CERAK VINOGRADI: SPATIAL FRAMING, USER INTERVENTIONS AND THE SOCIALIST "BIG OTHER"

UDC 711.58

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Abstract. *This article investigates Cerak Vinogradi housing estate (Darko Marušić, Milenija Marušić and Nedeljko Borovnica, 1977-1988), moving through a string of relevant factors: from the chief principles of the housing policy, the urban and architectural design of the estate and the dynamics of its construction, to the contacts between the architects and residents, and the latter's informal interventions. We approach these factors by referring to the highly popular 1980 TV series* Vruć vetar, *with the series acting as a valuable insight into the social and spatial patterns of ex-Yugoslavia. We use the series to demonstrate how Cerak Vinogradi were the result of tension existing between two frames: the first defined through urban and architectural design and unsuccessfully defended by the architects, and the second which involved deficiencies in construction and apartment space, inciting in turn the user interventions. Demonstrating all the alienation the housing policy of the day resulted in, we treat the informal interventions not as a response to the invisibility of users but as a supplement to this very same policy. Referring to the Lacanian theory of socio-symbolic order (the 'big Other'), we interpret the user interventions as a crucial part of the existing order, placing them in the context of the cynical logic of self-management socialism.*

Key words: *Cerak Vinogradi, socialist housing, spatial frame, user interventions, "big Other"*

1. INTRODUCTION

Borivoje Šurdilović 'Šurda', the lead character of the highly popular 1980 TV series *Vruć vetar*, is one of those figures who strongly divide their audience. Šurda, played by the Yugoslav actor Ljubiša Samardžić, is admired by many for his easy-going attitude, while for others he is simply an irresponsible and lazy individual. Up until the very end of the series, Šurda migrates from one job to another, leaving a long trail of agitated clients.

For those who are unfortunate enough to solicit his services, Šurda offers irregular working hours, frequent coffee breaks and stories of pleasurable holidays, through which he brazenly contrasts the burdening presence of the clients with the experience of resting carelessly, fondled by the "hot wind" (*vruć vetar*) of the Mediterranean climate (Vruć vetar, 1980).

And yet, Šurda is far from complacent: his subjectivity, and the lack residing at its heart, are defined in the context of a number of interiors. For most of the series' episodes, Šurda does not have a stable or suitable residence, living at first with his uncle and grandmother in a small, dark and suffocating single-story Belgrade house. The two frequently express their dissatisfaction with Šurda's presence, and this is something he cannot escape – due to the size and layout, almost all of the household activities, including cooking, maintaining personal hygiene, watching TV or sleeping, occur within a single room (Fig. 1). Even when Šurda acquires a place of his own (but only through marriage, since the apartment in question gets awarded to his wife Vesna), there is no tranquillity: the seemingly comfortable space encloses a family life that is too loose, with Šurda being frustrated by Vesna's affair with an aging manager of a prosperous socialist company. In fact, the manager is just one of many better-off individuals Šurda encounters, most often in spacious and luxurious upper-class homes. And in the very first episode, simple minded and silly looking Šurda attends a housewarming reception, where the modern furnishing and overall appearance of the apartment is being conspicuously discussed by 'architect Čolović' and her "colleague" Miša – the author of the interior (Vruć vetar, 1980).

Fig. 1 The atmosphere of the Šurdilović residence, with Šurda (*left*) and his uncle and grandmother (*right*). Source: https:// www.youtube.com /watch?v=UYyPOnWFNU4

The way Čolović speaks, overburdening her sentences with professional terms, and the smug appearance of Miša (Fig. 2) fit right into the pattern which Jeremy Till attributes to architects in general. Till notices that architects nurture a self-centred culture, privileging elite values and dispositions over the ones of other social groups (Till, 2009). Indeed, architects interact on a daily basis with other actors, including contractors, clients or the State. At the same time, architects do their best to suppress the "voices of others" (Till,

2010, p. xi): these 'others', in fact, constitute the "wider society" towards which architects take a defensive stance, with only some trying to engage the users and public through participation (Jenkins, Forsyth, 2009). In the case of socialist Belgrade, where much of the housing construction was in the form of new estates and blocks, there were very few examples of participatory design, regardless of the fact that the central social and political concept of the country, self-management, was itself based on the very principles of collective action and emancipation, that is, participation in all matters of economic and social relevance (Kušić, 2014). One of these examples was Cerak Vinogradi, an estate designed and built in two phases, between 1977 and 1988. The estate was home to encounters between the architects, Darko Marušić, Milenija Marušić and Nedeljko Borovnica, and users, with apartments being redrawn to suit the latter's requests and a special building being erected on the site to inform the residents about the estate's design and provide the architects an insight into their attitudes.

Fig. 2 Architect Čolović (*right*) and Miša (*left*), discussing the apartment's design.
Source: https:// www.youtube.com /watch?v=UYyPOnWFNU4

On the other hand, the scope of participation in the case of Cerak Vinogradi would hardly meet the requirements of contemporary theory (see Jenkins, Forsyth, 2009; Blundell Jones, Petrescu, Till, 2005). From the onset, the role of the user seems to have been restricted to simply informing the architects, rather than consulting with them or making decisions (for example, there are no traces indicating that the redrawing of any of the apartments was conducted in more than one instance). Furthermore, the buildings' facades were off-limits, with architects protesting against the informal user interventions which targeted them. Cerak Vinogradi was certainly not an example of the genuine openness Till calls for, imagining architecture as part "of a much broader, socially oriented mix" (Till, 2010, p. xii). As he notes, architecture should abandon its fascination with order and the inseparable suppression of contingency, embracing "the everyday in its glorious mess" (Till, 2009, p. xi-xii). And yet, is the thing architecture would open to really the opposite of order?

Architects have some subtle ways of influencing user behaviour. Various scholars, such as Beatriz Colomina (1992) or Dell Upton (1998), have demonstrated how architecture frames the subject through its scopic apparatus and a system of movements, buffers and borders. Beyond the participatory design and the interior, the approach of the Cerak Vinogradi architects involved using different but complementary levels of spatial organisation, in a hope that stability and cohesion would equally pertain to the estate's community and its spatial form. The whole layer of individual appropriations of the buildings' facades, which resulted in an assemblage of shapes and materials, clearly shows the limit to architects' intention; on the other hand, 'messy' might not be the right word to describe these interventions. To put it in "Lacanese" (Žižek, 2006, p. 17), what the theories of participation do not take into account is the "big Other". The big Other consists of the (often unspoken) rules, norms and conventions regulating the social dynamics. The important thing to notice here is how the ultimate foundation of the big Other is not the select few, but the majority of citizens (the very 'wider society' of the theories of participation). However discriminatory or unjust, any given social order provides its subject a place in the symbolic network: those at the bottom might proclaim their dissatisfaction on a daily basis, but this gesture is itself part of the big Other's bag of tricks, for it masks the subject's utmost dependency on just the order he or she refers to critically (Salecl, 1998, p. 85).

This article demonstrates how Cerak Vinogradi were the result of tension existing between two frames: the first defined through urban and architectural design and unsuccessfully defended by the architects, and the second which involved deficiencies in construction and apartment space, inciting in turn the user interventions. We situate the interventions and the related architect-user dynamics as part of a detailed description of all the relevant factors which determined Cerak Vinogradi: from the chief principles of the housing policy, the urban and architectural design of the estate and the dynamics of its construction, to the contacts between the architects and the residents. Furthermore, we approach these numerous sources by comparing them to *Vruć vetar*, treating the series as a valuable insight into the social and spatial patterns of ex-Yugoslavia. Demonstrating what the housing policy of the day resulted in, we interpret the users' attitudes towards the architects and their design as a supplement of this very same policy: an act of loyalty to the ruling order or the socialist big Other.

2. DESIGN, CONSTRUCTION AND PARTICIPATION

In the mid-1970s, a new housing policy was introduced in Yugoslavia. The policy proclaimed the "decisive role" of "associated labour" – a term designating an integrated system of economic cells operating on the principles of self-management (Jovanović, 1975, p. 7). Instead of being mere consumers, as they were previously treated, the employees of these cells were supposed to crucially influence all the levels covered by the policy, including housing programmes, architectural design, and construction and maintenance of apartments and estates (Opšti društveni dogovor, 1974, p. 699-701). In Belgrade, the policy was largely defined by the city-wide 1976 treaty (Društveni dogovor, 1976), which was based on the needs of the 'housing communities', among which were the Belgrade Housing Community (mostly comprised of various socialist companies) and the Housing Community of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army (YPA). The two were also the investors of

Cerak Vinogradi, which were to be built cost-efficiently and with strict deadlines, as was declared by a separate treaty (Conditions, 1977, p. 4). In 1977, a competition was organised with the aim of selecting the best developer and design proposal: the winners were the construction company Napred and architects Marušić, Marušić and Borovnica of the Institute for Architecture and Urbanism of Serbia.

The architects' proposal revolved around three spatial levels. The first was the "street", named after various tree species and formed as narrow pedestrian corridors bordered by brick residential buildings with brown steep roofs. The second level consisted of streets gathered in three "neighbourhoods" (Southern, Northern and Eastern), with each having its own centre, as a cultural, commercial and social hub. The last of the functions was especially important, since it referred to the most immediate form of self-governance, typically settled at the level of individual buildings. Instead of atomising the residents in such a fashion, the architects implemented an alternative solution, in which a number of these units were grouped, at both the level of a street and a neighbourhood. Finally, the third level was the one of the estate, with a central spine comprised of different facilities immersed in greenery, flanked by the residential streets (Marušić, Marušić, 1987, p. 128-130). From the onset, one of the guiding principles defined by the investors of Cerak Vinogradi was strict "rationalisation" of construction, which meant the use of the smallest possible number of elements (Conditions, 1977, p. 26) – in these circumstances, the architects' approach was to design the estate in a uniform, but romantic fashion, breaking it down into units marked by centres of their own. The hope was, most definitely, that the result would be the integration of individuals into the local community, with architecture acting as its frame (Fig. 3).
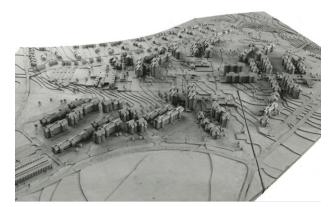

Fig. 3 The model of Cerak Vinogradi (Cerak 1). Source: private archives of Milenija Marušić

Before the efficacy of the frame could be tested, much had to be done. The construction of the estate was missing deadlines, with its costs rising on several occasions. Also, the quality of some of the works was rather poor, resulting in, for example, faulty thermo- and hydro-isolation (Marušić, 1980; Tankosić, 1982). The problems which plagued Cerak Vinogradi fit right into the way the housing sector was represented in *Vruć vetar*. After abandoning a few jobs, Šurda becomes part of the fictional *Crep i cigla* company which "builds apartments". The company's products are delivered late and of low quality: the

apartment users face broken ceilings, doors which do not fit and fractured walls, all of which are listed by one of the company's managers as "minor deficiencies" (Vruć vetar, 1980). The issue is constantly explained as resulting from the company's levels of professionalism, but this seems like a poor excuse for more systemic problems. The housing sector of Belgrade was enormous and inefficient, but most of all, burdened by the inherited housing deficit and the necessity of fast production, functioning at all times under the watchful gaze of socialist bureaucracy. In the case of Cerak Vinogradi's first phase, the architects faced tight deadlines: in order to speed up the construction, a "demand" was made for the largest possible number of buildings to be designed simultaneously. Around a hundred architects worked on more than 170,000 square meters of space, finishing, on average, the complete drawings of a single building in only eight days (Borovnica, 1980, p. 3-4). Largely meeting the initial deadlines, the architects were nevertheless involved in bitter conflicts over the causes of rising costs and delays in construction. In a confidential letter from January 1981, the Marušić couple described one of the "regular inspections" of Velizar Maslać, a top official of socialist Belgrade. On the occasion, Maslać stated that the architects' design was the major source of problems; latter on, he claimed that the accusations were originally made by the estate's developer (Marušić, Marušić, 1981). The finger-pointing in fact concealed a much more serious problem: one of the bodies which decided on major issues regarding Cerak Vinogradi was the Parliament of the Cerak Community, with its 183 delegates from various companies and State institutions which invested into the estate. As the archival sources show, the construction of the estate was financially unsound: it went on despite the investors' late and irregular payments (Transcripts, 1981).

In the early 1980s, the architects began communicating with the residents of the estate. This resulted in corrections of apartment layouts, which aimed to make them more adequate to their users' needs. In one stroke, the participatory design tackled two very serious shortcomings of the housing policy: the apartments' inadequacy and the invisibility of the users. Regarding the former, the socialist housing construction resulted in sharp contrasts, between families who had no other choice but to cram into whatever the space was awarded to them and others who expected and enjoyed far higher levels of comfort (Yugoslav Institute, 1987). In *Vruć vetar*, Šurda dreams of the day an apartment would be awarded to him, planning to mark this rite of passage clean-shaven, formally dressed and accompanied by a band, celebrating the possession of a commodity which is in extremely high demand. Šurda's household at one point has six members, and he is hoping to be awarded an apartment by *Crep i cigla*, menaced by the competing 'MSc Čolović,' the husband of architect Čolović and a renowned expert whose services are much wanted by the company. Thus, in the framework of the housing policy the same apartment, whose surface area and room structure is deemed appropriate for six people, and whose kitchen cabinets and sliding doors are reviewed with awe by Šurda himself, is considered equally adequate for a couple (we never see any other members of the Čolović family) whose male half looks at the apartment in whole, and especially its white kitchen tiles, with imperious posture. Regarding the architect-user contacts which took place on the construction site, these were in fact the only way residents directly influenced the spaces they were about to call home. In *Vruć vetar*, the users appear only when the apartment keys are to be received (desperate because the construction has dragged on almost indefinitely), or else as frustrated and furious customers filing complaints to Šurda, whose job in *Crep i cigla* is to act upon them. In the case of the Cerak Vinogradi competition, the decision regarding the winning proposal that

was to house some 8,500 people was made on the basis of a recommendation of a jury of only eleven members (*Cerak*, 1982, p. 7-8). The representatives of the YPA housing community occupied more seats in the competition jury, exercised complete control over the initial programming and provided the chair of the "Headquarters" which supervised the construction of the estate (Conditions, 1977). Referring in general to such arrangements, a State report from 1982 claimed that the influence of users and their representatives was "minor or non-existent", that is, reduced to the level of passively confirming or accepting what the alienated centres of power had already decided (Republican Committee *et al.*, 1982, p. 4-6).

In 1979, the Marušić couple were ordered to start working on a proposal for 'Cerak 2,' as the south-west extension of the original design ('Cerak 1'). One part of the proposal was the "Western Neighbourhood", with 1,146 apartments organised around two pedestrian streets. The descending local terrain was used by the architects to situate an amphitheatre, with a small lake and a special plateau so residents could organise communal barbeques and meet and socialise (Marušić, Marušić, 1987, p. 133-134): all of these activities would, hopefully, strengthen the integrity of the community. Another novelty was the "Test and Research Centre" (TRC), drawn in 1982 by the Marušić couple and architect Nadežda Tankosić. Initially envisaged as a test site, the TRC was designed as a temporary structure housing the offices of the architects, investor and developer. A two-story building of some 580 square meters, the TRC was also an exhibition space dedicated to Cerak 2, presenting drawings, models and two fully furnished apartments (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4 The fully furnished apartment (type E1), on the first floor of the TRC.
Source: private archives of Milenija Marušić

The building itself and its immediate surroundings were there to present the materials and elements which were to be used in the construction of Cerak 2, while the combination of office and exhibition space allowed the TRC to serve as a meeting place for architects and existing and future residents (Marušić, 1982a, p. A16-A18; 1987, p. 2). Opened in 1985, the TRC was first visited by three representatives of the investor (YPA), and on the following day the residents started appearing, amounting to more than 300 visits in the next eight months. The visitation logs show that the residents were interested in the design and furnishing of the exhibited apartments, complaining, on the other hand, on the apartments' size (Visitation logs, 1985). Like in the previous years, the apartment layouts were corrected on request by the architects, now operating out of the TRC.

3. USER INTERVENTIONS

During 1988, as the construction of Cerak 2 neared its completion, the architects were order to leave the TRC. After seven years of working out of a barracks on the construction site of Cerak 1 and two years spent in the TRC, the architects left the estate. A memo sent to YPA several months before the eviction demonstrated all the fear the architects felt. For them, the aesthetic qualities of the estate were endangered by plans for additional construction, but also by the work being frequently and spontaneously done on the facades of residential buildings (Marušić, Čanak, 1988). As early as 1982, Milenija Marušić sent the first out of a countless number of memos, protesting the changes introduced by the residents: in her efforts, Marušić addressed the investor and lower and higher bodies of local self-governance, covering in vain all the levels of the housing policy (Marušić, 1982b; 1984a; 1984b). The informal interventions included the closure and glazing of terraces and loggias, introduction of iron bars, appropriation of communal spaces at the ground level and extrusion of the buildings' facades (Institute, 1992). Having in mind the famous example of the Residential District of Terni, where the estate's community blocked the plans for its extensions jealously protecting the environment shaped through participatory design (McKean, 2004, p. 116), the interventions of Cerak Vinogradi seem rather minor: just as such, they were a clear indication of the big Other and the spatial practice which followed and sustained its norms (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5 Informal closure of ground floor terraces, Southern Neighbourhood of Cerak Vinogradi.
Source: private archives of Milenija Marušić

At the first glance, the user interventions seem as a natural response of alienated residents: participation was almost impossible in the conditions of the estate's design and construction. The principal position prefabrication and industrialisation were given within the whole endeavour would make architects such as Lucien Kroll shiver of the mere rigidity such arrangements imply (Kroll, 1987). Architects worked in numbers and under deadlines which signal an industrial atmosphere, with almost no room being provided for the users. Simultaneously, the users' represented their interventions as a reaction to the numerous defects of the estate, including leaks, bad isolation and small apartment space. One of them, Milica Kerkez, explained in a letter to Milenija Marušić that she glazed her ground floor logia due to the frequent thefts, a lack of storage space and the apartment's low temperature.

Responding to the architect's claim that her intervention degraded the estate's visual qualities, Kerkez wrote that the apartments of Cerak Vinogradi were obviously designed "to be looked at and not lived in". Since the architect also demanded that *mesna zajednica* (the highest form of local self-governance) intervenes and sanctions all those who had endangered the buildings' aesthetics, Kerkez conveniently replied that such an initiative could only arise from the ranks of the local community itself (Kerkez, 1985).

And yet, to treat the user interventions as resulting from a lack of participation would be misleading. These interventions were not a reaction to such a lack: they were, in fact, a denial of the very concept of participation. The housing policy of the day called for an active and all-encompassing engagement of the socialist subject, from the initial planning to the maintenance of the housing fond: residents like Kerkez approached the buildings' facades – their 'public face' – in a manner which rendered superfluous the very notion of joint appropriation or management of space. The conflict which arose between the architects and the residents was in fact a clash between two types of spatial framing. Cerak Vinogradi architects attempted to frame the subjectivity of a community member with the means of spatial organisation: centres placed at the level of streets and neighbourhoods were there to form the resident as part of entities larger than an apartment or a building (the same could be said of the plateaus in Cerak 2, where architects went even further, proposing the ritual of community barbeques). On the other hand, Cerak Vinogradi shows that the very quality of construction and inadequacy of its spaces were far more efficient in framing the subjectivity of the residents. In its deficiencies, the space of the estate forced the residents to act, but the very choice they made was not the one of collective intervention.

Immensely frustrating the architects, the residents acted in a DIY manner, successfully appropriating the estate's space. The confrontation between the two subjective positions was somewhat similar to the one between Šurda and his chief antagonists, the Čolović couple. Šurda makes use of the system with magic: after being employed by *Crep i cigla* for only three years, he hustles his way onto a list of employees that are to be awarded an apartment. He does so by sabotaging the proceedings, declaring a false number of household members, convincing his uncle to act insanely when the company's housing commission arrives to inspect the quarters and deliberately causing damage to the residence, again only to shock the visitors. When he enters the apartment (illegally, one might add), Šurda and his family appropriate spaces of collective use by placing coal in the laundry room, only to dry their own clothes in the building's hallways. Ruthlessly pragmatic, Šurda is represented at this point as someone who, in spatial terms, operates with much success, unlike the Čolović couple, who parade their elite taste while Šurda snatches an apartment right under their nose. The symbolic mandate of the architect and her husband, suggesting much in terms of status, is at the same time revealed as powerless when in contact with ordinary individuals, such as Šurda: a discrepancy existing also in more subtle terms through the figure of Vesna, whom Šurda seduces right in front of her then-boyfriend, and the author of the luxurious apartment from the first episode, Miša.

But the truly important thing to notice here is the absence of self-management, and participation as its guiding principle. Šurda's involvement in the workers' council of *Crep i cigla* is restricted to his attempt to obtain an apartment: something which he ultimately misses by a whisker, despite the fact that he sleeps on the job and, more importantly, ignores the council otherwise. As Slavoj Žižek explains, the big Other of Yugoslav socialism was based on a simple relation: while the official concept of self-management demanded full and creative participation in all matters of daily life, the true desire of the ruling bureaucracy was

anything but. The ideal subject of Yugoslav socialism was thus the one of cynical distance, preferably avoiding the whole ordeal of self-management, living the day by denying its significance (Žižek, 2002, p. 91-92). And was not this relation also present in spatial terms, in the case Cerak Vinogradi? After the alienated centres of power had done their job, the atomised interventions took on the results of the housing policy, and did with them as they saw fit. It is in this sense that the response of Kerkez should be read: a mundane response, grounded in the rules and norms of the big Other and opposed to the architect's rather extraordinary demand for self-management to be effective. For if the residents really did what the architect asked of them, self-organising to lay down and implement their own rules regarding what can and cannot be done space-wise, they would be moving beyond their tacit understanding with the socialist bureaucracy. This understanding worked on the principle of each having its own: the latter shaping the bulk of the spatial production of cities such as Belgrade and the former resorting to individual actions, making best of the benefits the system had provided them. And the understanding worked perfectly: the authorities did their best not to challenge the informal interventions of Cerak Vinogradi, sanctioning just one out of 35 cases which occurred during the 1980s and early 1990s (Institute, 1992). Regarding the residents, they enjoyed the privilege of having solved the housing question by utilising the funds and procedures of their workers' collectives, exercising in turn atomised spatial interventions, that is, mocking in silence the very notions of emancipation and collective action the concept of self-management relied on.

4. CONCLUSION

At the end of this article, it would be interesting to reverse the direction and ask questions not about Cerak Vinogradi, that is, the tension which existed between the competing spatial frames, but *Vruć vetar* instead. In the series, there are only a few scenes which are not home to the main cast: one of these is a conspicuously long and detailed scene which occurs in a building constructed by *Crep i cigla*. As we learn just before the scene, the building in question has been inspected several times and deemed not suitable for living. In order to speed things up, the director of *Crep i cigla* visits the site to discuss the issue with the inspecting Commission. Trying to prove them wrong, the director moves from one absurd situation to another, with a rather silly tune playing in the background: trying to pull one of the curtains, he literary tears it down; during the inspection of the bathrooms, one of his construction workers demonstrates several elaborate schemes which secure the functioning of the appliances, but only if the they are activated at the same time; finally, to provide exit to an apartment balkony, the director almost dislodges the faulty door, only to witness the Commission President fall to the ground because the balkony itself is missing.

How can we understand the scene? It might be read as providing an explanation for Šurda's ultimately unsuccessful bid to be awarded an apartment: because of the situation, the managing board of *Crep i cigla* decides to employ MSc Čolović, presuming his expertise would prevent such things from occurring in the future. As Čolović demands an apartment if he is to work for the company, the board decides to give him the one designated for Šurda. But the scene is far too long and conspicuous, and the same effect could have been achieved without it: the series provides ample proof of what *Crep i cigla* delivers to its customers and a simple statement that the present situation cannot be tolerated anymore would have been more

than enough. Understanding this scene and *Vruć vetar* in general demands knowing that the big Other strongly relies on subtle messages: what those in power openly declare is never the entire meaning of the discourse, for its crucial part remains unsaid and is understood on a deeper level of consciousness (Salecl, 2002). Furthermore, the big Other relies not only on political discourse but also on cultural products, such as TV series.

Fig. 6 Šurda sleeping on the job. Source: https://
www.youtube.com/watch?v=UYyPOnWFNU4

If a subjective position can be understood as the minimal response of an individual to the objective circumstances which surround him or her, then *Vruć vetar* can be seen as trying to incite a very specific subjective response. In the series, something is relayed to the observer in hidden form. For those lucky enough to be awarded an apartment, that is, to be framed by the residential space of the new estates, the series works to legitimise their previous, on-going or future informal interventions, for it delivers an unambiguous message that the system is broken and that individual action is much needed. The very notion of collective action and problem-solving through official channels is either not entertained or simply discouraged. Apartment users are reduced to individuals struggling to fix their living space. And whose job is to ensure that the deficiencies of the system are corrected? Of none other than Šurda himself (Fig. 6).

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CERAK VINOGRADI: PROSTORNI OKVIR, KORISNIČKE INTERVENCIJE I SOCIJALISTIČKI „VELIKI DRUGI"

Ovaj članak istražuje stambeno naselje Cerak Vinogradi (Darko Marušić, Milenija Marušić i Nedeljko Borovnica, 1977-1988), krećući se kroz niz relevantnih faktora: od ključnih principa stambene politike, urbanističkog i arhitektonskog projekta naselja i dinamike izgradnje, do kontakata između arhitekata i stanovnika i neformalnih korisničkih intervencija. Autori članka prilaze ovim faktorima referišući ka veoma popularnoj TV seriji Vruć Vetar *(1980.), pri čemu serija služi kao vredan uvid u društvene i prostorne obrasce bivše Jugoslavije. Autori koriste seriju kako bi pokazali da su Cerak Vinogradi bili rezultat tenzije između dva okvira: prvog koji je definisan kroz urbanistički i arhitektonski projekat i potom neuspešno branjen od strane arhitekata i drugog koji je obuhvatao manjkavosti u izgradnji i prostoru stanova, potstičući korisničke intervencije. Prikazujući svo otuđenje kojim je stambena politika perioda rezultirala, autori ne prilaze neformalnim intervenijama kao odgovoru na nevidljivost korisnika već kao dopuni ove iste politike. Referišući ka lakanovskoj teoriji društveno-simboličkog poretka ('velikog Drugog'), autori interpretiraju korisničke intervencije kao ključan deo postojećeg poretka, pozicionirajući ih u kontekstu cinične logike samoupravnog socijalizma.*

Ključne reči: *Cerak Vinogradi, socijalističko stanovanje, prostorni okvir, korisničke intervencije, veliki Drugi*