

**A ‘RELATION BETWEEN RELATIONS’:
SOCIALIST MASS HOUSING AND RESIDENTIAL TOWERS
OF VOJVODE STEPE BOULEVARD, BELGRADE, SERBIA**

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Aleksandar Kušić

Faculty of Contemporary Arts, Belgrade, Serbia

Abstract. *This paper investigates the residential towers of Block 10 in Vojvode Stepe Boulevard, Belgrade, Serbia. The two towers (buildings no. 39 and 40) were initially designed by Branko Aleksić in 1969 and re-designed three years later by Aleksić and his co-author, Stana Aleksić. Taking into account the housing policy of the day, the urban planning of the Boulevard and the role played by the towers’ investor, association ‘INPROS’, the paper approaches architects as intermediaries. The designers are understood as part of a network addressing Belgrade’s housing deficit, themselves navigating a tight creative space determined by forces operating beyond their control. At the same time, their work is recognized as bent on producing a distinct set of subjectivities, with each referring, individually, to a pattern of political organisation, consumer culture, gender, or class. The towers are thus probed for their capacity to act as a medium, both in themselves and as part of a larger whole.*

Key words: *socialism, mass housing, media, gender, class, Belgrade*

1. INTRODUCTION: A RELATION BETWEEN RELATIONS

For the past quarter of a century, architectural history has been developing an understanding of buildings as media. In retrospective, it is possible to discern three, partially overlapping, theses regarding the medium of architecture. To begin with, architecture is a producer of subjectivity. Its mechanisms, which include borders, zones and lines of movement, are staged as to reproduce a set of social relations [1]. Secondly, architecture is organization. In accordance with the Marshall McLuhan’s famous maxim that “the medium is the message” [2], architecture is seen as converting certain patterns into drawings or buildings. Its aim is a “naturalized” state in which subjectivity and space seamlessly coexist as parts of a larger economic or social system [3]. Finally, architecture is an “apparatus of intermediation” [4]. It functions not only as a “channel of

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Corresponding author: Aleksandar Kušić, Svetozara Miletića 12, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia
e-mail: aleksandar.kusic@fsu.edu.rs

transmission”, but inherent to a network of practices. Understood as process rather than a realisation, architecture is detected within “systems and chains of operation” which, nonetheless, result in a whole “field” of bodily relations [5].

The following lines and paragraphs take into account the insights of this particular strain of architectural history and apply them in the case of the Block 10 residential towers (Fig. 1). Situated in Belgrade’s Vojvode Stepe Boulevard, the late-modernist, 21-stories high towers (buildings no. 39 and 40) were initially designed in 1969 by the architect Branko Aleksić, as part of a competition proposal for the Central Area of the street [6]. Redesigned three years later by Aleksić and his co-author, architect Stana Aleksić, the towers were built between 1976 and 1978. Their developer, the construction company ‘Rad’ [7], was part of a larger association known as ‘INPROS’. The association had the task of reconstructing 2.5 km of the Boulevard’s length while building around 4,500 apartments with all the complementary facilities [8]. The endeavour included developing the Central Area and Block 10, all in accordance with the 1966 Detailed Urban Plan (DUP), signed by the architect Stojan Maksimović of Belgrade’s Urban Institute [9].

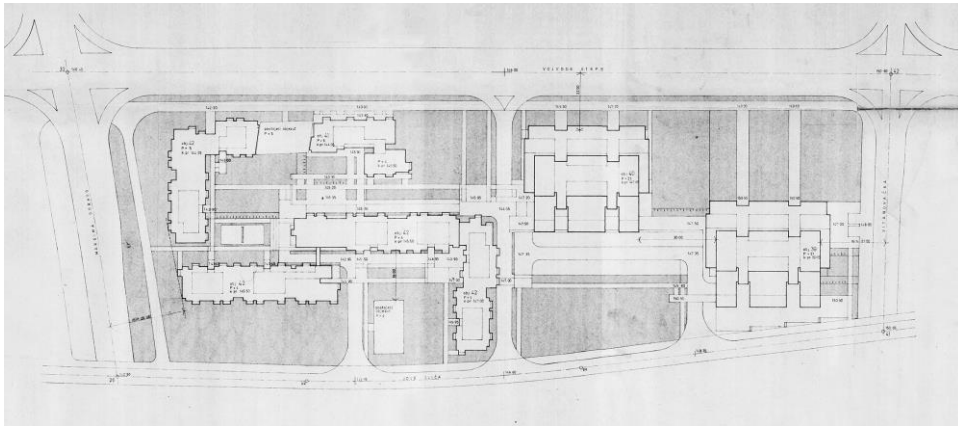


Fig. 1 Layout of Block 10, with towers 39 and 40 (right), 1972. Source: Historical Archives of Belgrade, Fund of *Skupština grada Beograda – Gradski sekretarijat za komunalne i građevinske poslove* [Assembly of the City of Belgrade – Secretariat for Communal and Construction Activities], Box no. 1075, 1969

If architecture is understood as an intermediating, subjectivity-producing and organizational entity, then the goal of this paper is twofold. On the one hand, it aims to position architects – designers of towers 39 and 40 – within a wider network formed by a mass housing policy, urban planning and socialist construction sector. The tower’s design initially emerged at the end of 1960s: a decade in which Yugoslavian, self-management socialism took a turn towards a market economy, rising living standards and consumerism [10]. In accordance, changes in the housing policy had shifted the responsibility for the provision of apartments, from the State to the economic sector, with the latter being obligated to direct a part of its profits into the purchase of residential units. However, the linchpin of the entire system were the construction companies. These were not only free to set the price of individual units [11], but often played a central role by acting as investors,

organising architectural competitions and applying modern building technologies. Reliance on “industrial construction methods” was openly encouraged by governing bodies, for these were seen as guaranteeing a rational and efficient response to a growing housing deficit [12]. Consequently, these technologies were one of the key inputs of urban planning [13], not to mention architectural design. This arrangement meant that the designers had to occupy a peculiar position. Placed in-between planners and developers, they had to operate within a tight creative space, with planning documentation providing clear and detailed guidelines [14], and their designs being reliant on whatever construction technology was available to the task at hand.

Simultaneously, the goal of this paper is to detect what kind of subjectivity the designers were trying to produce through the media of Vojvode Stepe’s residential towers and their surroundings. In tune with the socialist late modernism of the day, and close to their Western counterparts of the same sensibility, Branko and Stana Aleksić refer in their description of the design to a “man”, as in, a member of human species [15]. This “universal subject” [16] begs the question of who exactly is this ‘Man’ invoked by the architects. By looking into the design and its wider discursive context, the paper detects four subjective positions, with each referring, individually, to a distinct pattern of political organisation, consumer culture, gender, or class.

Borrowing the term from Louis Althusser, the paper approaches the residential towers of Block 10 as a “relation between relations” [17]. Taking its cue from Althusser’s use of the term, namely, explanation how diverse social practices are united into a seemingly coherent and meaningful unity, the paper relies on a number of sources in its investigation of the towers as a medium. At once embedded in a network which addressed Belgrade’s housing deficit, and designed to structure a number of subjectivities, their architecture is approached through archival drawings and descriptions, urban planning documentation, articles dedicated to the design and a more general position of (one of) the architects, pieces promoting the relevant housing policy, and sources on the wider framework of socialist late modernism and its role within Belgrade’s mass housing.

2. THE HOUSING DEFICIT AND VOJVODE STEPE BOULEVARD

In the early 1960s, Belgrade was entering a new phase of its development. In the previous decade and a half, a sharp rise in population had resulted in overcrowding of city’s urban core and an “explosion” of its rural outskirts [18]. The resulting housing deficit, which amounted to as many as 50,000 units, would be dealt with through a new, country-wide housing policy. Referred to as “market-aimed production of apartments” (*proizvodnja stanova za tržište*), the policy was part of a larger push towards rational economic relations and higher living standards. The deficit itself was to be mitigated by mass housing, supplied by “manufacturers” (*proizvođači* – a technocratic term used for socialist construction companies) operating on an industrial scale. In an ideal perspective, the manufacturers would play a crucial role in a tightly coordinated process which was to include urban planning, design, and construction, with its common thread being one of the available, prefabrication-based building technologies [19].

During the first half of the 20th century, Vojvode Stepe Boulevard was essentially one of the directions along which Belgrade was spreading its urban structure [20]. In the post-WWII period, the mixture of modest and substandard houses, villas, shops, and drinking

establishments was further enriched through the construction of apartment buildings. The 1966 DUP, which describes the preceding development as “rather chaotic” [21], took upon itself to set the terms of Boulevard’s reconstruction. The territory covered by the plan was divided into twelve urban blocks contained by five wards (units of territorial self-management), with two “plateaus” serving as the focal points of the entire composition. The plateau located roughly at the middle of the territory was planned as Boulevard’s Central Zone, comprised of Block 4 and Block 10, and a part of Block 5. In visual terms, the Central Area was to stand out due to six residential towers. Nineteen stories high, the towers curve in their lower parts, forming a connection with the terrain (Block 10) or a planned shopping centre (Block 4 and Block 5) [22]. The remaining part of Block 10 was to contain another residential building, a five-story ‘meander’.

A perspective of the planned composition of Vojvode Stepe reveals an interesting detail. Not only are the placing and general dimensions of Central Zone buildings almost identical to the 1969 competition proposal by Aleksić, but the same could be said of the very form of residential towers. The recognizable proportions, and the division of towers’ bodies into three sections, separated by projecting vertical masses, are all there (Fig. 2). In this sense the DUP seems to confirm a claim made in the mid-70s by architect Mate Baylon [23]. For Baylon, the whole purpose of architectural competitions was questionable if, as was often the case, urban planning pre-defined the contours of the entire environment. This arrangement must have been especially challenging to architects such as Aleksić, whose late modernist inclinations were just to create not a single building but a wider spatial system capable of inciting human associations [24].

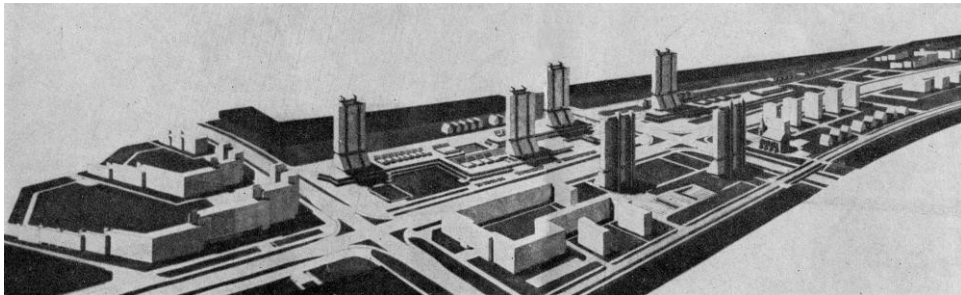


Fig. 2 Perspective showing the DUP of Vojvode Stepe Boulevard, 1966. Source: *Arhitektura urbanizam*, Vol. 7, N° 41-42, pp. 49-50

3. DESIGN AND SUBJECTIVITY: A WIDER LENS

Aleksić was, in fact, one of just four architects invited to submit their proposals. Organised by INPROS, the competition for the Central Area was open to select design offices of its members and the one of ‘Komgrap’ company, with whom INPROS had cooperated previously. The four architects – Ivan Antić, Branislav Jovin, Mihajlo Mitrović and Aleksić – were invited as “individuals”, due to the significance of the task at hand and INPROS’ desire to “widen the circle” of participants in the endeavour it so clearly dominated [25]. The winning proposal was aiming to unite the various elements of Central Zone into a single “spatial scene”. Its user, a “pedestrian”, was recognized as a

key point of reference. The curving parts of residential towers were designed as a series of cascading levels, allowing for a gradual transition towards the observer [26]. More importantly, the ground level was home to a shopping centre in Block 4 and Block 5, whose program involved around 24.000 sqm of retail space (stores selling food, clothing, books, appliances, etc.) and capacities for small trades, restaurants and tourist agencies [27]. The shopping centre was designed as a series of vectors and gathering points, that is, a "domain" of the user who "acquires goods, . . . elevates himself culturally, achieves contact with other people and, all along, experiences the constant spark of change" [28]. So, to begin answering the key question of the paper, the Man in this case is, in fact, a consumer; subject of nascent culture whose joys would prove crucial to the continual existence and subsequent fond memories of the socialist society [29] (Fig. 3).

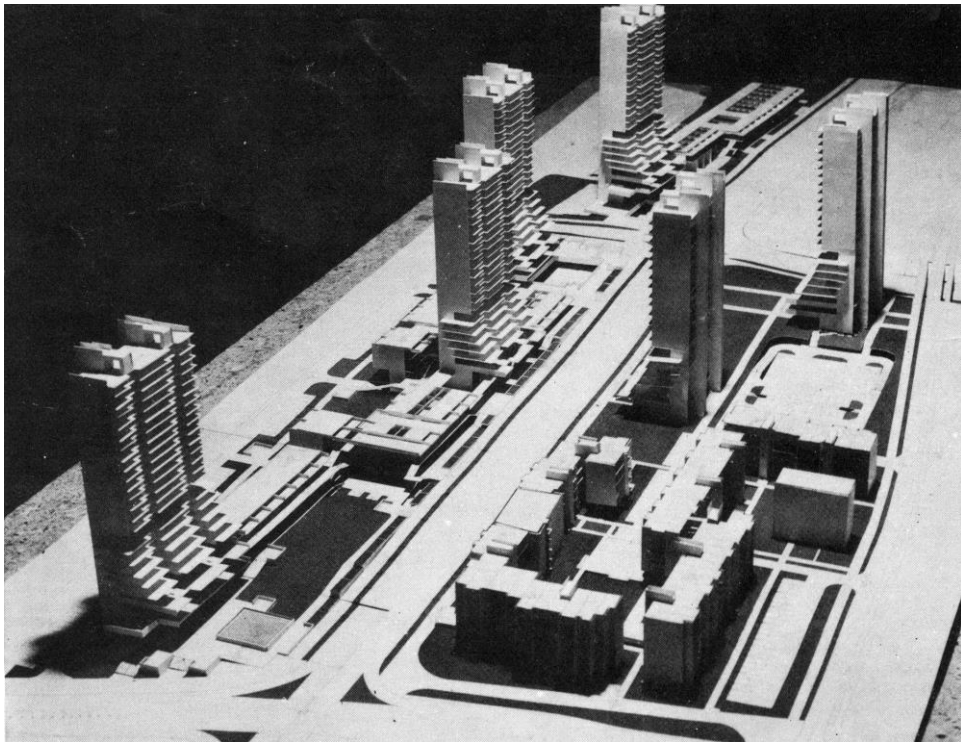


Fig. 3 Model of winning proposal for the Central Area of Vojvode Stepe Boulevard, 1969.
Source: *Arhitektura urbanizam*, Vol. 14, N° 74-77, p. 63

On the other side of the Boulevard, in Block 10, Branko and Stana Aleksić had the opportunity to advance the competition proposal by working on towers 39 and 40. In 1972, another set of cascading floors was drafted, this time at the back of the building [30]. The resulting structure can best be described as a 'machine for living'. Laurent Stalder reminds us of the original, 19th century sense of the term: a building that, ideally, "catalyses its users' activities", striving for maximum utility and a clear definition of function [31]. In the towers, two vertical cores are surrounded with seven units,

amounting to approximately 1.300 sqm in total, devoted to a café, exhibition space and other, commercial activities [32]. The guidelines of the DUP called for a mixed-use programme and open spaces within the building, as to compensate for the dense structure of the Block. In accordance, the units are arranged on the first two stories, and connected by an elevated terrace. The terrace is equipped with planters and benches, serving as a possible melting-pot. Its accessibility, from four different directions (via internal cores and external stairs) suggests frequent encounters and a lively movement of users (Fig. 4).

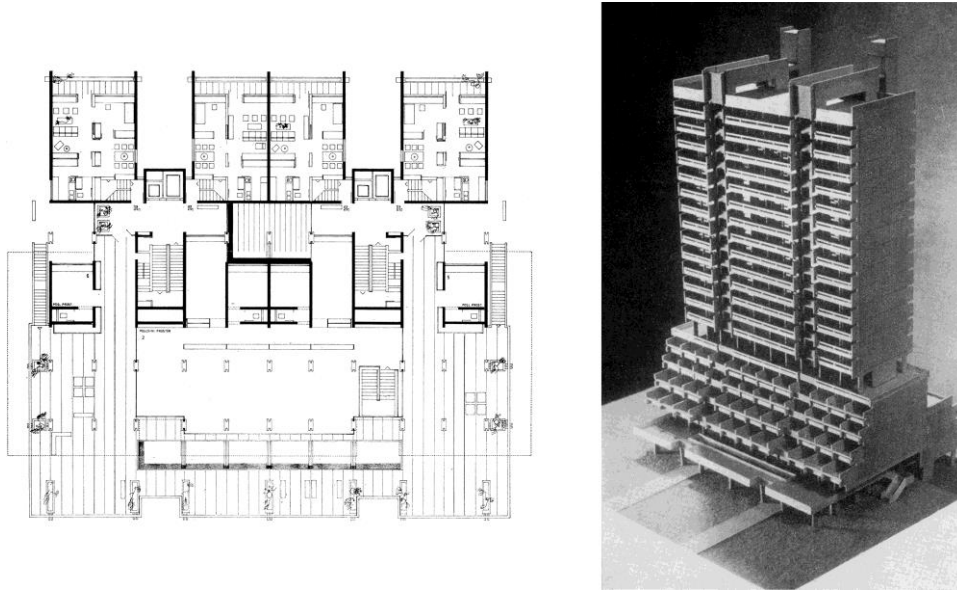


Fig. 4 Layout of the first-floor and its terrace (*left*) and model of towers 39 and 40 (*right*).
Source: *Izgradnja*, Vol. 26, N° 12, pp. 43 and 50.

Moreover, the towers' form is clearly corresponding with a rich mix of apartments on offer. Lower, cascading parts of the front and back are devoted to a vast array of one- and two-story units (eleven types on floors 1-3 alone). Together, the cascading forms are projecting outwards, horizontally, in all four directions, standing out, moreover, due to fragmented form of the apartments' balconies. In contrast, the upper body of the buildings (floors 7-20), which is home to a repeating combination of five types of units, is more restrained in its appearance, dominated by the horizontal lines of balconies and the gaps they form (Fig. 4). All of this was achieved in adherence to "strict determinations" of the building technology [33], with transversal, load-bearing walls set, for the most part, at only two spans (3.6 and 4.4 m). At the same time, the goal was never for the towers to be self-referential, for they were treated as part of a larger whole, that is, Block 10 and the Central Zone [34]. In the ensuing development, Block 4 was never built, and Block 10 was rather weakly articulated as a whole. The streets on its flanks also remained unbuilt, making the buildings part of a larger and rather diverse urban structure stretched along some 740 m of the Boulevard's length. In such conditions, only the towers and the

neighbouring meander could provide a sense of unity. This was pursued through the facades, with similar, concrete elements appearing at the sides of balconies (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5 Balconies of tower 39 (*left*) and meander (*right*). Source: courtesy of Miloš Martinović

In a 1972 article published in *Izgradnja* journal, Branko and Stana Aleksić sum up the overall objectives of designing Block 10. In the last paragraph, they state an intention of “harmonizing” all the elements of space, as to create “interrelations” capable of “stimulating the residents to take action, communicate and cooperate”. Block 10 aimed to encourage life itself, and to reassert space in its perceived significance and meaning [35]. While providing, arguably, an indirect critique of urban alienation and its modernist roots, the paragraph exposes a humanist trait, present also in the official discourses of the time. In the universe of Party declarations and legal documents, the socialist subject was free and creative, and always part of various collectives of like-minded individuals [36]. So, the resident of Block 10 and Central Zone was not only a consumer but a self-manager; a subject whose supposedly true nature was to be nurtured through the means of late modernist, brutalist architecture.

4. DESIGN AND SUBJECTIVITY: INTERIOR AND GENDER

Three years later, Branko Aleksić uses the concluding sentence of the paragraph to end another article, this time in journal *Arhitektura urbanizam*. In the article, titled “Stan i stanovanje” (Residence and Housing) Aleksić is critical of modernity, recognizing how it extracts a “house” out of a “whole”, subjecting it to “accumulation”. A house should only be an “initial cell”, combined in larger structures and part of a “system” which includes its “extensions” [37]. The interesting point here is not that it reveals a late

modernist motif of urban re-integration, as opposed to the segregating tendencies of its predecessor [38]. Rather, truly interesting is the concept of a home – a house or “house-apartment” – which is based on the work of none other than McLuhan. Aleksić quotes McLuhan, using parts of *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, which was translated in 1971 and published in Serbo-Croatian as *Poznavanje opština – čovekovih produžetaka* [39]. Furthermore, he postulates, in accordance with McLuhan’s main thesis, that a house “authorises” the activities it envelopes, “assimilating” them, ideally, “with ease”. A house provides “direction”, facilitating, at one and the same time, separation and gathering of its occupants [40]. Aleksić stops before noticing the obvious; a house or an apartment is a medium.

How were these relations pursued in the case of Vojvode Stepe towers, or, more precisely, units A, B, C and D, which appear in their upper bodies? Opposite the entrance, there is a service area (a closet in unit D), which is bordered by a bathroom and a toilet, with the former sharing a wall with the kitchen. The kitchen is next to a balcony which spans the full width of the unit, also providing light to children’s bedroom. Between the kitchen and the bedroom there is a dining table, situated along the longitudinal line of movement. This position, characteristic of socialist apartments and referred to as *proširena komunikacija*, or, ‘extended circulation’ [41], is a secondary point of gathering, with primary being the living room. The latter’s position is towards the other balcony which, in units A, B and C, is also accessible from the parents’ bedroom (Fig. 6).

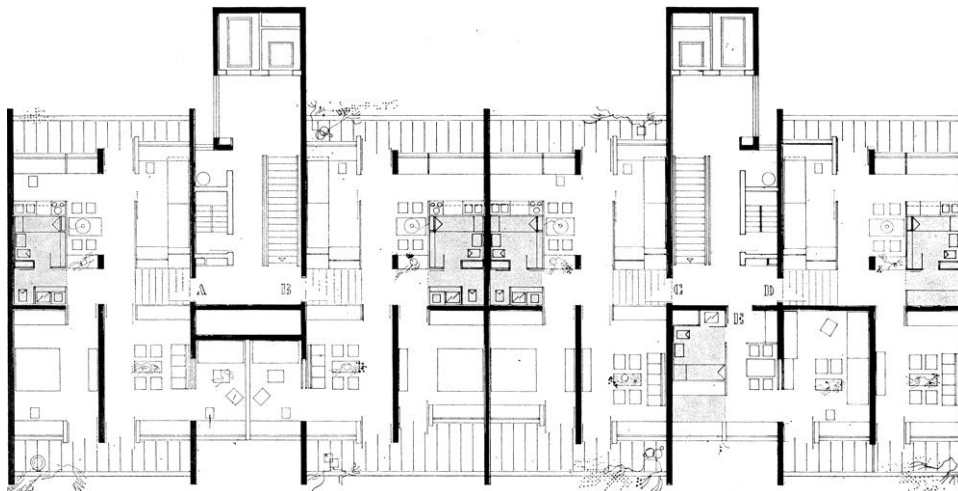


Fig. 6 Layout of floors 7-20 in towers 39 and 40, 1972. Source: *Izgradnja*, Vol. 26, N° 12, p. 46.

The organisational logic of the four units is gender-based. At this point, it is inadequate to go into detail regarding all the facets of the issue, including those inherent to socialism’s housing question. It suffices to mention that apartments, with their, hopefully, modern arrangement and equipment, and as part of larger territorial units with facilities for childcare, shopping, or preparation of food, were to allow for simpler and time-saving household activities [42]. Their protagonist was also centre-stage in the conspicuously frequent use of *proširena komunikacija* – separated from a kitchen, where it was usually

based, and placed along lines of movement, the dining table had achieved new significance while remaining a place where a family enjoys the fruits of domestic labour. At the same time, it is much more important to notice how Aleksić himself describes gender relations. In the *Arhitektura urbanizam* article, the Man is a woman.

The woman, or, to use the same term as Aleksić, “mother-housewife”, is in control of a household. She cares for and “supervises” a child. She uses the technical capacities of a house, providing order. This set of relations is recognizable within units A-D, in a triangle formed by a kitchen, extended circulation and children’s bedroom. In addition, the position of the service area in units A-C is not only highly functional, given the fact that it is placed between the bathroom and the bedrooms, but essentially represents the central vantage point of the entire organisation: it is adjacent to the intersection of the longitudinal and transverse lines of movement, opposite the apartment’s entry point. Simultaneously, as Aleksić explains, the woman has a “partner”. The two of them make use of leisure time, making friends or indulging in “intimate activities” [43] (Fig. 7). Finally, and most importantly, as Aleksić tells us elsewhere, a truly modern approach to housing must go beyond mere routine and into the realm of “freedom”. The family is no longer “patriarchal” but comprised of “relatively independent” individuals. A woman has a “new role in society and family” alike, supported by technological development and outsourcing of domestic labour [44]. Moreover, she, like her partner, has a “vocation” [45].



Fig. 7 Gender relations in unit C, floors VII-XX, 1972. Derived from: *Izgradnja*, Vol. 26, N° 12, p. 46.

In all probability, Aleksić is referring to the realities of the Yugoslavian society, that is, the growing presence of women in the country’s labour force [46]. Moreover, the woman and her partner form a united front, with Aleksić drawing a line not between two genders but towards the “outside world”. For a house is a different, “finer” environment. It not only shields but “heals”, helping the residents recover from the “wounds sustained in everyday work, conflicts and rivalries” characteristic of this “accelerated”, external sphere. There, beyond a house, “material values” reign supreme [47]. Whatever the gender, a Man is increasingly burdened and imposed upon [48].

5. DESIGN AND SUBJECTIVITY: THE CLASS ISSUE

How does one ‘harmonize’ the internal and external spheres when the latter contains a shopping centre; just a space dedicated to materialism and consumer culture? Maybe through a mediating element, such as the calmer and more intimate ambient of Block 10. Or, maybe through the design of the building itself. A general and preferable approach of such a design is described by Aleksić in his review of the community centre in New Belgrade Block 23. Built in 1978 as part of a programme primarily responding to the chronic deficit of retail space in Belgrade’s new estates and blocks [49], the centre is “organically” tied to a larger whole, thanks to its placement at a junction of vectors. Crucially, as Aleksić explains, the entire atmosphere, built through a calm, levitating form of the roof, and rhythmical, “prismatic bodies” advertising individual stores, is the one of a “modern bazaar” [50]. Shopping here, one might assume, would be a matter of measure, dignity and, maybe, class (Fig. 8).



Fig. 8 Community centre in New Belgrade Block 23, n. d. Source: private archives of Aleksandar Stjepanović.

The family that Aleksić describes in “Stan i stanovanje” is constituted by a mother, a child and a father, with the parents being, as perceived from as child’s perspective, equally present and absent. The mother is the primary caregiver, assisted in domestic “responsibilities” by her partner, but the two also have a social and intimate life of their own, separate from the child’s world of “curiosity” and “fantasy”. A house, while allowing its residents to function as a group, must also provide “seclusion” [51]. The split which is detectable, and the degree to which it is constructed in the mind of a child, can be a class issue. As Bruce Fink has proposed, where lower levels of economic means prevent a physical distance between generations, the split might be narrower than in different circumstances [52]. Apartment design in socialist Belgrade was often judged, at

the time and by architects, just to the degree to which it allowed for separation to occur [53]. While such considerations do not in any way mention a socialist middle-class, that is, a really-existing social and cultural strata characterised, among other things, by its presence in mass housing estates and blocks [54], it is worth asking whether gender was the only logic at work in the design of a socialist apartment.

It is interesting to notice how in towers 39 and 40 there is an absence of double beds in smaller apartments. One-bedroom units have rooms with a single bed, and double beds begin to appear only with two-bedroom apartments. In the case of New Belgrade Block 22, which was, along with Block 23, part of a competition won in 1968 by architects Božidar Janković, Branislav Karadžić and Aleksandar Stjepanović (with Aleksić being a jury member), even two-bedroom apartments are drawn without a double bed. Single beds are drawn as sofas, identical to the ones in the living room. McLuhan [55] tells us that a couch encourages a truthful and wholesome interaction (as in a psychiatrist's office). Between the media of the apartment and the sofas it contained, one can discern the living conditions of socialist mass housing and its rather underdeveloped residential culture. The units of Block 22 were designed, as Janković and Karadžić explain, in accordance with strict guidelines regarding their structure, overall surface area, and even the general size of individual rooms, all of which needed to be countered as to avoid an almost "inevitable" sense of "crampedness" and lack of "intimacy" [56]. Simultaneously, the way units are drawn suggests that the living rooms will also be used as a bedroom (Fig. 9).



Fig. 9 Layouts of apartment N2 in towers 39 and 40 (*left*) and two bedroom apartment in Block 22 (*right*). Sources: *Izgradnja*, Vol. 26, N° 12, p. 46 and *Izgradnja*, Special Edition, n. d., p. 140

This practice, encouraged by a prevalence of smaller, one bedroom apartments in newly built estates and blocks and their frequent overpopulation by three-member (or even larger) families [57] had an additional, and a very special dimension. The Yugoslavian, socialist modernization was being conducted while remnants of the extended family remained stubbornly present. A "product of a long history of corporate and anti-individualistic ideology", the Yugoslavian family of the era can be described as a rich set of spatial patterns, with overlapping layers of economic, emotional and cultural significance. These were inclusive of both male and female gender and trans-generational in nature. Frequently, a household would involve the presence of various form of kin that, more often than not, played a supportive role in domestic labour (e.g. chores, childcare or grocery shopping). At the same time, the spatiality of the extended family was also based on a lively

dynamic between the urban and rural environments, with these primarily housing, respectively, the younger (parents and their children) and older members (grandparents). In such conditions, the twin homes could even be “regarded as separate loci of a single household” [58].

As Aleksić’s vision of gender and intergenerational relations perfectly depicts, a nuclear family comprised of ‘relatively independent’ members is just the model to be taken into account when thinking of household dynamics. Such a perspective, which excludes the extended family and its set of closely-knit relations, could be seen as essentially middle-class, that is, rather sceptical, if not outright hostile, towards larger collectives and the perceived “lack of individuality” they encompass [59]. But this was, for the most part, simply an ideal, in many ways defied by the social and housing conditions of the time. Indeed, the rather elaborate schemes of apartment layouts devised by Yugoslavian architects [60] had allowed for optional separation of entire sectors within a unit. Thus, the production of a Man, as a subject for whom separation is a matter of daily routine, had often relied on alternative roots of movement which flanked living rooms and their expected use as a bedroom.



Fig. 10 Layouts of apartment N2 (*left*), two bedroom apartment in Block 23 (*centre*), and apartment E in Block III in Novi Sad, designed by Milan Lojanica, Predrag Cagić and Borivoje Jovanović, 1970 (*right*). Sources: *Izgradnja*, Vol. 26, N° 12, p. 46 and *Izgradnja*, Special Edition, n. d., p. 143 and 172

On the other hand, these layouts frequently involved more than one door per bedroom and use of sliding and folding doors. As Janković and Karadžić explain, such arrangements allow various patterns of use which coincide with different family structures, and, preferably, the effect of “spaciousness”, while providing for a sense of intimacy [61]. In contrast, one should notice that a bedroom of the kind could have as many as three doors, the majority of which were of rather questionable acoustics (Fig. 10). Contrary to the underlying vision of some of its most prolific designers, the socialist apartment, one might suggest, was permeated with excessive transparency.

6. FINAL REMARKS

The residential towers of Vojvode Stepe Boulevard were designed as a series of subjectivity-producing levels, in the conditions shaped by a housing policy of the day, the towers' investor, and urban planning. In the exterior, the brutalist aesthetics of the towers and neighbouring meander featured similar elements which were to point towards an entity of wider significance than an individual building. Once within, the resident or a visitor could utilise the towers' multitude of routes, making his or her way onto the first-floor terrace and its, hopefully, lively ambient. Finally, the apartments were a means of organisation in themselves, relatable to Branko Aleksić's general attitudes towards subjectivity and its dynamics. Their central figure was a woman, that is, a mother, a housewife, and a member of the labour force. Aided by the technological core of an apartment and outsourcing of some of the responsibilities to the communal sphere, the wife was seen as united with her husband against the challenging conditions of the outer world. Finally, the notion of a nuclear family as a small community of individuals, and the significance attributed to intimacy could be seen as betraying a middle-class disposition which, as the previous lines suggest, faced serious limitation in any attempt at reproduction.

The broader significance of these findings lies, one might hope, in a further discussion of the patterns of both gender and class, as featured by socialist architecture. Such an effort could help not only understand architecture's place within the distinct conditions of the Yugoslavian socialism, but ultimately contribute to a more complex image of the conditions themselves. For one could, presumably, advance an understanding of a set of relations by revealing the one that operated in-between, providing intermediation while pursuing its own vision of intersubjectivity.

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‘ODNOS MEĐU ODNOSIMA’: SOCIJALISTIČKA STANOGRADNJA I STAMBENE KULE U BULEVARU VOJVODE STEPE U BEOGRADU

Ovaj rad ispituje stambene kule u Bloku 10 u Bulevaru Vojvode Stepe (Beograd). Inicijalno izrađeni 1969. godine od strane Branka Aleksića, projekti za stambene kule (zgrade br. 39 i 40) su razrađeni tri godine kasnije od strane Aleksića i ko-autora, Stane Aleksić. Uzimajući u obzir stambenu politiku, urbanistički planiranje Bulevara i ulogu koju je igrao investitor, udruženje 'INPROS', rad prilazi arhitektima kao posrednicima. Projektanti kula se posmatraju kao deo šire mreže aktera angažovanih na suzbijanju stambenog deficita, to jest, u poziciji da manevrišu uskim stvaralačkim prostorom određenim od strane sila koje su bile van njihove kontrole. Istovremeno, u njihovom radu se prepoznaje težnja ka proizvodnji skupa subjektivnosti, pri čemu svaka pojedinačno referiše ka obrascu političke organizacije, potrošačke kulture, roda ili klase. Stambene kule se, tako, ispituju u pogledu kapaciteta da deluju kao medij, zasebno i kao deo veće celine.

Ključne reči: Bulevar Vojvode Stepe, socijalizam, stanogradnja, mediji, rod, klasa