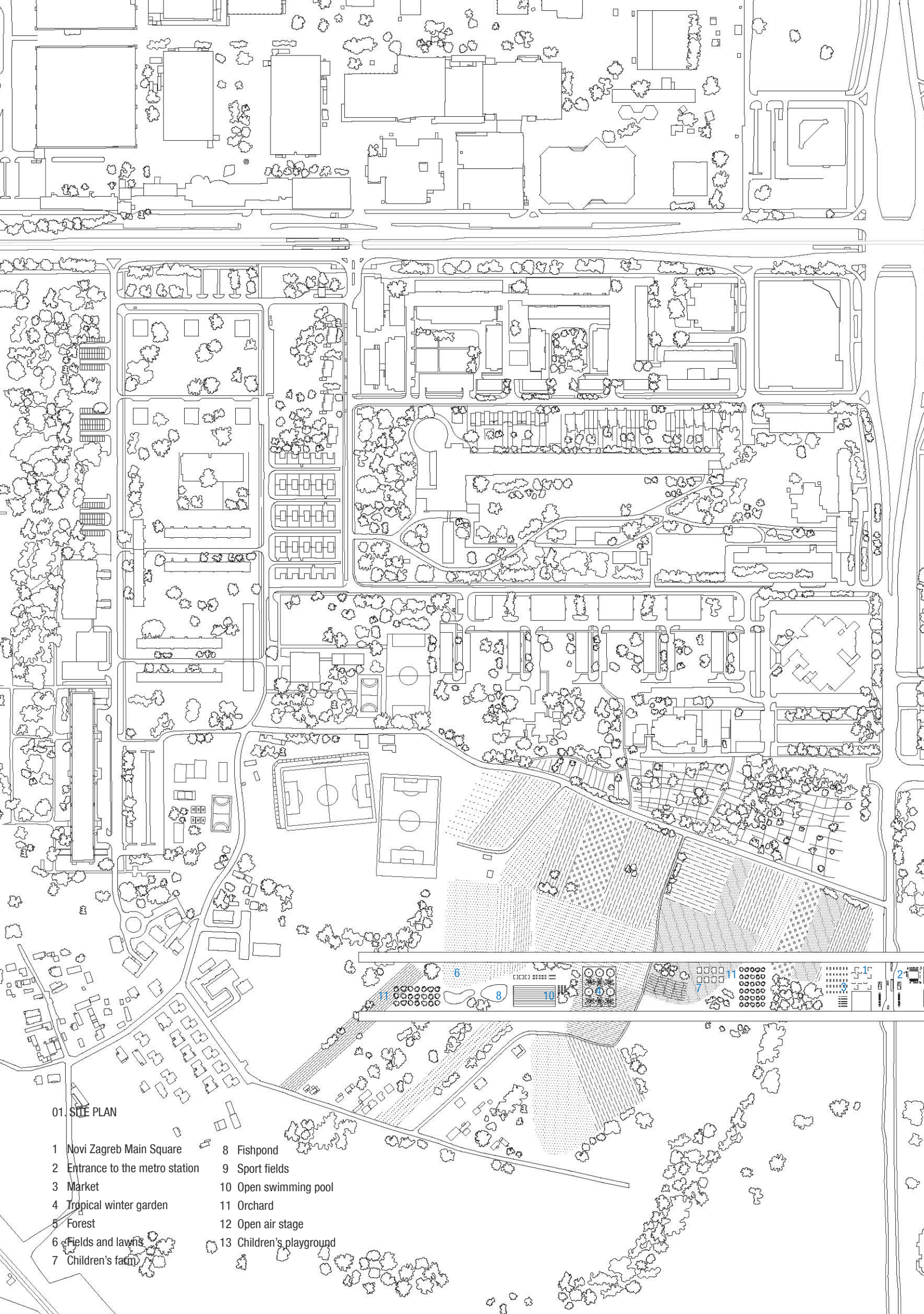
01. SITE PLAN

1   Novi Zagreb Main Square
2   Entrance to the metro station
3   Market
4   Tropical winter garden
5   Forest
6   Fields and lawns
7   Children's farm
8   Fishpond
9   Sport fields
10 Open swimming pool
11 Orchard
12 Open air stage
13 Children's playground

5

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6

m   100   200
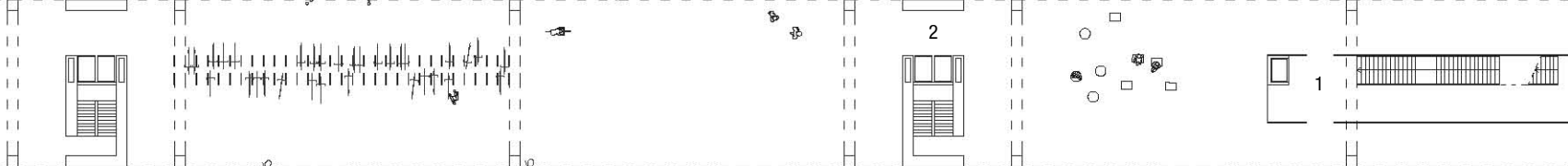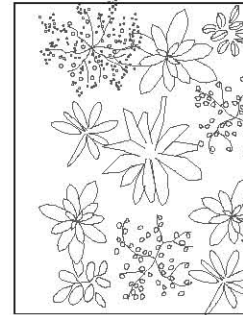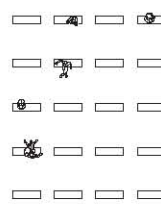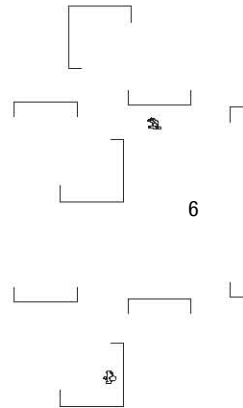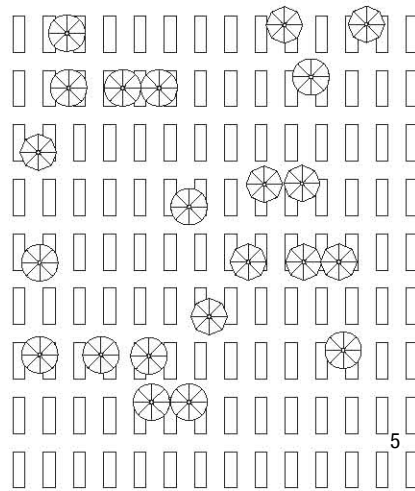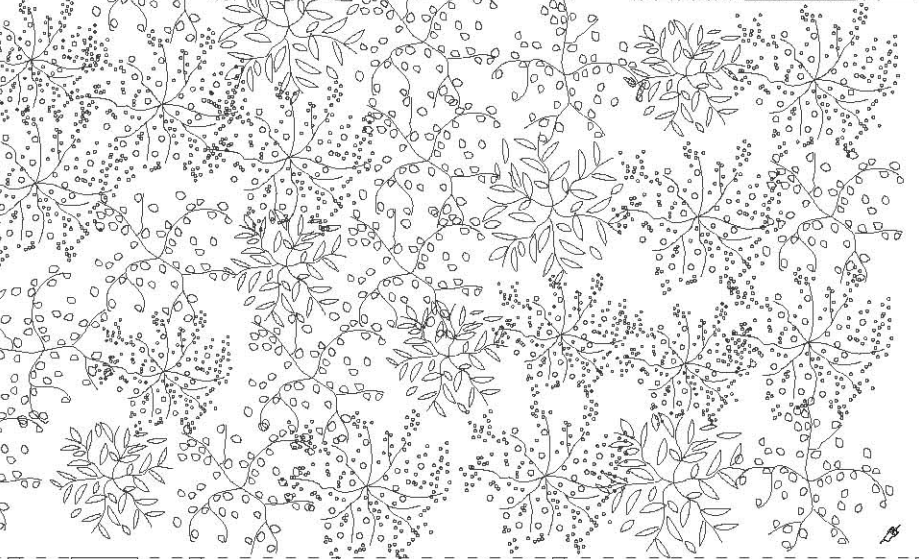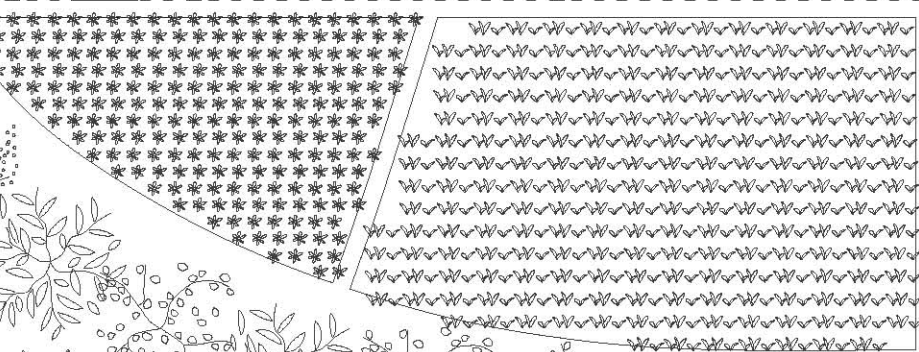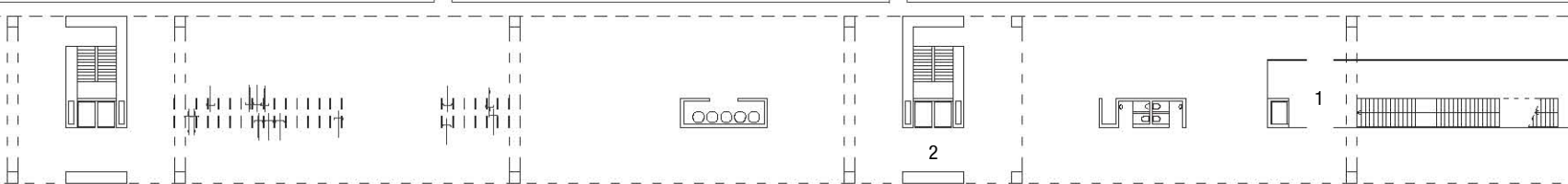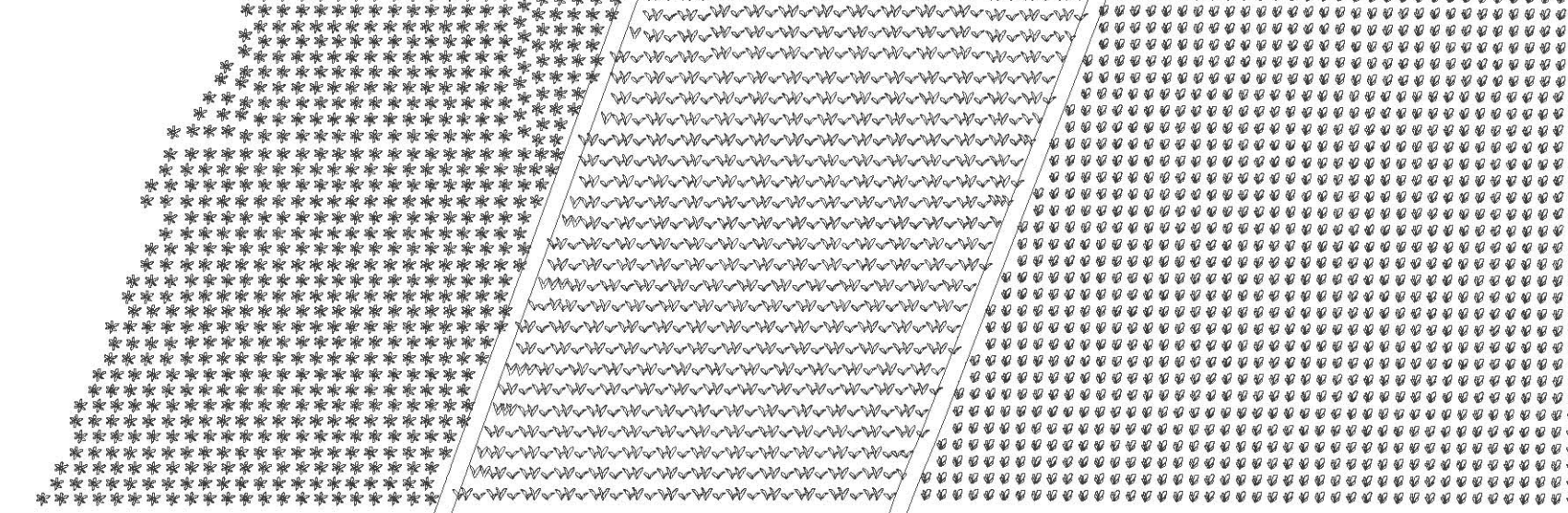
02. GROUND FLOOR LEVEL

1. Entrance to the mezzanine and underground level
2. Entrance to the residential floors
3. Entrance to the metro station
4. Bus station
5. Market
6. Open air exhibition
7. Open air stage
8. Tropical wintergarden / glasshouse
9. Fields
10. Forest
11. Sport fields
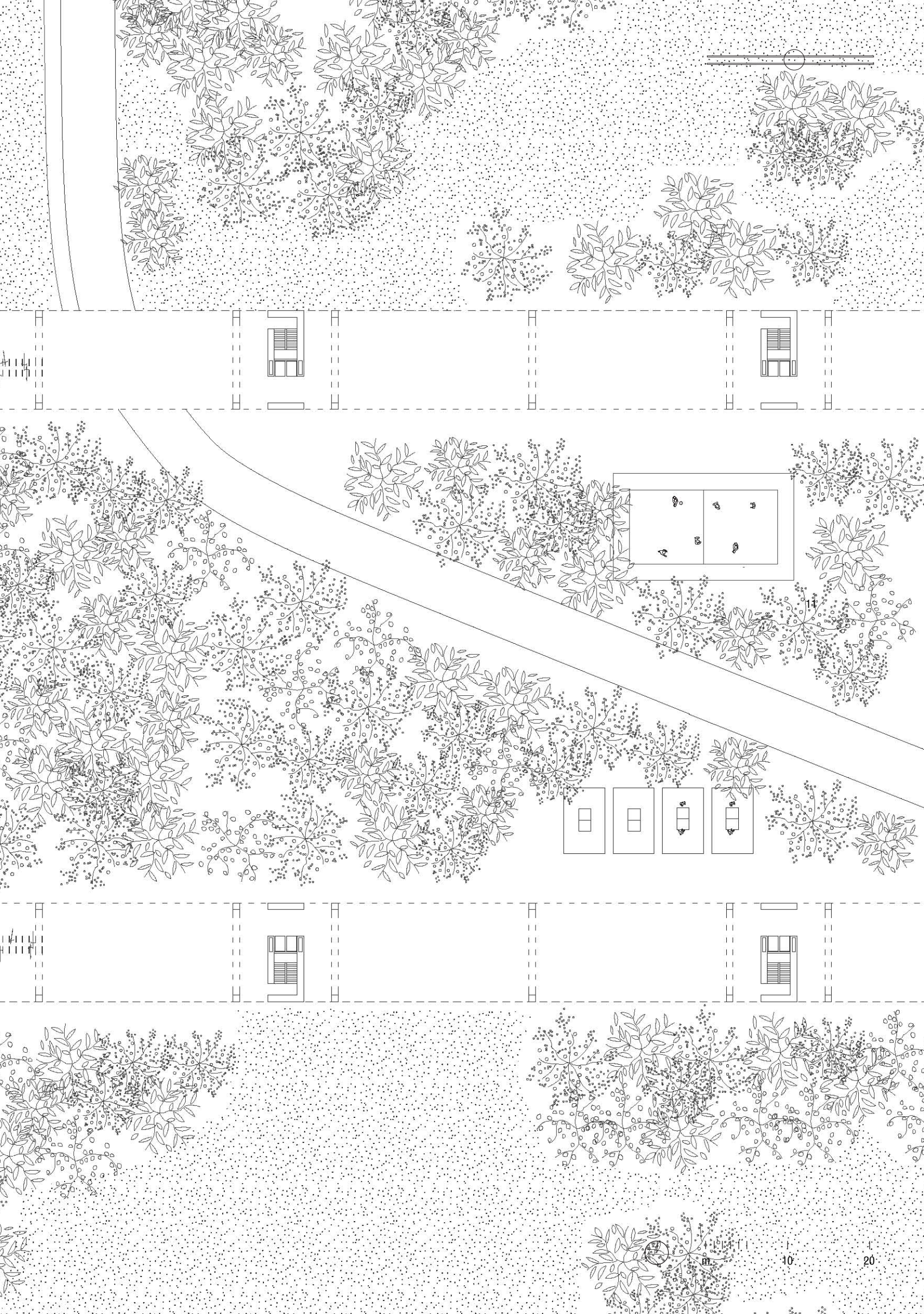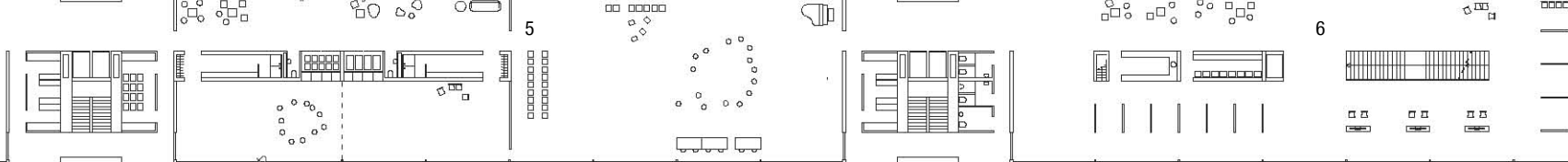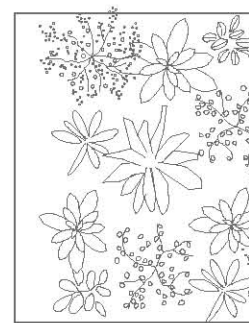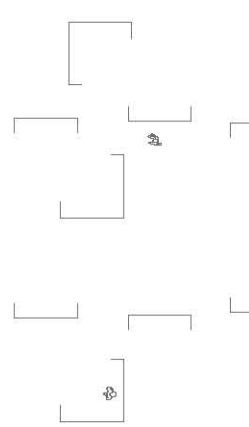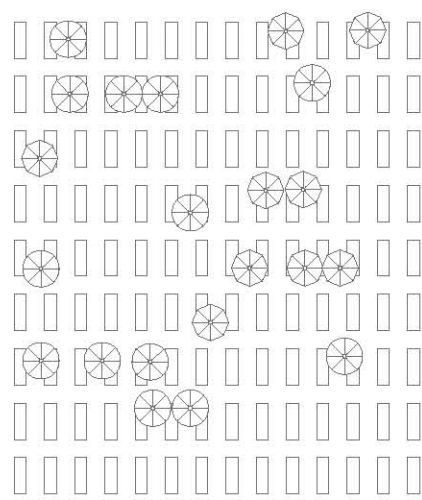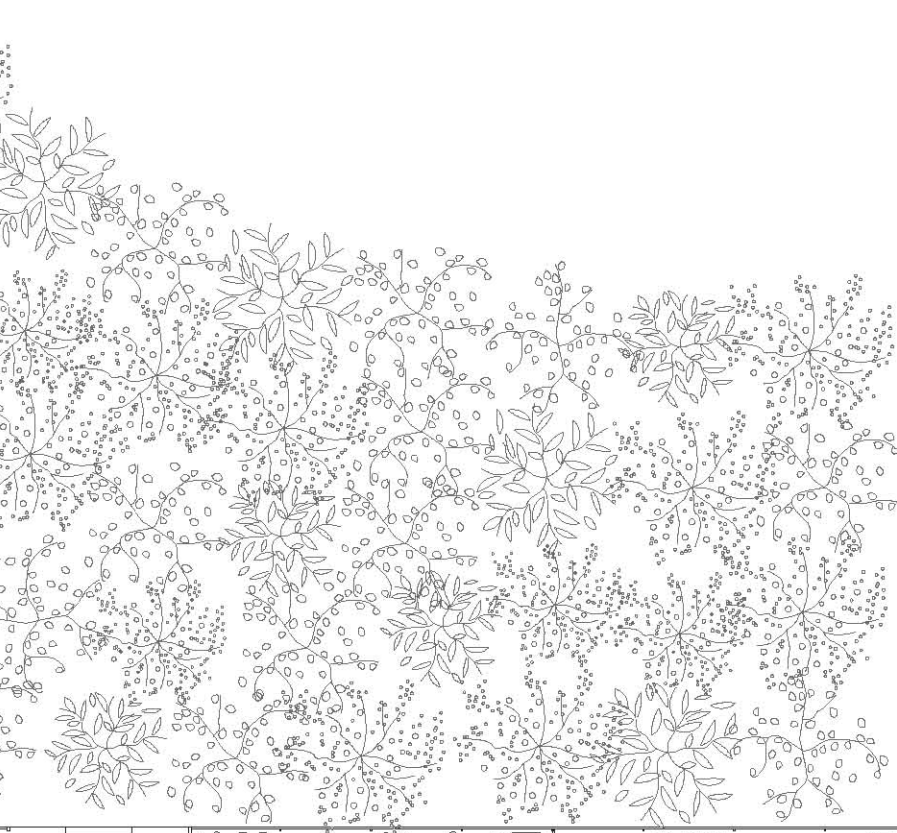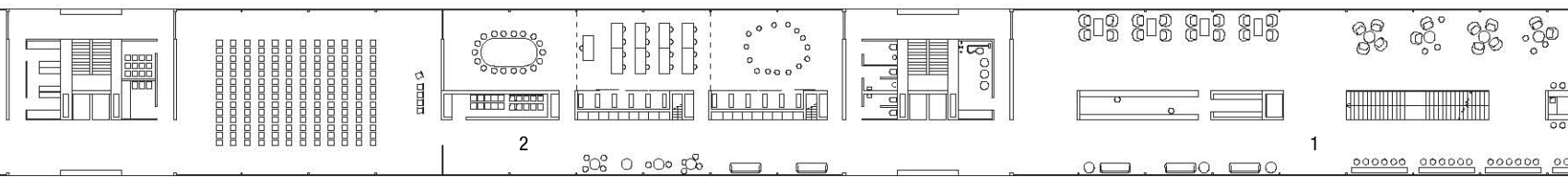
4   1

3   3

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m.   10   20

1

2

10

2

11

2

1

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6

03 MEZZANINE LEVEL

1   Lobby
2   Meeting rooms / Conference hall
3   Restaurant
4   Shop
5   Workspace - Rehearsal halls
6   Exhibition gallery
7   Meeting / Seminar / Workshop
8   Workspace - Ateliers
9   Library

3

4

7

8

m   10   20

9

8
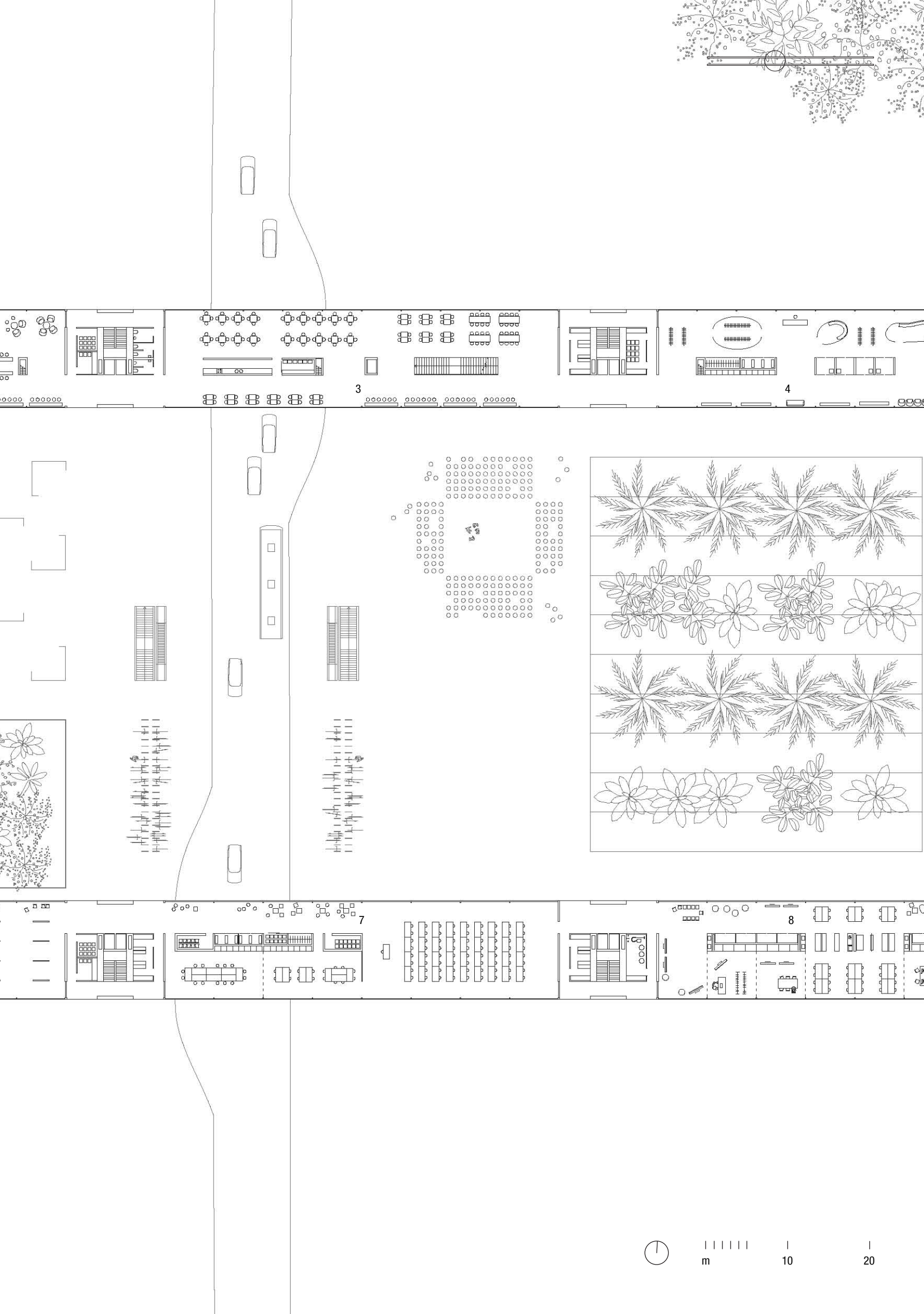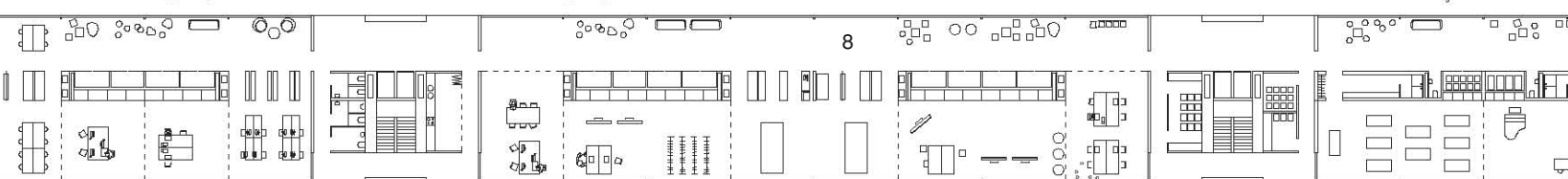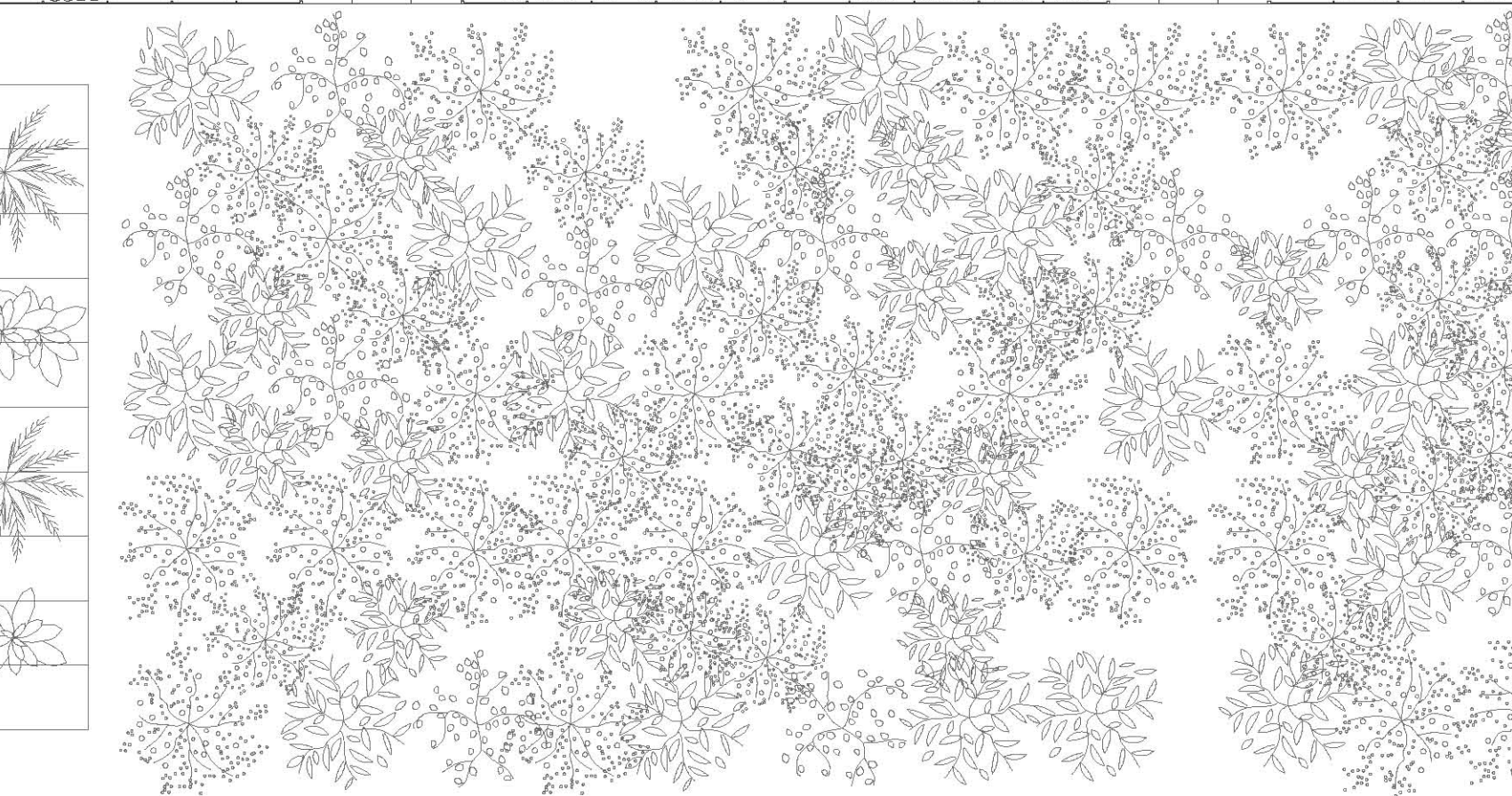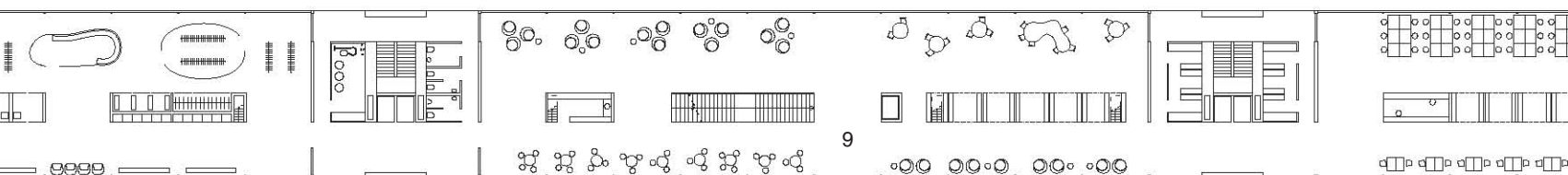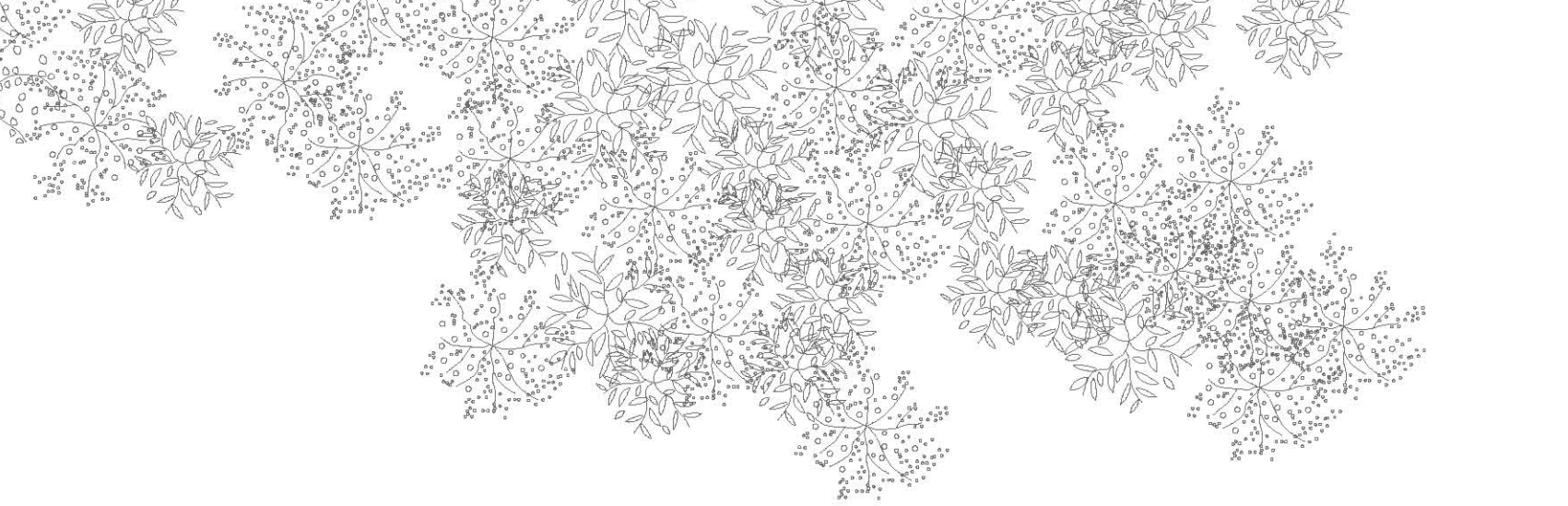
03. MEZZANINE LEVEL

1 Lobby
2 Meeting rooms / Conference hall
3 Restaurant
4 Shop
5 Workspace - Rehearsal halls
6 Exhibition gallery
7 Meeting / Seminar / Workshop
8 Workspace - Ateliers
9 Library

2

4

5

7

m   10   20

3

2
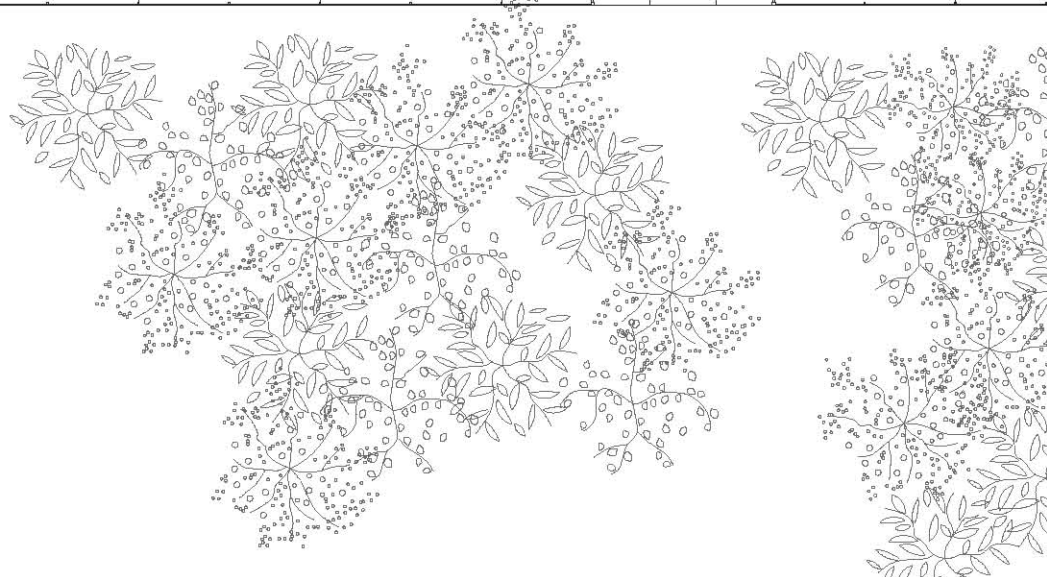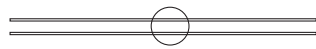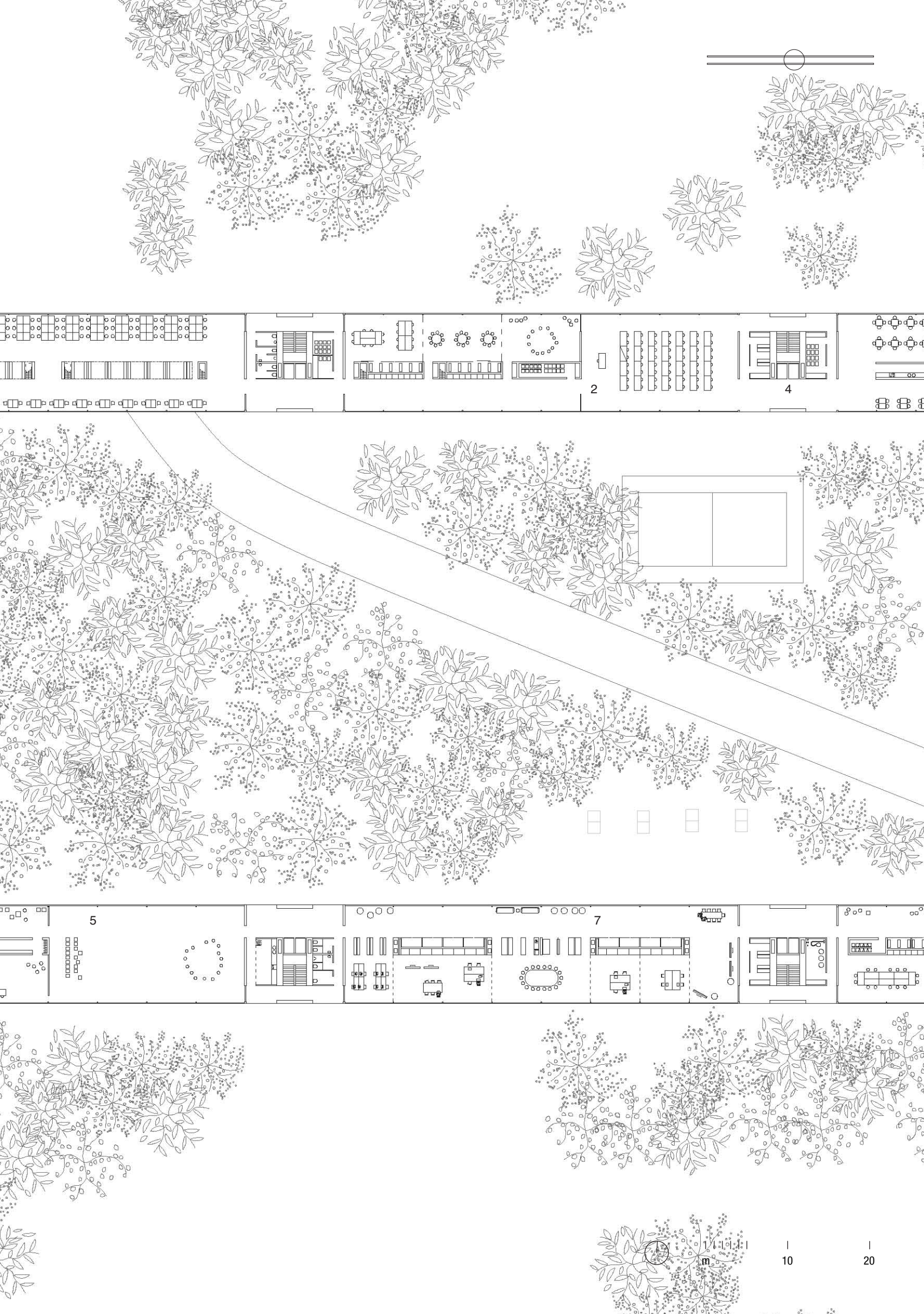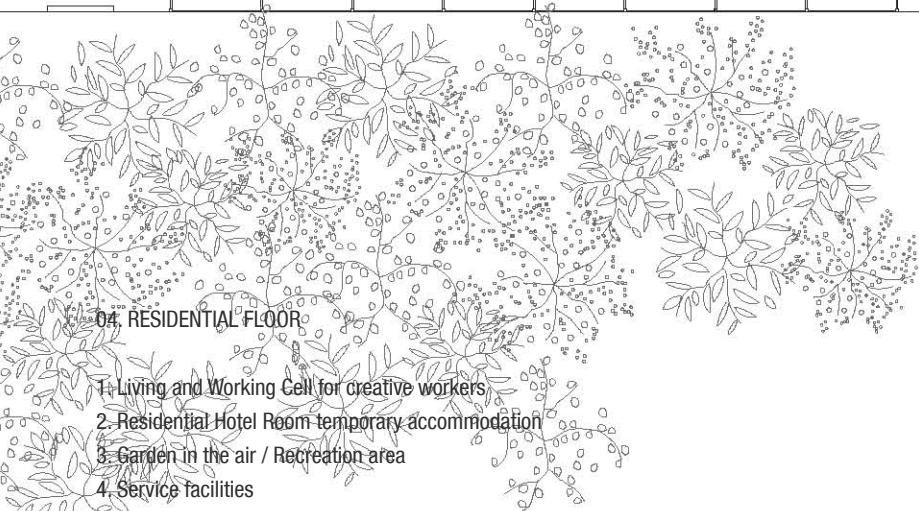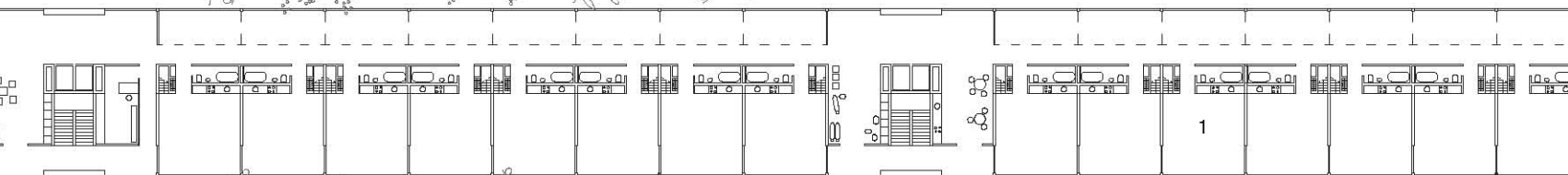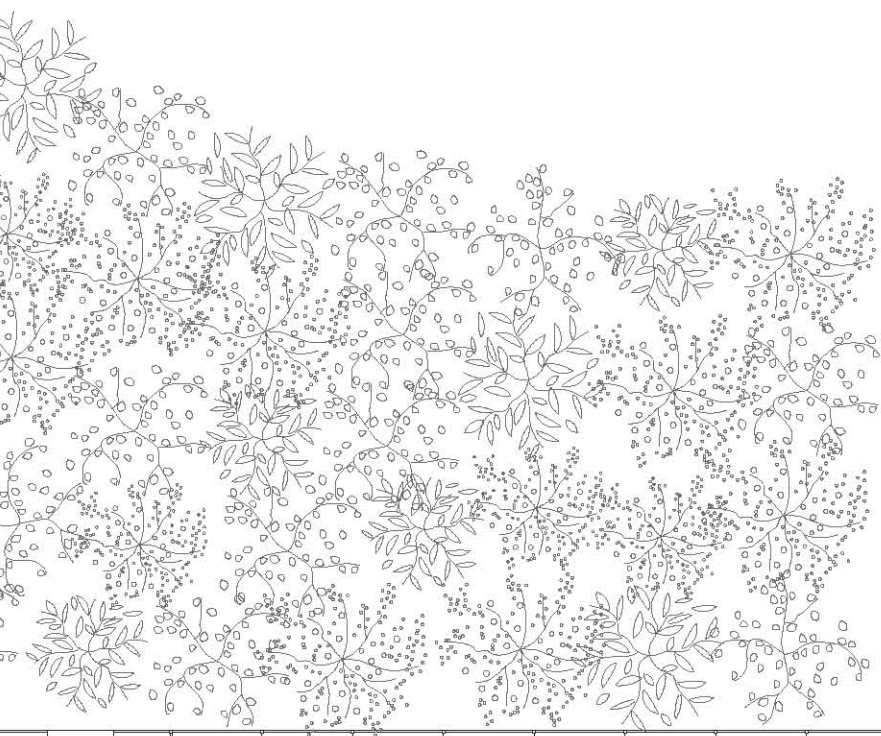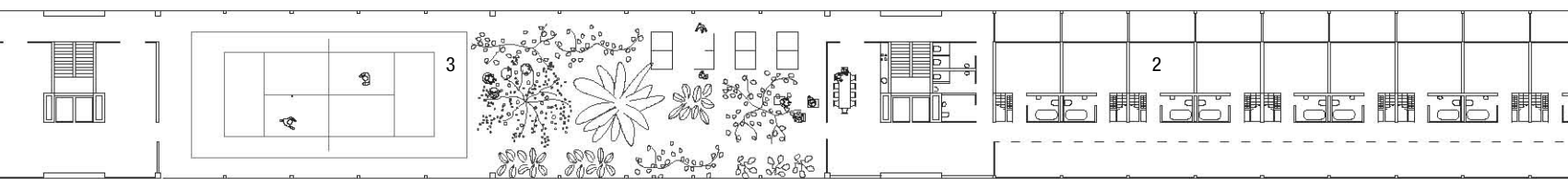
04. RESIDENTIAL FLOOR

1. Living and Working Cell for creative workers
2. Residential Hotel Room temporary accommodation
3. Garden in the air / Recreation area
4. Service facilities

1

3

4

m   10   20

3

5

1

3

4

6

2
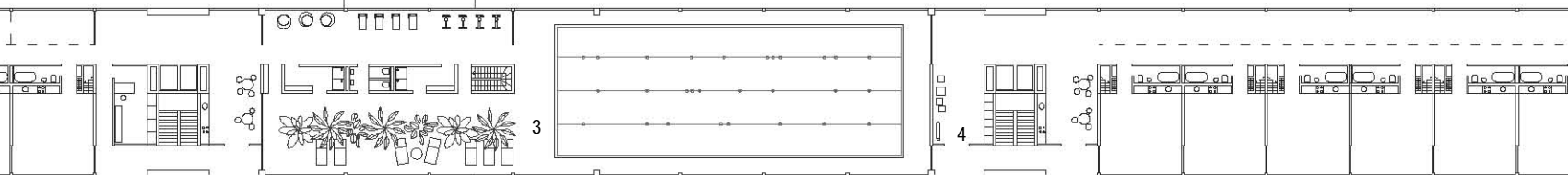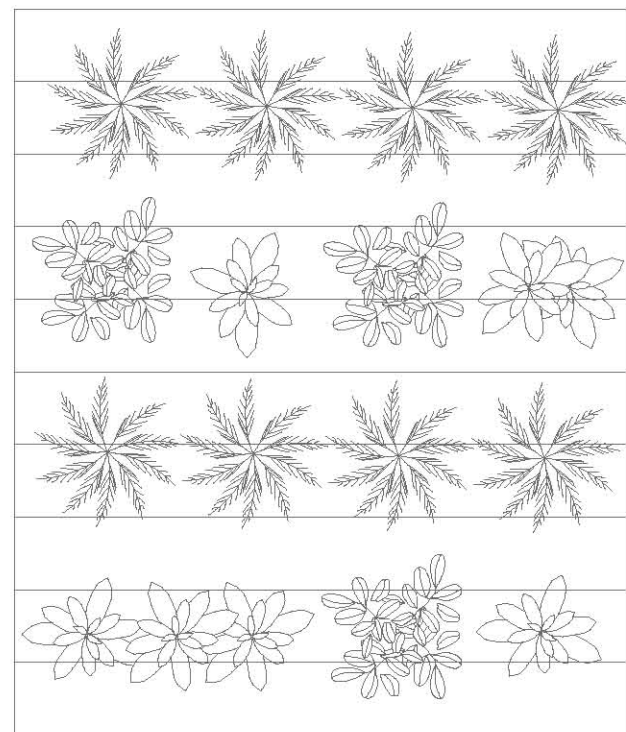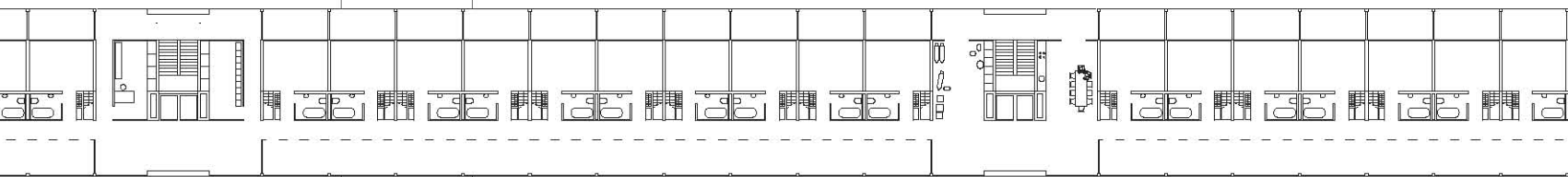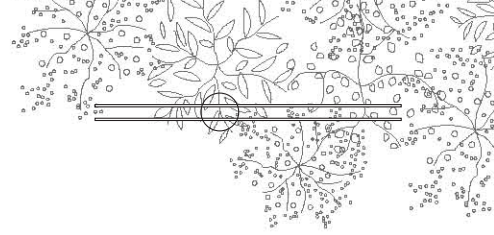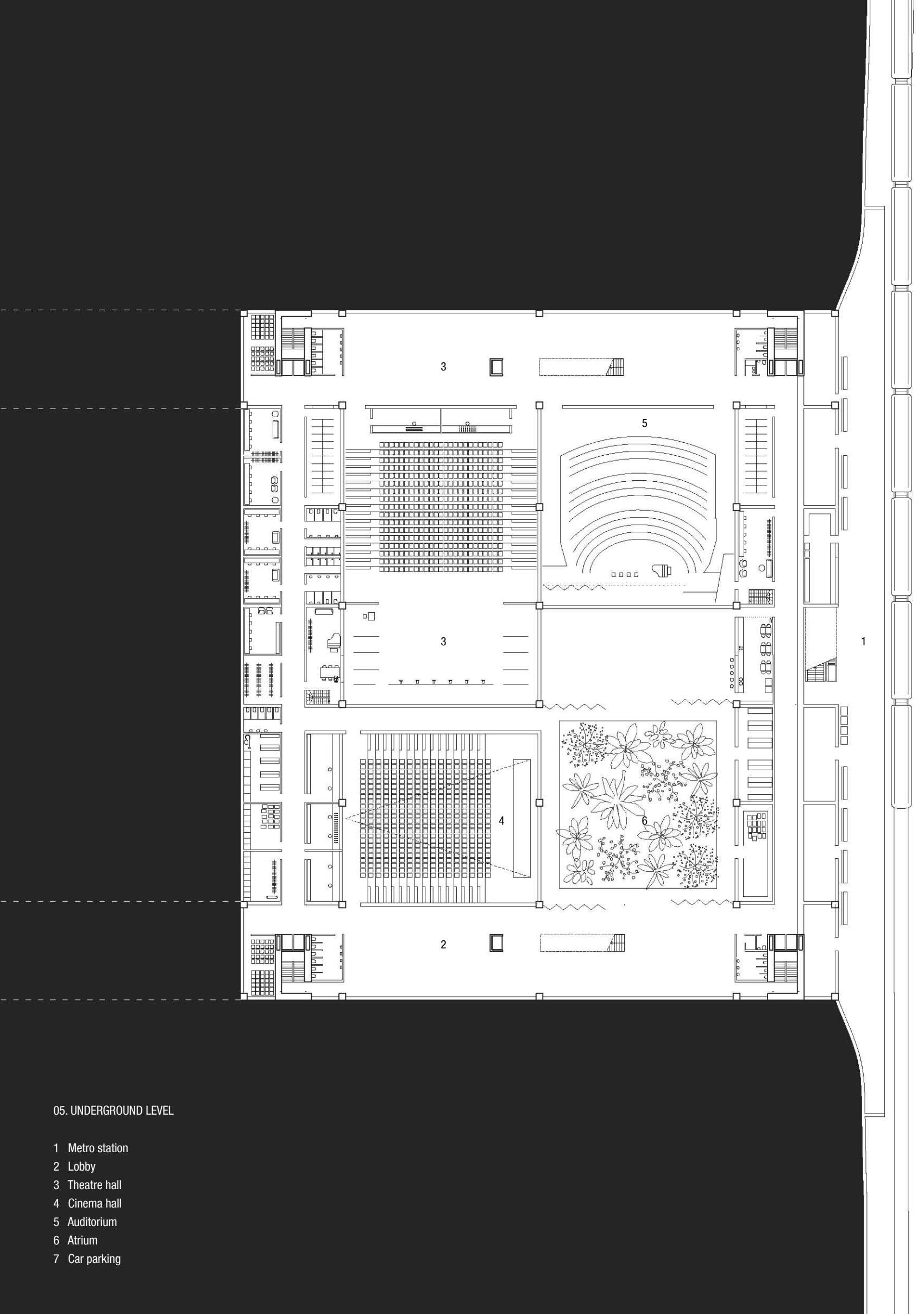
05. UNDERGROUND LEVEL

1 Metro station
2 Lobby
3 Theatre hall
4 Cinema hall
5 Auditorium
6 Atrium
7 Car parking

7

m   10   20

06. AXONOMETRIC SECTION

07. SECTION / ELEVATION
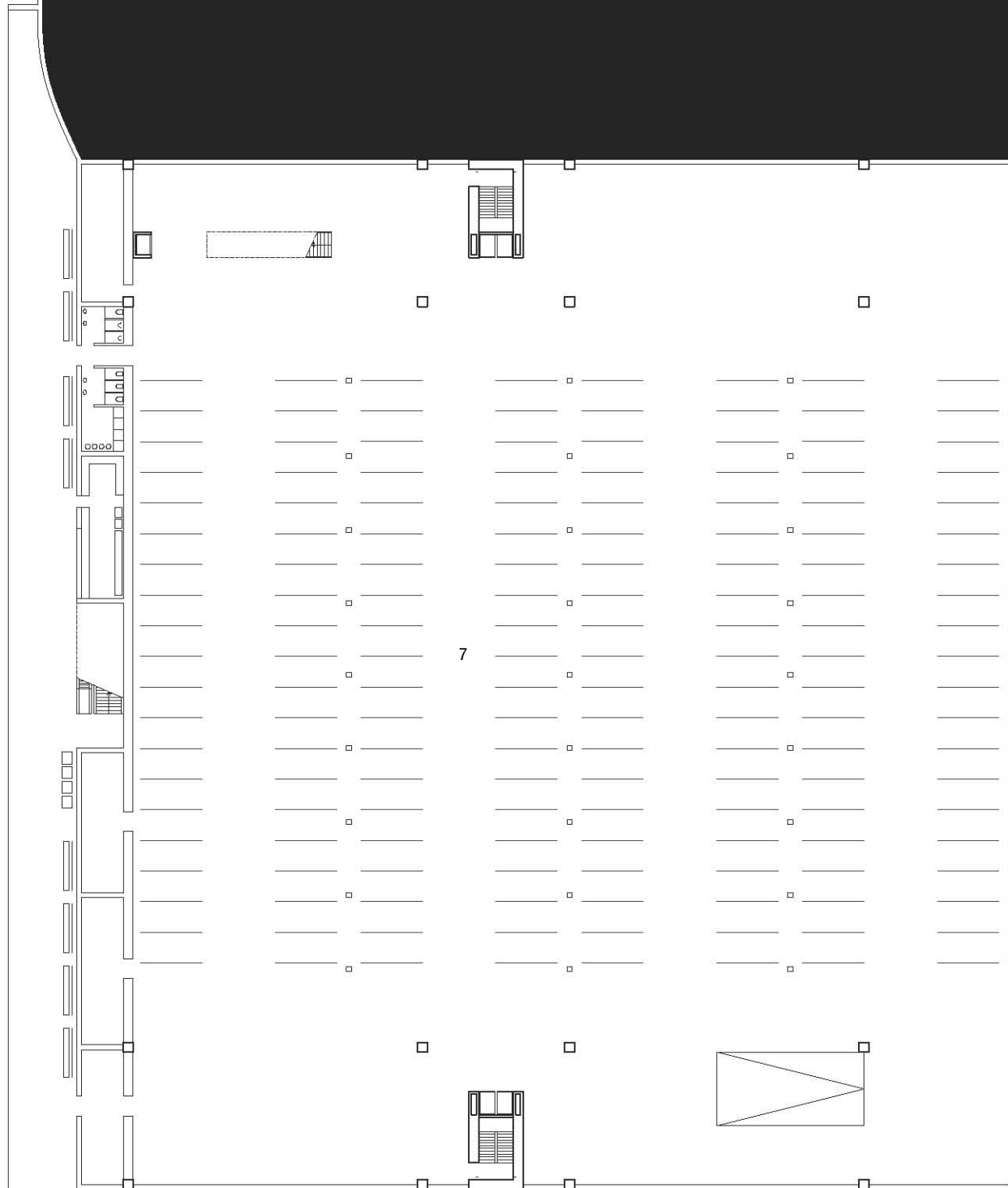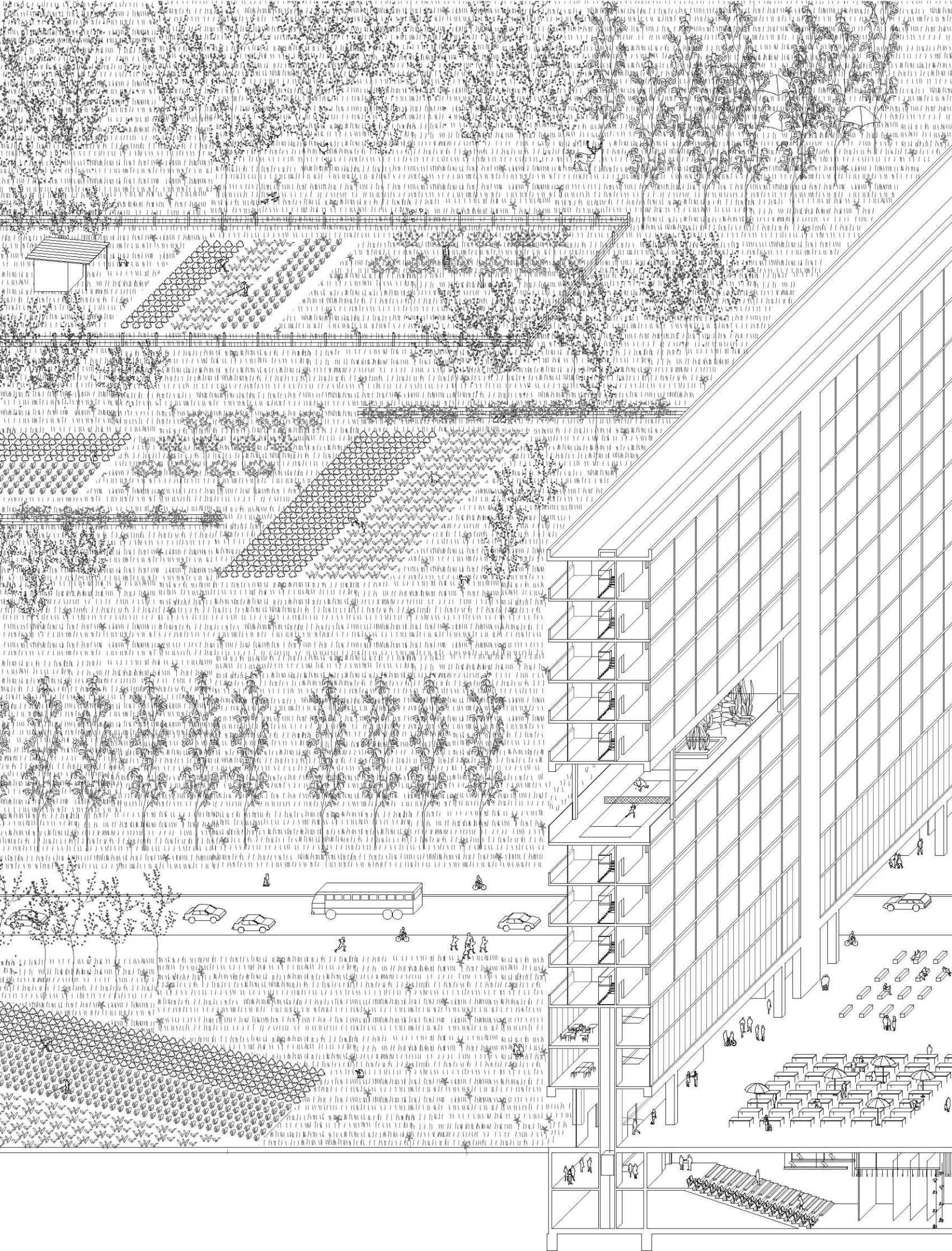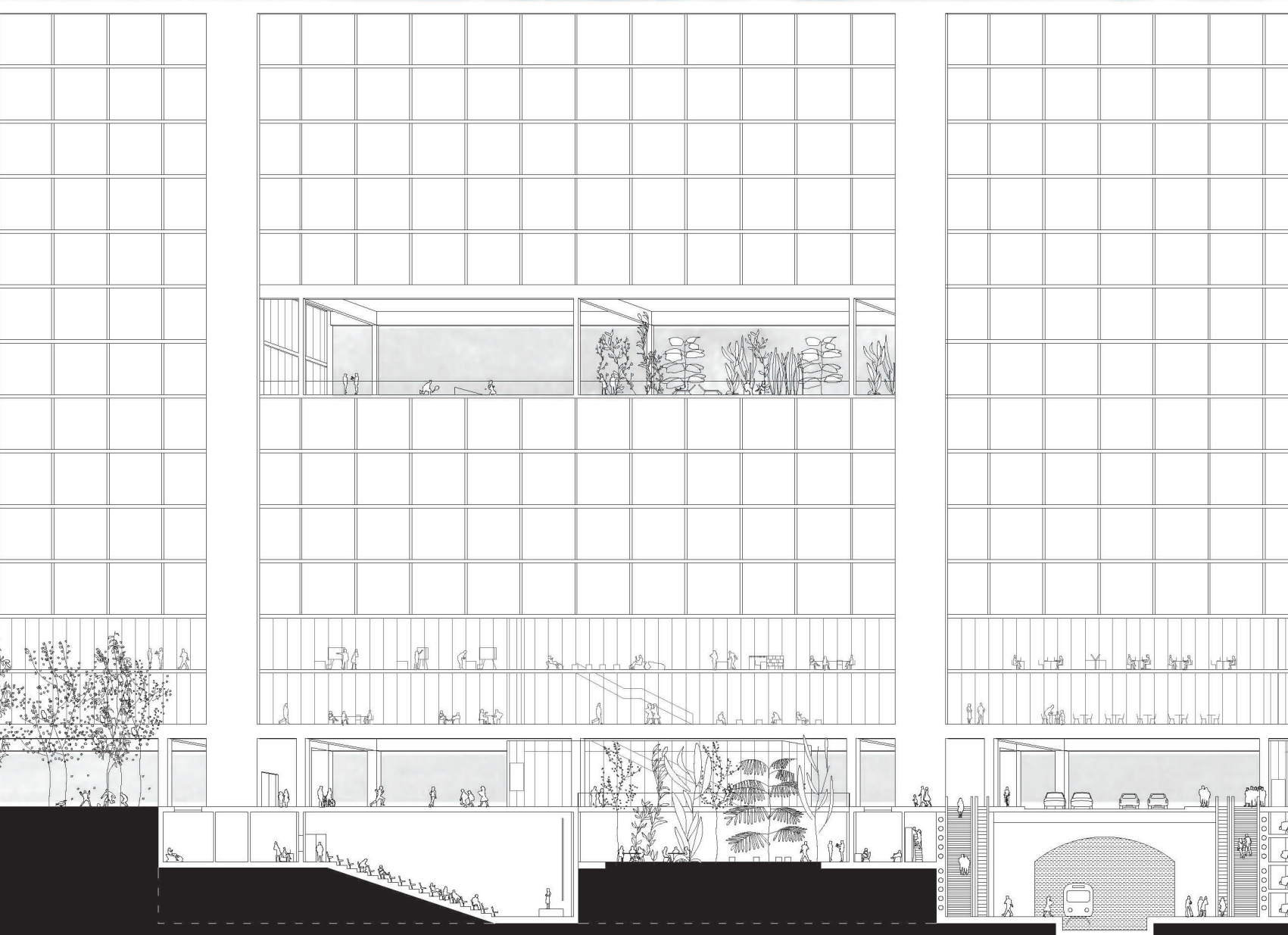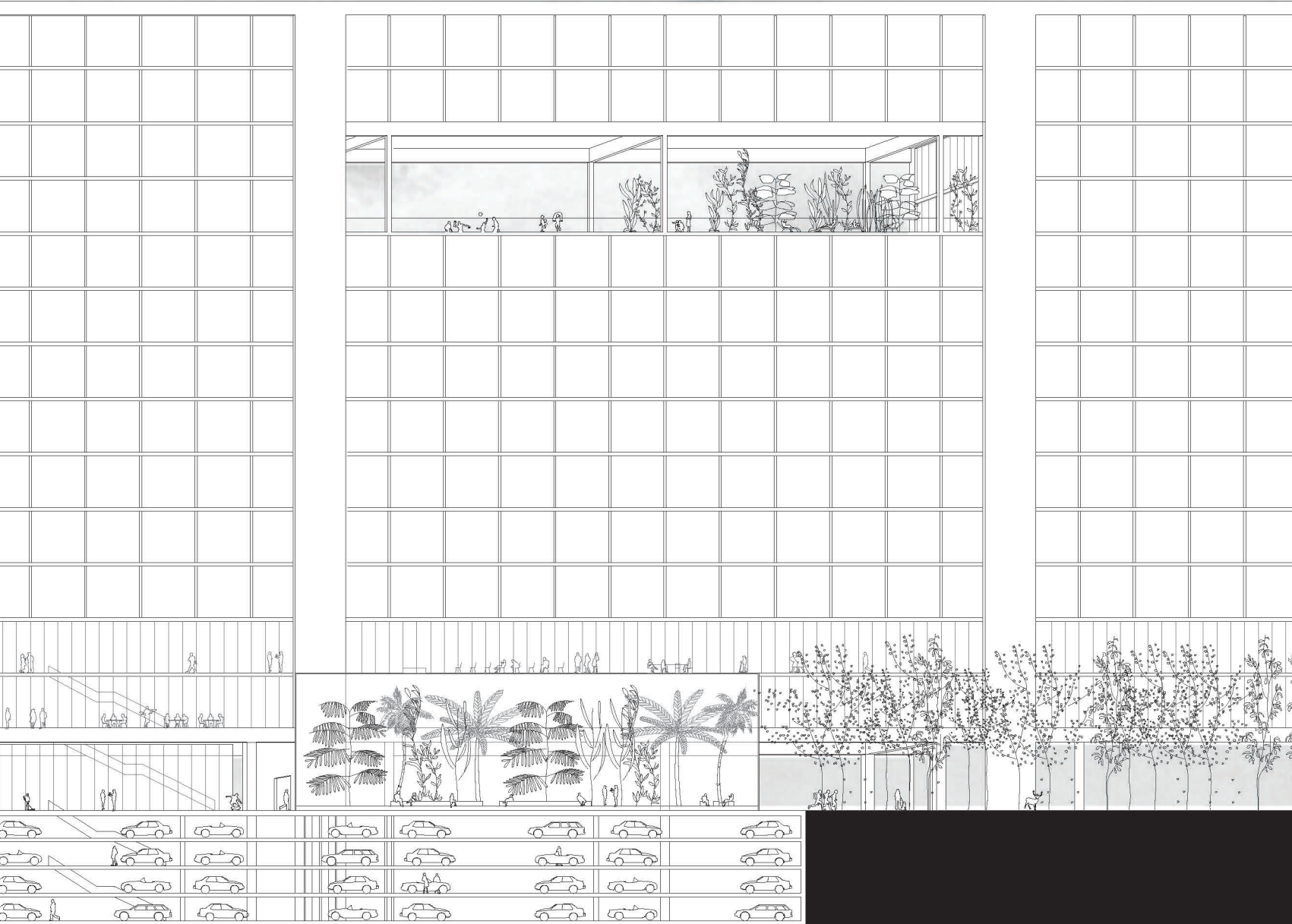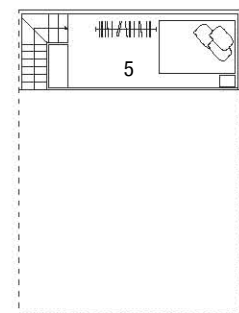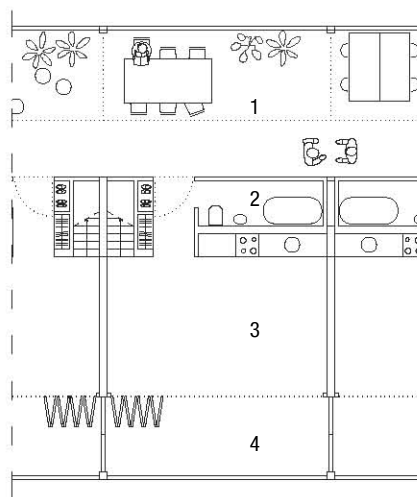
SOUTHERN BLOCK:

Living and Working Cell
for creative workers

08. THE UNIT

1. Optional space:
   individual / collective work spots, meeting
   points
2. Service wall:
   reproduction activities
3. Living / working area:
   production activities
4. Wintergarden:
   possibility of internal (privat) communication
   between the units
5. Gallery / Sleeping niche
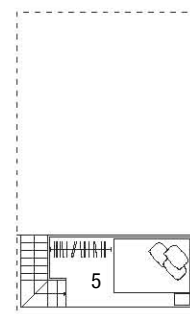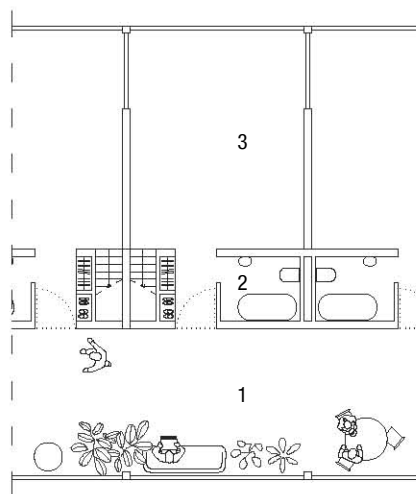
NORTHERN BLOCK:

Residential Hotel Room
temporary accommodation
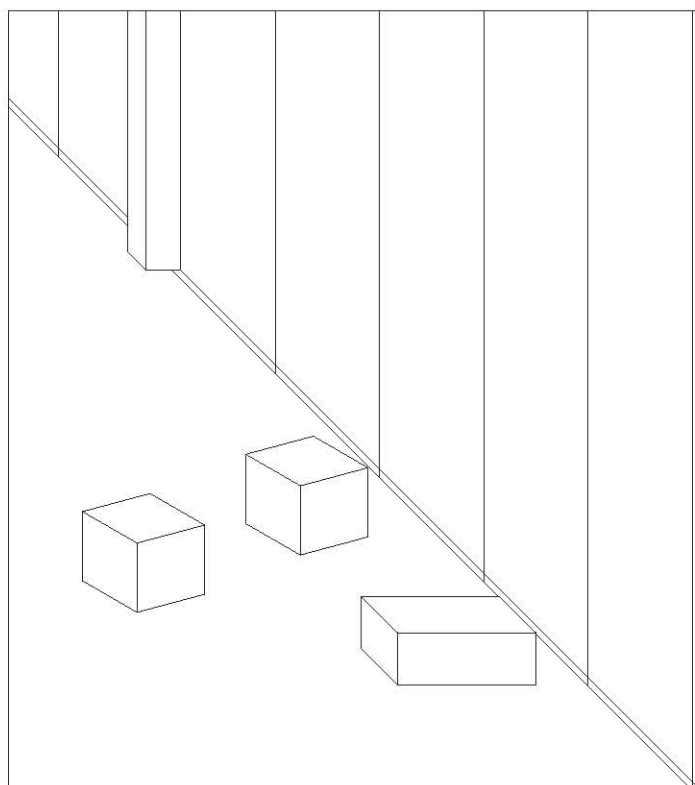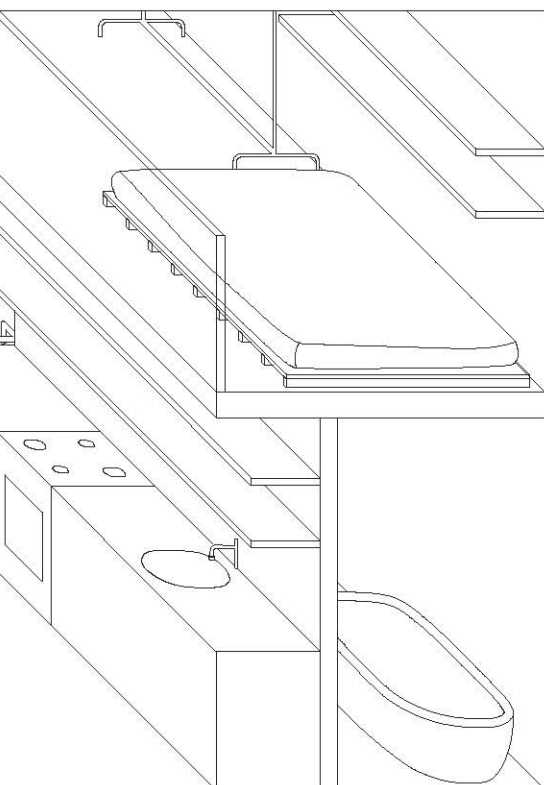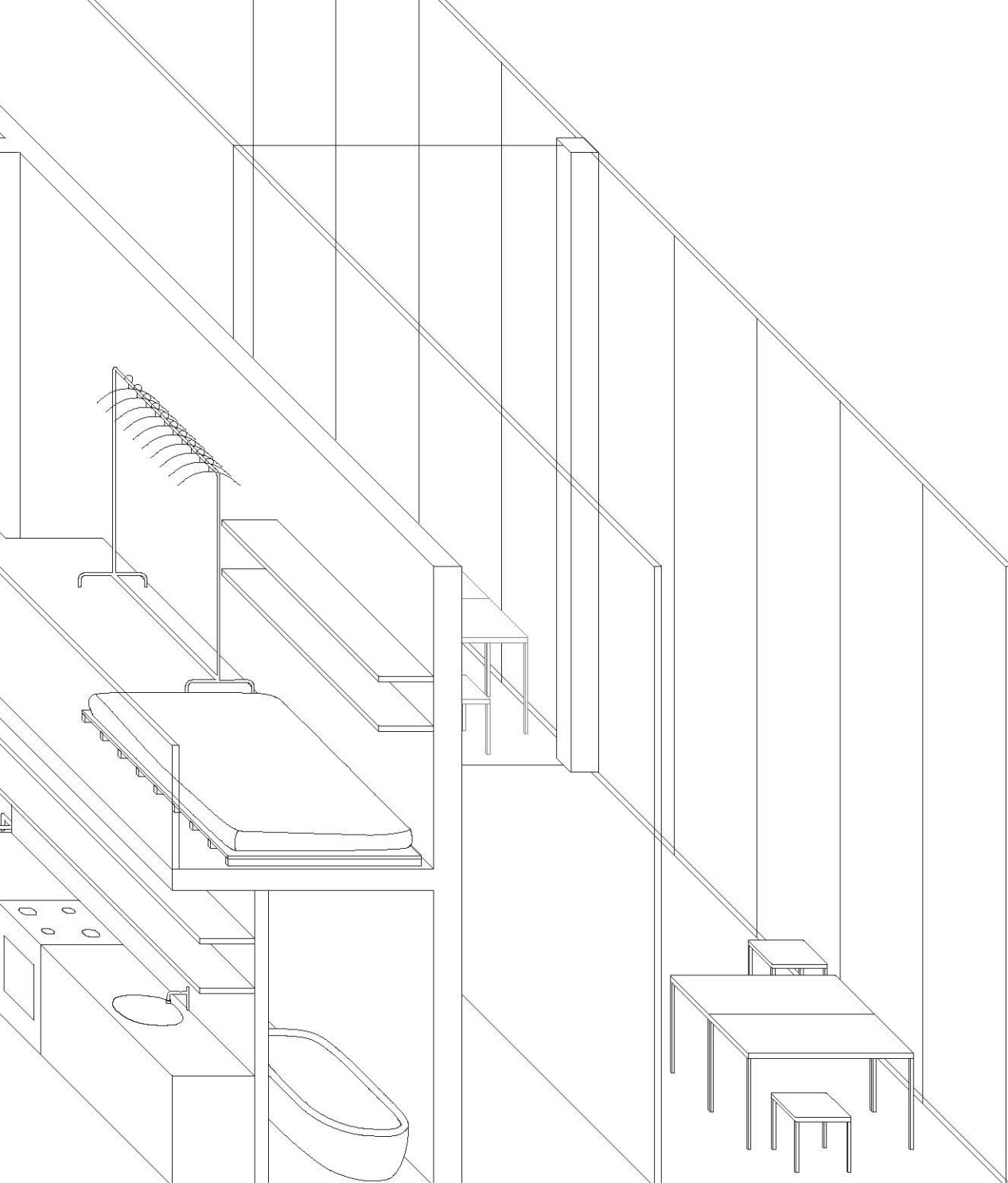
REFERENCE PROJECT ANALYSIS:
LARGE - FORM HOUSING STRUCTURES

01. Familistère
02. Karl Marx Hof
03. Unite d'Habitation
04. Climat de France
05. Communal House in Litvinov
06. Barbican Estate
07. Zikurrat
08. Robin Hood Gardens
09. La Corviale
10. Shinome Canal Court
11. Live Forever
12. Gleisdreieck Wall
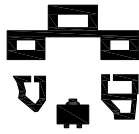
Familistère
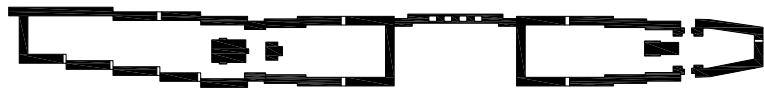
Karl Marx Hof

Unite d'Habitation

Climat de France
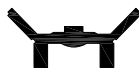
Communal House in Litvinov
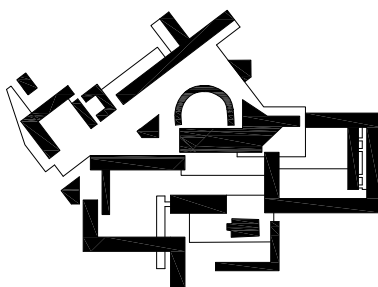
Barbican Estate
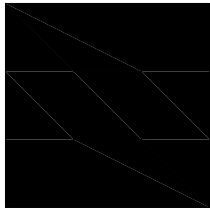
Zikurrat

Robin Hood Gardens

La Corviale
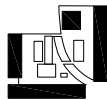
Shinome Canal Court

Live Forever

Gleisdreieck Wall

Familistère		Collective space
Accomodation for workers at Godin's factory in Guise		**Open space** Roofed inner courtyards surrounded with access galleries have a half public character. This space offers possibilities for social contact and different kinds of gathering,enabling social control at the same time.

Architect	Location, Year
Jean Baptiste André Godin	Guise, France 1859 - 1885

Floor Area	Storeys
8652 m^2	4

Housing units	Inhabitants
475 Apartments (2-3 room)	1600

Public facilities and services Adjacent pavilions accommodate a school, kindergarten and a theatre. In addition there are different services like a restaurant, collective kitchen, laundry services and small shops. Moreover the community is provided with medical service with two doctors and a firework unit with 40 fire workers. There is a swimming pool within the complex as well.

Karl - Marx Hof	
Housing programm of Vienna community	

Architect	Location, Year
Karl Ehn	Vienna, Austria 1927

Floor Area	Storeys
35 000 m2	5, 7

Housing units	Inhabitants
1382 Apartments	2500 - 2800

Collective space

Open space Inner courtyards with a public square and sport fields are envisioned for where most of the social life of inhabitants will take place. The main orientation of the apartments is towards the inner side of the block, which enables increased social control within the block.

Public facilities and services Pavilions within the inner courtyards accommodate school, 2 kindergartens, 2 laundry facilities, a public bath, library, post office, medical facilities and many different shops and services.

Unite d'Habitation		Collective space
Housing for the citizens of Marseille who were dislocated after the devastations of WWII		**Open space** Recreational area on the roof is intended for the social life of inhabitants. There is a running track, gym and a swimming pool.
Architect	**Location, Year**	**Public facilities and services** Inside of the building a small hotel, a restaurant, medical facilities and different small shops and services are distributed. In addition, a kindergarten is placed on the roof level.
Le Corbusier	Marseille, France 1952	
Floor Area	**Storeys**	
3348 m^2	18	
Housing units	**Inhabitants**	
330 Apartments (2-3 room)	1600	

Climat de France		Collective space
Climat de France		**Collective space**
Housing for indigenous population of Algiers		**Open space** The inner courtyard of 11 000 m² represents the main centre of the whole neighbourhood. The roof terrace has a half private character and along with the washhouses it was intended for work and socialization of female inhabitants.

Architect	Location, Year
Architect	**Location, Year**
Fernand Pouillon	Algiers, Algiers 1957

Floor Area	Storeys
Floor Area	**Storeys**
5590 m²	5

Housing units	Inhabitants
Housing units	**Inhabitants**
240 Apartments (2 room)	600 - 800

Collective space

Open space The inner courtyard of 11 000 m² represents the main centre of the whole neighbourhood. The roof terrace has a half private character and along with the washhouses it was intended for work and socialization of female inhabitants.

Public facilities and services The ground level of the structure accommodates 200 shops and health and educational services which are accessible from the inner courtyard.

Communal House in Litvinov		Collective space
Experimental socialist collective housing		**Open space** Swimming pool and recreation fields are adjacent to the structure.

Architect	Location, Year
Hilsky and Linhart	Litvinov, Czech Republic 1958

Floor Area	Storeys
3810 m^2	12, 5

Housing units	Inhabitants
352 Apartments (1-3 room)	800 - 1000

Collective space

Open space Swimming pool and recreation fields are adjacent to the structure.

Public facilities and services The middle lower part of the structure accommodates kindergarten, boarding school, collective dining area, laundry service, library and reading room, club spaces, a grocery shop, tailor and hairdressing service.
With the implementation of different services the idea was to liberate women from domestic labor but also to dismantle the traditional notion of family structure.
The collective dining area was not used frequently so it was turned into a public restaurant, which provoked dissatisfaction of the inhabitants. Other facilities were used, but not as frequently as expected.

Barbican Estate		Collective space
Housing development with flats for city workers to rent		**Open space** A pedestrian podium and highwalks raised 6 meters above street level represent the main circulation area through the estate and connect the open spaces between the buildings - public terraces with water surfaces. Residents' gardens between the buildings are of a more private character, accessible only to the inhabitants of the estate. The buildings are raised on pillars, leaving an open paved terrace the ground floor, enabling the continuity of open space.

Architect	**Location, Year**
Chamberlin, Powell & Bon	London, United Kingdom 1963 - 1975
Floor Area	**Storeys**
35 000 m^2	7 (terraced blocks), 43, 44 (towers), 2 (terraced houses)
Living units	**Inhabitants**
2014 dwellings (1 - 5 room), various typologies	4000 - 5000

Public facilities and services The Barbican Art Center, conservatory and music and drama school are accommodated in individual buildings at the center of the estate. A restaurant, shops and hairdresser salon are placed at the ground floor of the crescent building and the towers. There are also tennis courts on the southern edge of the estate.

Zikurrat

Project for the large - form housing development as a basic unit of the future city for 1 000 000 inhabitants.

Architect	Location, Year
Vjenceslav Richter	city for 1 000 000 inhabitants 1964

Floor Area	Storeys
72 900 m^2	40

Housing units	Inhabitants
2500 apartments, flexible size (variable lenght)	10 000

Collective space

Open space Terrace in the middle of the structure and roof terrace.

Public facilities and services The entire ground floor is a public square, roofed and air-conditioned, with shops, cinemas and gastronomy facilities. In the inner part of the structure, below the roof level there is a big event hall for 6000 people. In addition, the whole inner part of the structure accommodates production and administration facilities.

Robin Hood Gardens		Collective space
Post-war social housing		**Open space** Urban garden between the buildings is envisioned as a centre of communal life, offering the possibilities of social contact and communication. In addition, open galleries on every third floor are intended as neighbourhood streets within the structure - "streets in the air".
Architect	**Location, Year**	
Alison and Peter Smithson	London, United Kingdom 1972	
Floor Area	**Storeys**	
2824 m^2	10, 7	
Housing units	**Inhabitants**	
213 Apartments (maisonette, 1-6 Rooms)	700 - 800	

La Corviale		Collective space
Social housing complex		**Open space** A park, sport fields and an amphitheatre
		Public facilities and services The pavilions along the main housing structure accommodate sport facilities, library, church, restaurant, cinema with the bar and police station. The entire 4th storey was intended for small shops and services but this was never realised. These spaces are today occupied by illegal inhabitants.
Architect	**Location, Year**	Open spaces and service zones are arranged in a sequence along the main dwelling and are reflecting the idea of a linear city.
Mario Fiorentini	Rome, Italy 1982	
Floor Area	**Storeys**	
33 324 m^2	10, 4	
Housing units	**Inhabitants**	
1200 Apartments (1 - 6 room)	8000	

Shinome Canal Court	
Residential complex, free market apartments	

Architect	Location, Year
Riken Yamamoto	Tokio, Japan 2003

Floor Area	Storeys
5256 m^2	13, 9

Housing units	Inhabitants
420 apartments with individual working space - SOHO (small office - home office)	600 - 800

Collective space

Open space A public deck between the buildings with paved and green zones enables social encounter and communication between inhabitants. In addition, on several floors there are double storey collective terraces which can be integrated with access to the SOHO areas to provoke collective activities.

Public facilities and services On the ground floor level, below a public high-deck, kindergarten, small shops and services as well as different public spaces like galleries are accommodated.

Live Forever		Collective space
Accomodationn for creativ precariat		Each three cells share one collective space which can be used for many purposes. On the ground floor, workshops and galleries are opened to the public.

Architect	Location, Year
DOGMA	Tallin, Estonia 2013

Floor Area	Storeys
7537 m^2	9

Housing units	Inhabitants
1600 cells for living and working, 6 x 6 x 6 m	1600 - 3000

Inhabited wall Gleisdreieck		Collective space

Inhabited wall Gleisdreieck

Academic project for dense housing development with diversity of living forms oriented to achievement of social mixture

Architect	Location, Year
Morana Mažuran	Berlin, Germany 2015
Floor Area	**Storeys**
5381 m^2	21
Housing units	**Inhabitants**
471 apartments (1 - 5 room); 13 different apartment types, 5 different access typologies	1000

Collective space

Open space A winter garden on the ground floor level as an extension of adjacent Gleisdreieck Park has a more public character, while four gardens in the air (terraces distributed through the volume of the inhabited wall) are intended as parks for the inhabitants. In addition, the roof level accommodates sport fields and playgrounds.

Public facilities and services Public Loggia on the level of metro station accommodates different cafés and restaurants and access to a public library as well. Recreational facilities (gym, swimming pool, sport hall and spa) as well as kindergarten and canteen are on the upper levels, connected to the garden terraces and intended for the inhabitants. Moreover, many different services (delivery stations, small shops and workshops) are distributed through the inhabited wall.

NOTES ON THE LARGE-FORM AND THE IDEA OF COLLECTIVITY

In spite of a different formal language, size and socio-cultural context, the idea of expressing a certain social group or mediating a distinct social and political vision is what all analysed examples have in common. The vacant space, enabled by densely arranged living space, has a possibility to provide a public domain and to become a political platform for the collective to act. The housing development Climat de France, for instance, is intended for native Algerian inhabitants and with its monumental character it enables them to stand out as a social group. The same intention is legible in the monumentality and size of Wiener Blocks, concerning the working class, or in the generic character of Live Forever as an interpretation of a factory for the post-fordist working forces of creative industry.

Nevertheless, the concentration of a certain social group can also lead to negative isolation. If it stays disconnected from the rest of society, there is a risk of it being turned into a ghetto. This problem becomes obvious in the failures of large-scale housing projects like La Corviale, due to their programmatic homogeneity. For that reason, it is important to include a public domain within a large-form project. Another crucial aspect which has to be considered in that respect is the connectivity with other city parts. Hence, in the context of a large-form project, the proximity of transport infrastructure needs to be taken into account. Moreover, a special attention should be dedicated to the design of communication and threshold areas, as transitional spaces between private and public domain. For example, in the Shinome Canal Court residential complex, the SOHO spaces (small office, home office) which are integrated to the apartments, are opened towards the communication space through the glass wall, thereby activating the communication corridor. This space has thus been given a distinct character and anonymity has been avoided. A further example of a communication space, designed with the intention of mediating between public and private realm, are the "streets in the air" of Robin Hood Gardens. With their position on the outer edge of the building, the visual connection with the public space has been provided, contrasting isolation and disconnection of "rue inerieur" at Unité d'habitation. While achieving different levels of success concerning the program, form and design, the referred projects offer diverse perspectives on the notion of collectivity within distinguished architectural form.

When considering the idea of a large-form, it is not about creating a commune, it is rather about establishing the ground for a different society. The collectivity in this relation would mean enabling the freedom for everyone to be individual within the collective structure. The aim is to show that personal freedom should not be associated with private ownership, but rather with the possibility of being political and the ability to negotiate and make choices concerning one's own life.

LIST OF FIGURES

05.11   The linear garden, drawing by the author

The project drawings, pages 124 - 149, drawings by the author

06 Reference Project Analysis

Floor plans 1: 10 000 on the pages 152, 153, drawings by the author

 1   Familistère; Source: www.picardie-muses.fr
 2   Karl Marx Hof; Source: www.mattes-photography.eu
 3   Unite d'Habitation; Source: manmakehome.files.wordpress.com
 4   Climat de France; Source: socks-studio.com
 5   Communal House in Litvinov; Source: www.mulitvinov.cz
 6   Barbican Estate; Source: upload.wikimedia.org
 7   Zikurrat; Source: Richter (1964), p. 89
 8   Robin Hood Gardens; Source: municipaldreams.files.wordpress.com
 9   La Corviale; Source: http://youtradeweb.com
10 Shinome Canal Court; Source: static.panoramio.com
11 Live Forever; Source: ultratotem.tumblr.com
12 Gleisdreieck Wall, drawing by the author

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