Modern Urbanites in Space and Time: Urbanization and Social Inequalities in 1960s Belgrade

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Abstract

In this thesis, I explore the processes of socialist urbanization and modernization in 1960s Belgrade. Thinking of the urban as a spatio-temporal configuration, I focus on urbanization as a process that produced and reflected social inequalities in space and time. Guided by Manuel Castells' concept of the urban as collective consumption, I explore how social inequalities were spatialized through unequal access to housing and infrastructure. By focusing on temporality as both a dimension of the urban and as a discursive tool, I consider the role of discourse on hygiene and proper dwelling in the production of the image of the modern socialist urban citizen against the image of the backward rural dweller. I connect these to discussions of the broader project of socialist modernization and the production of modern socialist urbanites. By examining novel sources such as various manuals on proper living, I contribute to the existing literature by considering the urbanization project as a "civilizing mission" that sought to produce and legitimize a particular socialist cultural order. The discussion thus connects to the broader theme of Yugoslav socialism and twentieth century socialism in general.

Acknowledgments

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Introduction

In 1961, the Belgrade Graphic Institute Workers' Council received an unusual letter from Leposava Aksentijević, a semi-skilled female worker at the Institute. Aksentijević wrote to inform the collective that she could not move into the studio apartment she had been allocated in Požeška 35 Street, because her rent would have been too high. At the time, Aksentijević was living with her child in a kitchen of a shared flat, while waiting to move into the apartment she had been promised. However, after making some calculations, she realized that the rent for the new apartment, combined with the costs of central heating, water, electricity, and other utilities would have swallowed a large chunk of her salary, therefore reluctantly deciding to abandon the opportunity.[2] Aksentijević's case effectively illustrates the struggles of many Belgradians in the 1960s. Overcrowded living spaces, rising rents and utility costs, long waiting times for state- and company-allocated flats, and the eventual disappointment that this working single mother encountered, were a rampant and growing issue.

Research on socialist Yugoslavia has (re)gained some momentum in recent years, after being overshadowed for a long while by research on the post-socialist period, with a strong focus on ethnic conflict and political and economic transition in the post-socialist space. There are two main strands of research on urbanization processes during socialist times. In the first group are contemporary studies from the period, mainly quantitative studies in economics and sociology, which provide statistical, often comparative, accounts of socialist urbanization.[3] In the second group are studies about Yugoslavia from post-Yugoslav time, most of which are

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[2] Živorad Živković, *Stan za naše džepove* (Sedma sila, 1963), 13–14. Here and elsewhere, translations from the Serbo-Croatian are mine.

[3] Miloš Macura, "Population Policies in Socialist Countries of Europe," *Population Studies* 28, no. 3 (1974): 371.

situated within the disciplines of history and architectural history. Brigitte le Normand's monograph on urban planning in Belgrade offers valuable insight into the challenges, achievements, and key actors in the process of urbanization.[4] While housing is not the primary focus of her study, Le Normand sheds light on the housing shortage, with a strong focus on informal building practices that arose in response to it, characterizing these as challenges to modernist urban planning. Le Normand's work is centered on the experiences of planners and the evolution of urbanism as a discipline, and while it offers a comprehensive overview of events, timelines, and actors, more significant insights from sociology or anthropology cannot be found in this study. Vladimir Kulić has studied Yugoslav "in-betweenness" in the urban context, with an emphasis on how this concept relates to the relationship between architecture and the state.[5] While these studies provide valuable insight into the developments and contradictions of modernist urban planning in Yugoslavia, they tend to be overly focused on urban planners and policy makers' perspectives. In addition, while they provide detailed accounts of urban planning developments, the limitations often are that theoretical depth is eschewed in favor of empirical breadth, which can result in a limited understanding of, and reflection on how theoretical concepts can explain the situatedness of the particular case within a broader pattern of socialist urbanization. On the other hand, socialist urban issues are rarely examined from the perspective of critical urban theory, which largely remains focused on urban issues under capitalism. Combining perspectives from critical urban theory with a historical case study of Belgrade and Yugoslavia can offer a deeper understanding of socialist urbanization.

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[4] Brigitte Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital: Urban Planning, Modernism, And Socialism in Belgrade* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014).

[5] Vladimir Kulić, "Land of the In-Between: Modern Architecture and the State in Socialist Yugoslavia, 1945–1965" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2009).

The 1960s decade is important for a few reasons. Rural-to-urban migration increased significantly over the decade, as people moved to the city in search of work. Informal building practices became a widespread phenomenon for the first time. As Le Normand has shown, it was in the 1960s that modernism "came under fire" in architecture and urbanism: different approaches to urban planning were being debated, and the previous direction of city building was being challenged.[6] The 1960s are also significant because of important macroeconomic and policy developments, such as the introduction of economic reforms, rising unemployment, emigration, and the institution of guest-worker schemes. All these phenomena can be considered in relation to urbanization.

In *Peasants into Frenchmen,* Eugen Weber analyzes the process of nation building in France in the period from 1870 to 1914.[7] Arguing against the prevalent image of France as a model nation state, Weber goes so far as to suggest that the peasantry was depicted as a different race and needed to be made into Frenchmen through an extensive civilizing project. The country(side) had to be conquered—through the imposition of a common language, compulsory schooling, and military service—in order to be unified. While the Yugoslav socialist context differs in many ways from that of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century France, the civilizing, i.e., the socialist modernizing and urbanizing project, echoes some of the aspects of the treatment of peasants that Weber describes. From the very beginning, it was deemed that rural populations were to be emancipated in Socialist Yugoslavia. For instance, Women's Antifascist Front [Antifašistički front žena, AFŽ] carried out literacy and hygiene campaigns in villages during and after the war. However, rural-to-urban migrants in socialist cities

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[6] Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital*, 189.

[7] Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*: *The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford University Press, 1976).

represented a peculiar population: not rural anymore as they lived in the city, but not quite (yet) urban either, in the cultural sense. Andrei Simić, an American anthropologist, conducted an ethnographic study of the experiences of rural-to-urban migrants in Belgrade in the 1960s.[8] His study offers insight into everyday lives of this population and of their lived experiences in the city. However, an analysis of discourse *about* rural-to-urban migrants, one about hygiene and proper living in particular, could shed light on the civilizing project that was implied in socialist modernization. In the 1960s, the urban newcomer population existed somewhere in-between, within a delayed temporality, defined by a lack of access to (proper) socialist urban housing. On the one hand, they were identified—often implicitly, but sometimes explicitly—as the main culprits in producing the housing shortages. These narratives were accompanied by depictions of backwardness and inadequacy for urban living of recent newcomers. On the other hand, the inability of the state to provide sufficient and adequate housing for most of its population undermined the possibility of the newcomers to adapt to the promoted ideal of the urban way of life. The combination of civilizing project tendencies evident in the discourse about hygiene and the increasing introduction of market mechanisms in housing produced a contradictory situation in which individuals were becoming increasingly responsible for providing their own housing, while simultaneously being subject to paternalizing treatment about how they should live. Furthermore, a discourse of social hygiene was used to depict various (supposed) urban ills. As temporary solutions proliferated, becoming a full urban citizen was a delayed process for some social groups. Various authors have approached the question of class stratification and social inequality in Yugoslavia; however, the intersection of urbanization, modernization, and communal hygiene provides an unexplored angle from which to reconsider these issues. Therefore, two main questions guide this work: How did social inequalities manifest spatially?

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[8] Andrei Simić, *The Peasant Urbanites: A Study of Rural-Urban Mobility in Serbia* (Seminar Press, 1973), 129.

And how can discourse about hygiene and backwardness in the urban context be interpreted within a socialist modernizing project?

Acute housing shortages in Belgrade and other major cities significantly undermined the socialist view that housing is a social right and that access to adequate housing should be provided to all people. Housing shortages that plagued Yugoslavia were a historical continuation which was only amplified by intensive rural-to-urban migrations in the post-WW2 period, and as such could not be blamed on the new regime. Housing shortages were not by any means a uniquely Yugoslav or a uniquely socialist occurrence. There were major post-war housing shortages throughout all of Europe. In the 1950s and in the 1960s, capitalist states also engaged in the provision of social housing. However, the treatment of housing shortages can be particularly interesting for researchers who study socialism, because it can reveal broader political and economic contradictions within the system.

Just as the urban fabric represents a complex research area situated at the intersection of multiple disciplines, I will attempt to coherently weave multiple threads of inquiry into the fabric of this thesis. The central topic of the thesis are urban inequalities within a modernist project that was Yugoslav socialism. Spatiality and temporality are the overarching themes and guiding concepts, as I explore how inequalities were produced in space and time. Housing is central to the development of this thesis, as access to housing can be seen as a barrier to the *full* access to urban life and the becoming of a *proper* urban citizen. I begin by providing a necessary but brief historical context of urbanization, industrialization, and rural-to-urban migration in Belgrade and Yugoslavia in the post-war period. I provide an overview of the main economic and social developments in Yugoslavia, situate the case in broader literature on socialist modernization and urbanization, discuss key theoretical concepts, and explain my methodology and sources (Chapter 1). I then apply the concept of the urban as collective consumption to social inequalities in Belgrade, highlighting how the latter were spatialized within the city,

through the unequal ability of citizens to join in collective consumption (Chapter 2). By focusing on temporality as a dimension of the urban, I consider the role of discourse on hygiene and proper dwelling in producing the image of the modern socialist urban citizen against the image of the backward rural dweller of the old times, juxtaposing the idealized discourse on how socialist women and men should live against the realities of everyday life under the condition of housing shortages (Chapter 3).

The urban question thus connects to broader discussion about Yugoslav socialism and twentieth century socialism in general. If one considers 'the urban' through the lens of collective consumption and think of fully-fledged socialist urbanites as those with full access to collective consumption, then discrepancies in the image and the reality of the urban condition can reveal broader inconsistencies within the system.

1. Urbanization, Migration, and the Housing Question

1.1. Post-war Industrialization, Urbanization, and Migration to the City

In the decade following the Second World War, the newly established Yugoslav state[9] faced many challenges. The country had suffered significant infrastructural destruction in the war, the society was largely agrarian, and the economy could boast of little more than light industry, much of it destroyed during the war.[10] The new leadership was intent on modernizing the country. In the immediate post-war period, between 1945 and 1950, Yugoslavia adopted a Soviet-style centralized economy. Policies included nationalization of land, industry, and large-scale housing plans. Five-year plans were created, in which rapid industrialization with an emphasis on heavy industry was the primary goal.[11] Both industrialization and urbanization were among the main priorities of the Yugoslav government in the post-war years, with the urgent goal of building a large number of factories over a short time span.[12] The sense of lateness, which Yugoslavia shared with other Eastern European states, and the need to overcome the under-urbanization and under-industrialization of a predominantly agrarian society were the main drivers of these impulses.[13] In 1960, urban population in Serbia was around 1,930,000 and reached around 2,850,000 by 1970.[14] As percentage of total population,

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[9] From 1945 to 1963 the country was known as the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, and from 1963 to 1992 as Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. For simplicity, I will refer to it as Yugoslavia.

[10] Ivana Dobrivojević, "'Svi u fabrike!' Instant industrijalizacija u Jugoslaviji 1945–1955," *Istorija 20. veka* 2 (2009): 103–104.

[11] Ibid., 104.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Susan L. Woodward, *Socialist Unemployment: The Political Economy of Yugoslavia, 1945–1990* (Princeton University Press, 1995), 17–18.

[14] "Urban population – Serbia," World Bank Data, accessed on June 10, 2025, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.URB.TOTL?end=1981&locations=RS&start=1960

urban population grew from 29% in 1960 to 40% in 1970.[15] The growth continued steadily over the following decades.

The evolution of housing policy in socialist Yugoslavia needs to be considered in relation to both the rapid growth in population and the economic reforms. The strong emphasis on heavy industry in the 1940s and early 1950s meant that fewer resources were available for housing construction.[16] Some major changes that were introduced with regards to housing included the limitations on the right of landownership, freezing rents at one half of their 1939 levels, and redistributing excessive privately owned apartments.[17] On the other hand, a large increase in urban population was a result of mechanical growth, as the policy of rapid industrialization led to mass migration to cities of people in search of work. A rapid increase in urban population coupled with limited housing availability produced growing shortages, as construction was slow and the existing housing stock insufficient.

Following the 1948 Tito-Stalin split and the ensuing economic isolation from the Eastern Bloc, Yugoslav leadership sought alternatives. The system of workers' self-management, which would define the *sui generis* of Yugoslav socialism, was introduced by law in 1950 and later codified in the Yugoslav Constitution of 1974. The law introduced major economic and social reforms, as its aim was to produce a shift away from a centralized model towards more decentralized decision-making at the enterprise level. Given that the low productivity of both capital and labor was a major issue, the introduction of workers' self-management was seen as an attempt to increase efficiency, by encouraging local autonomy and

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[15] Urban population (% of total population) – Serbia, World Bank Data, accessed on June 10, 2025, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.URB.TOTL.IN.ZS?end=1970&locations=RS&start=1960

[16] Brigitte Le Normand, "The House that Socialism Built," in *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe*, ed. Paulina Bren and Mary Neuburger (Oxford University Press, 2012), 353.

[17] Ibid.

initiative.[18] However, an important consequence of these economic reforms was that the responsibility for providing housing shifted from the state to the enterprise. In accordance with the new policy of increasing autonomy (and responsibility) of enterprises, under the new system, companies would invest in housing construction funded through employee contributions. This meant that work and housing became more intertwined, as workers' housing question was tightly linked to their employer, not to the state. On the other hand, during the same year of 1950, the possibility of the existence of unemployment was officially acknowledged (until then it was considered inconsistent with a socialist economic system) and would grow consistently in the following years.[19] Woodward presents socialist unemployment as a paradox, not an *economic* but a *political* one.[20] If the political legitimacy of the state rested on ideological principles of the right to work, then increasing unemployment would represent a serious contradiction within such a system. Furthermore, as enterprises became increasingly more significant not only as economic, but as political units, growing unemployment meant not only rising social inequalities, but deeper embeddedness of inequalities within the system. In other words, being unemployed triggered a chain of problems: from access to housing to political participation.

The period following 1950 was marked by economic liberalization, as market mechanisms were gradually introduced. Appeals for the introduction of economic logic in urbanization were voiced during this decade. Some expressed views that the mechanical population growth needed to be slowed down, given the insufficient infrastructure available to

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[18] Woodward, *Socialist Unemployment*, 23.

[19] Ibid., 4.

[20] Ibid., 6.

support the increase in urban population.[21] In 1961, a "mini" economic reform led to some economic liberalization and, at the same time, increased social stratification, since the wages of officers and highly skilled professionals increased faster than those of other workers.[22] The economic reforms of 1965 marked the official turn to market socialism. An often-discussed aspect of the 1950s and 1960s changes in economic policy is the question of increasing consumption and even consumerism. Le Normand suggests considering the housing situation in connection to the new role of consumption in the Yugoslav economy and society, thinking of housing as a durable consumer good that highlighted inequalities.[23] Market liberalization also led to general price increases in 1965, including housing and utilities.[24] The market logic, with the aim of improving the construction sector, was being increasingly applied to housing, resulting in a large part of the cost being borne by the consumer.[25] As Bodnar points out, social housing construction was virtually halted in Budapest in the early 1980s, while the city was still under the state socialist system. The end of public housing construction signaled more than the end of socialist architecture—both in the East and the West.[26] Following Le Normand's proposal to think of housing as a consumer good from 1960s onward, we could find the signs of the halt of social construction already in 1960s Belgrade. Of critical importance is the shift in the conception of the dweller: from worker who has a right to housing, to consumer who is supposed to choose and manage their housing. The economic reforms of the 1960s aimed at

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[21] Dragiša Miljković, "Dosadašnji razvoj, problemi i osnovne karakteristike budućeg razvoja Beograda," *Godišnjak grada Beograda* 11–12 (1965): 63.

[22] Ivana Dobrivojević, "Prilog proučavanju životnog standarda i društvenog položaja radnika uoči privredne reforme 1965," *Istorija 20. veka* 38, no. 1 (2020): 163.

[23] Le Normand, "The House that Socialism Built," 352–353.

[24] Ibid., 352.

[25] Ibid., 363.

[26] Judit Bodnár, *Fin de Millénaire Budapest: Metamorphoses of Urban Life*, (University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 3.

improving the level of economic efficiency and in this context, equality as a value was supplanted by that of productivity and fiscal responsibility.[27]

In relation to socialist under-urbanization, the state often played an important role because of its ability to impose administrative restrictions on migration to cities, thus creating a "time lag" between industrial growth and population growth.[28] Since heavy investment in industry was not followed by sufficient investment in infrastructure—as the latter was not immediately productive—rural-to-urban migration would produce a strain on the system.[29] Housing shortages in Belgrade were a representation of such a strain. Since internal migration was not legally restricted, rural residents moved to the city in large numbers in search of work. A Yugoslav architect wrote in 1965 that "Strong migration currents toward the city represent one form of a spontaneous urbanization process. In that regard, our first need is for control: can the city space allow for such intensity of migratory movement?"[30] Internal migration in Yugoslavia was not legally restricted within a formal system of control, as was the case in some other socialist countries (for instance, the *propiska* system in the Soviet Union). In practice, despite minimal legal restrictions, economic and institutional matters functioned to limit and shape internal migrations. This meant that factors such as access to jobs and housing, personal savings, education or the level and type of skills that a person possessed would influence their mobility. It also meant that newcomers to the city would often have to find innovative ways to secure housing by themselves, under the condition of acute shortages. In the mid-sixties, the country entered into six bilateral agreements that created temporary guest work schemes for

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[27] Le Normand, "The House that Socialism Built," 365.

[28] Bodnár, *Fin de Millénaire Budapest*, 26.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Marko Šlajmer, "Prostorna organizacija grada," *Arhitektura Urbanizam* no. 33–34 (1965): 68.

Yugoslav workers.[31] These agreements were initiated amidst high unemployment after various other measures proved ineffective. They represented a temporary solution to the employment and housing problems, until the economic crises of the 1970s forced many guest workers back. Nevertheless, urban population continued to grow all through the 1960s and 1970s.

1.2. Socialist Modernity and Urbanization

Modernity, whether capitalist or socialist, is both a spatial and a temporal project. In her book *Dreamworld and Catastrophe*, Susan Buck-Morss explores similarities in the evolution of culture in the East and the West by focusing on their shared utopian dream of mass happiness in industrial modernity.[32] While the East and the West refer to the USSR and the USA, respectively, the book can be understood more broadly as an analysis of a common modernist dream that was at the heart of both types of state projects. Considering socialist modernity as a utopian impulse[33] provides a framework that can be applied to studying different socialist systems. Buck-Morss, however, warns of the futility of this dream:

Industrial modernity in both really existing forms, capitalist and socialist, created a hostile environment for human life, precisely the opposite of the dream of modernity. Within this contradiction, power thrived, inserting itself between the dreamer and the

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[31] Macura, "Population Policies in Socialist Countries of Europe," 371. Bilateral agreements were signed with France (1965), Austria (1966), Sweden (1966), Germany (1968), Australia (1970) and Benelux countries (1970).

[32] Susan Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West* (The MIT Press, 2000), xiii–xiv.

[33] Ibid., 45, 256.

dream's fulfillment, drawing upon the energy of the former and sustaining itself by the perpetual postponement of the latter.[34]

Yugoslav socialism, positioned "in-between" the East-West divide, was one form of the modernizing utopian impulse. Translated to spatial terms, this modern utopia can be imagined as Lefebvrian abstract space or an idealized representation of space, "tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose," a space of ideology.[35] Lefebvre is critical of equating representations of space with social space: "The problem is that any search for space in literary texts will find it everywhere and in every guise: enclosed, described, projected, dreamt of, speculated about."[36]

There is generally a close direct relationship between industrialization and urbanization. Urban settlements in Yugoslavia were defined by the threshold of minimum two thousand inhabitants (as was the case in Czechoslovakia and the G.D.R.).[37] From 1953, Yugoslavia defined urban areas by a combination of population size and dependence for their living upon non-farm work.[38] There are several aspects to urbanization. The level of urbanization can be determined by the proportion of the population living in cities. On the other hand, one can also talk of urbanization or urbanism in relation to a particular kind of urban life.[39] Socialist modernization sought to produce both effects: increase the number of people living in cities and emancipate the population to a certain urban way of life. Another aspect of urbanization is the enlargement of cities. As cities grow, they incorporate suburban and peri-urban areas.

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[34] Ibid., 205.

[35] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Blackwell, 1991 [1974]), 33.

[36] Ibid., 15.

[37] F.E. Ian Hamilton, "Spatial structure in East European cities," in *The socialist city: spatial structure and urban policy*, ed. R.A. French and F. E. Ian Hamilton (Wiley, 1979), 167.

[38] Ibid., 169.

[39] Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a way of life," *The American Journal of Sociology* 44, no. 1 (1938).

Marx's idea that modern history is the urbanization of the countryside applied to socialist modernity just as it did to its capitalist counterpart.

What is meant by socialist urbanism? Approaches to urbanism in socialist countries varied. Urbanism refers to a complex phenomenon that includes a web of actors with different ideas, aims, and levels of influence. The relationship between political power and architecture has always been visible in the urban fabric. The vision of architects and urban planners is shaped by their professional standards and aesthetics, and it often represents an ideal(ized) vision. Socialist urbanism was seen as a modernizing tool, one of the ways of building the modern socialist society and of creating the modern socialist citizen. If social space is a social product, then every society with its dominant mode of production, should produce its own space.[40] "Is there a socialist city?" ask French and Hamilton.[41] The answer is not straightforward. Ideal forms or ideal types of the socialist city, such as the *sotsgorod* propounded by Muliutin[42] or Garnier's *cité industrielle*,[43] existed mostly on paper. "Socialist" as an adjective used to describe a city came to be associated with a particular geography and an urban landscape defined by a certain architectural aesthetic. The geography is that of Eastern Europe and the aesthetic is defined by a gray color palette, brutalist lines, and uniformity. But various aspects attributed to the socialist built environment did not originate in socialist states, nor were they unique to them. Elements of modernist functionalist urban planning that characterized the early practice in most socialist states in many ways paralleled developments elsewhere. Already at

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[40] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 31.

[41] R.A. French and F. E. Ian Hamilton, "Is There a Socialist City?" in *The socialist city: spatial structure and urban policy*, ed. R.A. French and F. E. Ian Hamilton (Wiley, 1979), 1.

[42] Nikolay A. Miliutin, *Sotsgorod: The Problem of Building Socialist Cities* (The MIT Press 1974 [1930]).

[43] For an analysis of utopian thought in Garnier's urbanism, see Dora Wiebenson, "Utopian Aspects of Tony Garnier's Cité Industrielle," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 19, no. 1 (1960).

the beginning of the twentieth century, the question of housing had attracted the attention of policy makers and reformers. After the Second World War, governments all around Europe were faced with housing crises. Mass housing projects proliferated in the 1950s and 1960s, as part of broader systems of social welfare that consolidated by the end of the war.[44] As Urban notes, mass housing projects resulted from two conceptual foundations originating in the late nineteenth century: standardization and paternalism.[45] Housing blocks as modernist settlements were not, therefore, a socialist phenomenon. According to Urban, an important difference was that socialist countries had more limited resources which produced a wider gap between theory and practice.[46] It appears that it is not so much the approach to planning or the aesthetic qualities of the built environment that produce a socialist city type. The socialist in "socialist city" stands for the historical and geo-political context in which these cities developed. What serves to associate housing blocks with socialism is perhaps the extent of their prevalence in socialist societies. Architectural similarities, however, are one superficial aspect that can conceal other social and cultural differences that belie the application of modernist principles within a specific context. How was modernist housing appropriated differently in socialist states? One of the proclaimed goals of socialist states was that of equality and eventual classlessness. Architecturally, these social goals were translated by urban planners into housing blocks, high population density, and compact neighborhoods. Urban planners envisioned settlements as communities in which housing would be surrounded by supporting facilities— educational, cultural, administrative, commercial, and health facilities—so that urbanites would have all the necessary amenities at short distances. Due to high infrastructural costs, limiting urban sprawl and building compact settlements was considered necessary to achieve this vision.

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[44] Florian Urban, *Tower and Slab: Histories of Global Mass Housing* (Routledge, 2012).

[45] Ibid., 24.

[46] Ibid.

However, after housing production in Yugoslavia began increasingly following market logic, as a result of economic and housing reforms, profitability concerns would often prevail over the provision of ample green space and playgrounds.[47] In general, urban planning combined multiple aims and limitations, and it was not always social values that directly determined its direction. For instance, Le Normand suggests that communal housing in Yugoslavia was not envisioned by the planners as a means of developing the spirit of camaraderie among the populace but was mainly a matter of cost efficiency.[48]

The issue of health was closely connected to the issue of urban hygiene, and both were interpreted as indicators of social (in)equality. As Kulić has noted in the case of New Belgrade [Novi Beograd], it was the idea that consistent planning produced the order and health which made New Belgrade "the first socialist city" in the country.[49] The dichotomy between capitalism and socialism was paralleled by the dichotomy between dirt and cleanliness, illness and health.[50] This reasoning followed Marxist theory and was not unique to socialist Yugoslavia. The treatment of public hygiene and health has been an important part of various state building projects, both in capitalist and socialist contexts. Furthermore, these topics have often been framed around the questions of discipline, control, and governmentality in the Foucauldian sense. To what extent these policies differed is a question that merits a deeper investigation, but in theory at least, socialist governments sought to emancipate the population by introducing hygiene and health standards and promoting social equality by offering equal access to services to all citizens.

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[47] Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital*, 146.

[48] Brigitte Le Normand, "The Contested Place of the Detached Home in Yugoslavia's Socialist Cities," in *The Cultural Life of Capitalism in Yugoslavia*, ed. Dijana Jelača, Maša Kolanović and Danijela Lugarić (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 175.

[49] Kulić, "Land of the In-Between," 135.

[50] Ibid., 136.

Szelenyi noted that socialist cities were becoming increasingly similar, despite their historical and traditional differences.[51] At the same time, it is difficult to decide on a set of characteristics that would define a socialist city without resorting to cliched archetypes. Following Lefebvre's logic, according to which the production of space cannot be considered separately from the dominant mode of economic production, different versions of socialism would produce different (urban) spaces. For that reason and despite commonalities between socialist countries of the twentieth century, there are individual differences that deter easy generalizations and necessitate case-by-case considerations. However, one characteristic all socialist states had in common was the shared objective of fixing the problems of the city, which were seen as relics of the old system.[52]

1.3. Space and Inequality

The spatial turn in social sciences and humanities that began in the late 1960s and in the 1970s foregrounded space as a dynamic, contested, and socially meaningful category. Conceptions of space as a mere container in which social life occurs became obsolete. The spatial turn reoriented attention to geography, spatial relations, territory, place, and scale. An important question became how power operates spatially, as issues such as segregation, zoning, borders, architecture, and housing gained more attention.

'Urban society,' never merely refers to a spatial form, but above all, to a certain urban culture, i.e., a historically specific system of values, norms, and social relations.[53] Simmel was the first sociologist to define 'the urban' with reference to peculiar mental states associated with

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[51] Ivan Szelenyi, *Urban Inequalities under State Socialism* (Oxford University Press, 1983), 1.

[52] Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital*, 57.

[53] Manuel Castells, *The Urban Question* (Edward Arnold, 1977 [1972]), 75.

life in a metropolis, characterized by the blasé attitude,[54] individuality,[55] and competition.[56] These states of mind represent reactions to the "complete money economy" and the "capitalistic and intellectualistic character" that Simmel associates with cities.[57] Similarly, Wirth defined urbanism in cultural terms, as a way of life characterized by unique behavior, values, and social organization. In the urbanization and growth of big cities, Wirth saw the indicators of "the beginning of what is distinctively modern in our civilization."[58]

Historically and theoretically, however, the "urban question" has mostly been associated with capitalism. Not only have socialist cities received less attention in urban studies, but there is a general lack of critical urban theory that treats social and spatial inequalities in non-capitalist societies. In relation to the production of space and inequality, Lefebvre talks about the practices of exclusion and the process of the production of difference.[59] Through this process, center and periphery are produced in the expulsion of "problematic" groups to the periphery, which makes them invisible or less visible. For Lefebvre, this process is connected to the dominant mode of production. While he primarily criticizes spatial processes under the capitalist mode of production, this peripheralization and marginalization can be considered within a socialist system, too. According to Castells, 'the urban' represents the site of collective consumption orchestrated by the state.[60] Applying this logic to the question of the urban under state socialism would mean that the main difference in the 'socialist urban' could be found in

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[54] Georg Simmel, "Metropolis and Mental Life," in *Georg Simmel on Individuality and Social Forms*, ed. Donald Levine (University of Chicago Press, 1971 [1903]), 14.

[55] Ibid., 16.

[56] Ibid, 17.

[57] Ibid., 13–14.

[58] Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a way of life," 1.

[59] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 373.

[60] Castells, *The Urban Question*.

the sphere of collective consumption in the city.[61] In that sense, by analyzing different aspects of access to collective consumption—in the form of housing and urban infrastructure—we can gain insight into how these became sites of social stratification in urban space. Castells focuses on housing, as the distribution of housing in space determines its social differentiation and the urban landscape.[62] The residents are connected to their dwelling in a productive way: the characteristics of the residents determine their dwelling type and location.[63] While Castells is theorizing on capitalist urban form, this spatial logic is present in socialist systems. Studying urbanization processes under socialism, Szelenyi finds that urban spatial structures reflected and reinforced social inequalities between new elites and workers, and between urban and rural populations.[64] If the claim to legitimacy of socialist systems was in the egalitarian distribution of social goods,[65] thinking of the urban in terms of collective consumption can help us to consider how social inequalities took a spatial form in the modernizing project.

1.4. Methodological Framework and Sources

As the main approach of my study, I apply discourse analysis to a set of primary sources. I rely on four types of sources: official reports and minutes of municipal meetings, newspapers, professional journals in the field of architecture and urbanism, and publications of instructional character. Sources were selected primarily because they focus on urbanization and dwelling

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[61] Bodnár, *Fin de millénaire Budapest*, 9, 18.

[62] Castells, *The Urban Question*, 169.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Szelenyi, *Urban Inequalities Under State Socialism*.

[65] Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe*, 3.

and allow for consideration of the issues of proper living from a new perspective. I approach the source with the knowledge of the context in which they were produced. I do not consider the validity of the claims made in the sources, focusing instead on the theoretically and historically informed interpretation. The following sources have provided most of the material analyzed in the thesis.

Popular newspapers can help to reconstruct a picture of the society at the time, as it was reported in the publication. *Beogradska nedelja* [Belgrade weekly] is particularly useful, as it regularly reported on a broad spectrum of urban issues. These ranged from local infrastructural problems, to lists of people who received state-owned apartments, to translations of international journal articles. The newspaper often provided surveys, interviews, and profiles of ordinary citizens, complete with their names, ages, and addresses. Respondents discussed various issues that bothered them, often related to housing and urban questions. While these articles are edited, categorized, and filtered through the publication process, I find that the newspaper sources can help in recovering the voices of the inhabitants, which are often not found in other sources.

Three sources of instructional character offer insight into normative aspects of socialist dwelling in relation to urban space. Following Johannes Fabian's conclusion that "all scientific discourse inevitably involves temporalization,"[66] I approach these sources with a close focus on temporality as a "strategic device." *Priručnik za komunalnu higijenu* [The Communal Hygiene Manual] was published in 1966, after a similar publication titled *Komunalna higijena* [Communal Hygiene] was published in 1953. Both books addressed a variety of concerns and

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[66] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (Columbia University Press, 1983), 30.

offered advice related to the "problem of hygiene of settlements."[67] The motivation behind the new publication lay in "the developments of the decade that followed the first issue [which] necessitated a publication of a new and improved edition."[68] The editor notes that a variety of new problems in neighborhoods and communes appeared as a result of urbanization and industrialization, concluding that the hygiene of dwelling and urban housing construction present one of the most pressing questions of the time.[69] The difference between the two publications is not only in the expanded and updated treatment of the matter of communal hygiene, but also in the editorial choice to use a more concise language and produce the second publication as a *manual.* A manual, by definition, is instructive. It is not entirely clear who the intended audience of this manual is—whether this publication was aimed at the scientific community, decision makers or the general population. This source is particularly valuable because it introduces an aspect of urbanization in Yugoslavia that has not been researched in parallel to housing shortages—that of hygiene. Furthermore, this publication presents a useful source for sociologists because the issue is considered from both sociological and technical perspectives.

Another source is a primary school textbook for sixth graders[70] titled *Moj stan i odeća* [My Home and Clothes], in which children are instructed on various matters of proper living. It would be difficult to place this textbook within any one subject, as its contents cover a diverse set of issues. Essentially, it represents a broad manual on how to live properly. The textbook covers a diverse set of questions, from what could be considered architectural or engineering

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[67] Sergije Razmin, "Uvodna reč," in "*Priručnik za komunalnu higijenu*," ed. Sergije Ramzin (Medicinska knjiga, 1966), ix.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Children around the ages of twelve to thirteen.

matters (e.g., what materials are used to construct a home), to aspects that generally would fall within the scope of domesticity courses (e.g., how to mend one's clothes). Textbooks have a didactic character, as their purpose is to instruct students. In that sense, they can offer a glimpse of the principles that the policy makers, tasked to emancipate the population through education, were seeking to disseminate.

Savremen stan i njegovo uređenje [Contemporary dwelling and its furnishing], published in 1962 by the Institute for Home Economics, similarly aims to instruct the general public on the spatial organization of the family dwelling, so that a family can live in accordance with the new reality of social and economic development.

2. From Periphery to Center: Spatializing Social Inequalities

To *spatialize* means to "locate, both physically and conceptually, social relations and social practice in social space."[71] Thinking of urban space as socially produced and of social relations as both reflected and (re)produced in space allows one to present, in a more tangible form, the complex social, economic, political, and cultural processes in any given society.

In this chapter, I explore the housing and urban infrastructure in Belgrade in the 1960s, and their relationship to the spatialization of social inequalities. As the interests of planners, authorities, and the general population sometimes diverged, their views about urban issues and housing also differed. My primary focus, however, is on the experiences of regular urban citizens as users (for Lefebvre) or consumers (for Castells) of urban space—of housing and infrastructure. The purpose of this chapter is then to explore how urban inequalities affected people's everyday lives in urban space, how they navigated a lack of access to collective consumption, and how they reinterpreted the meaning of housing as a consumer good.

2.1. Producing Urban Inequalities

Some groups were affected more than others by housing shortages. Construction workers, for instance, found themselves in a peculiar situation. Many construction workers came to the city as temporary migrants. Some had families back home, while others were young

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[71] Setha M. Low, "Spatializing culture: the social production and social construction of public space in Costa Rica," *American Ethnologist* 23, no. 4 (1996): 861.

single men. They lived in extremely modest temporary housing, which generally took the form

of barracks, the logic of which often perplexed both construction workers and journalists. Krum

Petrović, president of the local council of the construction workers' union, expressed dismay at

the housing policy that was being applied in the case of construction workers. He demanded

that living conditions of construction workers be improved, and that "the normal living

conditions" be provided, specifying that normal conditions meant dwellings suitable for long-

term life of families.[72] At a session of the People's Council in January 1961, a group of

councilors raised the issue of the accommodation and housing of construction workers, which

was then forwarded to the Municipal Fund for Housing Construction. The Fund responded:

> The Fund is aware of the serious problem that construction companies face in relation
> to the construction of housing for their workers and officers. However, the Fund does
> not have access to suitable analyses that could reliably determine which sector is faced
> with the greatest problem. For instance, we would like to point out that representatives
> from industry and agriculture, as well as health and education workers, also claim that
> their housing problems are the most serious.[73]

This instance illustrates how the right to housing, which was one of the pillars upon which the

new society was supposed to be built, was in fact contested and made into a matter of

competition between different groups of workers. The Municipal Fund for Housing

Construction was introduced in 1955, with the aim of rationalizing housing production by

pooling resources to build housing. However, despite the initial goal of improving the

availability of housing for all people, the Fund worked to produce further inequalities, as the

allocation system favored managers and more highly skilled professionals, at the expense of

the average worker.[74] However, it appears that all social strata were affected by housing

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[72] "Kako (i zašto tako) žive građevinski radnici privremeno," *Beogradska nedelja*, September 16, 1962, 3.

[73] Elaborat o stanju i problemima smeštaja građevinskih radnika beogradske operative, Materijal za tačku 1/F dnevnog reda sednice Veća proizvođača zakazane za 24.3.1961. FSGB, IAB.

[74] Le Normand, "The House that Socialism Built," 359.

shortages, as newspaper articles described the housing woes of urban inhabitants who came from a variety of backgrounds: highly skilled and unskilled workers, young and old people, some with personal savings and some without... An article in *Beogradska nedelja* recounted the story of Vera Simić, "an intellectual" from Belgrade who, together with her husband, lived in a room she had owned since her university days.[75] Both were employed and "earned rather well." Despite having lived "like misers" for a few years in order to save for an apartment, the couple could only apply for mortgage and hope to obtain an apartment no sooner than in 1963. The author concludes the article wondering what happens to all those who do not earn well, whose companies' housing funds cannot invest sufficiently into housing, or even worse, whose companies' do not even have such funds. Reading through different stories of struggle, one could easily come under the impression that housing allocation functioned as arbitrarily as a lottery system. However, there were a few key factors that affected one's ability to obtain housing. As one journalist put it, it played a major role which industry one was employed in; it also played an important role whether one worked at a large or at a small enterprise.[76] Thus if one was employed at a large company in a thriving industry, they would be in a more favorable position to acquire housing compared to an equally qualified (or equally paid) worker employed elsewhere.

The sheer lack of access to any kind of housing was a major issue, but shortages were not the only problem. The trade-off between rising costs and quality of construction meant that access to housing was not the only dividing line between different segments of the population. Apartments differed in size, quality, and location. When one finally managed to obtain dwelling, the existence of adequate infrastructure was not guaranteed. Apartments followed a

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[75] "Stan udaljen 10 godina," *Beogradska nedelja*, October 15, 1961.

[76] Živorad Živković, "Na ruke tvorcima stambene politike," *Beogradska nedelja*, March 24, 1963.

categorization on a scale from I (highest) to IV (lowest). Category I apartments were of highest quality and price, while category IV included the cheapest.[77] Criticism abounded of the apartments that were constructed. Some claimed that, despite the shortages and the urgent need for housing, mostly apartments of categories I and II were being built. These apartments were of higher standards, but they were also more costly to produce. The overarching problem were rising construction costs, which limited the supply of new apartments. As these problems accelerated, the need was accentuated for the construction of "mass," "modest," and "cheaper" dwellings, which would be accessible to most workers and officers with "lower personal incomes."[78] Some critics expressed views that constructing more lower cost apartments would be more rational given the dire situation, since a greater number of people could be housed. The basis of this view was that people would not care so much about the quality of their dwellings at first—these concerns would come only later, after securing housing. The dilemma was presented as follows: "Do you want an apartment with central heating and elevator, that you can move into in five, or three, or eight years? Or do you want an apartment without central heating and elevator, but you move in in two years, certainly in three or four?"[79] In the "Housing Construction" section of the Draft for the 1963 social plan for Belgrade, one of the key tasks for the actors involved in housing construction was to, in order to more efficiently solve the housing problem, increase the number of "lower category" apartments in the housing stock.[80] The Urban Council was urged to determine new locations for cheaper mass construction in the peripheral rayons of the city, in order to solve the housing question of workers and low income

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[77] Le Normand, "The House that Socialism Built," 358.

[78] "Izveštaj NO grada Beograda o radu u 1962. godini," Belgrade, feb. 1963. FSGB, IAB, 45.

[79] Ibid.

[80] "Stambena izgradnja," in Nacrt Društvenog plana Beograda za 1963. godinu. FSGB, IAB, 26.

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persons.[81] Despite these plans, changes in economic and housing policy meant that market logic would increasingly be applied to the construction and allocation of housing.

On the other hand, others warned against building of lower standard housing in anticipation of rising standards of living.[82] An emerging theme is that of urgency, producing a need for quick decision making. With the prevailing shortages, it seems that standards followed second. The important thing becomes simply securing housing, only later worrying about its quality or location.

Cheaper apartments were not always planned for the periphery. For instance, the Housing Fund was investing in "more modest" apartments in the central neighborhood of Dorćol.[83] In practice, most new settlements were placed in peripheral areas, which appears logical, given that any substantial housing construction required ample space. However, it is important to bear in mind that the periphery should not be defined in terms of distance, but rather, in terms of access. The following sections will focus on that dimension.

2.2. Concentration and Closeness

The principal goals of socialist urban policies across Eastern Europe were to prevent disproportionate growth of individual cities, to limit sprawl, and to thwart the agglomeration of adjacent towns, as these phenomena were seen as consequences of capitalism.[84]

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[81] Ibid., 27.

[82] Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital*, 173.

[83] Sednica NO grada Beograda, Predlog dnevnog reda i materijal, mar. 15 1963. FSGB, IAB, 54.

[84] F.E. Ian Hamilton, "Spatial structure in East European cities," in *The socialist city: spatial structure and urban policy*, ed. R.A. French and F. E. Ian Hamilton (Wiley, 1979), 184.

Disproportionate growth of individual cities and agglomeration would lead to unequal development, social inequalities, and overcrowding. Urban sprawl implied higher infrastructural costs, negative impact on the social life of residents, and disruption of planners' vision. Yugoslav urban planners presented no exception in this regard. Due to high infrastructural costs, planners emphasized the need for compact neighborhoods and for higher population densities in urban settlements. Concentrating the population in housing blocks surrounded by supporting facilities such as schools, pharmacies, and playgrounds was also seen as an element that produced higher social cohesion within a neighborhood. In the words of one urbanist:

> Concentration in this sense leads to closer social connections because inhabitants of a community meet each other on a regular basis, when running errands, at the pastry shop, at library or at school. […] The inhabitants belong to a large family with common problems, joys, and perspectives. It is therefore especially important to create such an atmosphere in big cities like Belgrade, because it helps in preventing dangers from latent negative influences of big city life.[85]

Proximity was therefore important in two ways: the proximity between inhabitants and infrastructure would not only ensure convenience in everyday life but would also help to produce a sense of closeness among inhabitants. Regardless of whether it was primarily cost consciousness instead of ideological convictions that motivated these aims, reality and planning principles often diverged on the ground. In practice, the provision of supporting facilities often lagged behind construction, so that inhabitants would often move into their apartments before shops, schools or libraries were built in the neighborhood. The lack of such infrastructure limited what, where, and how these inhabitants could collectively consume.

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[85] Andrija Mendelson, "Uloga i značaj regulacionih planova u razradi generalnog plana Beograda" *Arhitektura urbanizam* no. 41–42 (1966): 35.

2.3. Citizens at the Margin: Periphery and Access to Collective Consumption

Major infrastructural issues persisted, as the existing infrastructure was deemed insufficient to satisfy the needs of the rising population. For instance, average daily per capita water consumption in Belgrade was 240 liters, where it "should have been 300 liters."[86] Similarly, the public transportation system only had one vehicle per 1.5 thousand inhabitants, while it was deemed that this ratio ought to be brought down to one vehicle per one thousand people.[87] An important aspect of these issues was their unequal spatial distribution. Urban citizens living in the peripheral parts of the city often expressed frustration at the lack of services and amenities available to them. "We have nothing here," said Milka Knežević, a homemaker from Ćalije, an urban neighborhood about 6 kilometres away from the old city centre. She then added:

> Ever since we got the bus [to the city center], we too can boast that we live in Belgrade. But we need to go to the new settlement for even the smallest of things [*za svaku sitnicu*]. Since there is no public transport to take us there, we walk. A half hour walk for us older folks, fifteen to twenty minutes for the youth.[88]

As I have already implied, it is important to consider the periphery not simply as a matter of physical distance from the historical center of the city, but as determined by the availability of infrastructure, transportation, and commercial and administrative services. Thinking of it in this manner, the relationship between periphery and center becomes one of exclusion from collective consumption. It becomes a social instead of a merely physical relationship, produced by one's positioning within the mode of production. In socialist Belgrade, this positioning was

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[86] Miljković, "Dosadašnji razvoj, problemi i osnovne karakteristike budućeg razvoja Beograda," 39.

[87] ibid.

[88] Biserka Matić, "Od autobusa na ovamo—Beograđani," *Beogradska nedelja*, March 31, 1963, 3.

determined by one's employer. More precisely, the overall productivity of the enterprise affected its ability to invest in and provide housing to workers.

B*eogradska nedelja* featured a collection of photos of daily troubles of peripheral urban dwellers under the title "Old Belgrade 1962," challenging the readers to guess whether a given photo dated to the previous century or to contemporary times. In one photo (Figure 1), a queue forms in front of a water fountain, while citizens with buckets wait for their turn to fetch water. A sardonic remark follows the image: "Communal services in Belgrade are not yet advanced enough to have a water carrier, so citizens assemble around the fountain."[89]

A certain Jovan Petrović, living in a newly built settlement in Karaburma neighborhood, expressed both frustration and bewilderment at the lack of services in his neighborhood:

> It is perhaps strange, but we obtain most of our stuff in the city center, near Terazije. Just the other day I needed two pieces of plastic boning and to get them, I had to send my son to Knez Mihailova Street [in the city center], because they can't be found here.[90]

Mr. Petrović's wife complained to the reporter that she and other homemakers in the area needed to wake up much earlier than those in the center, as it took them a while to get to the nearest market. She had to go to the city center for almost anything: "a button, a new book, a colored lightbulb, cloth, shoes or an electric stove."[91] Complementary to the issue of access to collective consumption, emerging here is also the question of the additional labor that those dwelling on the periphery had to perform to challenge spatial inequalities. As some of the testimonies in the newspaper show, the burden of this labor was often gendered, since women

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[89] "Stari Beograd 1962," *Beogradska nedelja*, December 9, 1962.

[90] "Decentralizacija Beograda," *Politika*, January 17, 1960, 11.

[91] Ibid.

continued to perform most of the labor of social reproduction, despite the official policy of gender equality.[92]

FIGURE 1: CITIZENS WITH BUCKETS COLLECT WATER AT A PUBLIC FOUNTAIN IN KRNJAČA

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[92] For more on gendered labor, see Chiara Bonfiglioli, "Discussing Women's Double and Triple Burden in Socialist Yugoslavia: Women Working in the Garment Industry," in *Labor in State Socialist Europe: Contributions to a Global History of Work*, ed. Marsha Siefert (Central European University Press, 2020).

2.4. "Wild" Construction: A Challenge from the Periphery?

There were a few ways of obtaining housing. One could sublet rooms or apartments, which often meant living in small spaces at a high cost. Another option was trying to obtain housing in apartment buildings, which usually would have to be accessed through one's employer and these often had a long waiting period. Housing collectives [*stambene zadruge*] existed but were relatively rare. An alternative was to build one's own house, but only limited parcels were available for single-family homes.[93] The combination of increasing population, inadequate housing provision, slow construction, and long waiting times resulted in the phenomenon of "wild construction." Informal housing construction—mostly referred to in the media and official documents as wild construction [*divlja gradnja*] and illegal construction [*bespravna gradnja*]—was a constant during almost the entire existence of socialist Yugoslavia, and only grew in volume in the late-socialist and post-socialist periods. It was particularly present in the peripheral areas of the city. Le Normand interprets the usage of the term *wild* to connote a certain savagery and spontaneity of the builders, and proposes to use the term *rogue* instead, as it can help evade these prejudices and simply refer to construction that evaded the control of the authorities.[94] While informal construction as such was not a new phenomenon (unregulated construction had already existed in Belgrade at the beginning of the twentieth century as a result of restrictive ownership laws[95]), it grew steadily in the 1960s and was identified as an increasingly serious urban, social, and health issue.[96] Newspapers reported of people such as Ljubomir Đurović, a carpenter who illegally built a wooden house by the

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[93] Le Normand, *Designing Tito's* Capital, 149.

[94] Ibid., 148.

[95] Ljiljana Grubović, "Belgrade in Transition: an analysis of illegal building in a post-socialist city" (PhD diss., London School of Economics, 2006), 72.

[96] Izveštaj NO grada Beograda o radu u 1962. godini. Belgrade, feb. 1963, FSGB, IAB, 44.

railway station in Žarkovo, which the authorities had already demolished six times at the time of reporting.[97]

Nevertheless, rogue builders existed on a spectrum: there were differences among them in terms of access to resources, social capital, and even previous access to housing. There were cases of rogue builders who did not resort to the practice out of necessity, but for instance, because they wanted to build a bigger house to accommodate the extended family.[98] There were socio-economic distinctions among informal settlers and there were better-off and worse-off parts of informal neighborhoods.[99]

Rogue construction presented a problem on different levels and for different state actors. Many state agencies had and followed their own interests. It was the local officials who were most directly affected by the issue, as they were the ones who had to deal with it on an everyday basis.[100] But the issue affected everyone from urban planners to central authorities, as rogue builders impeded housing construction in the city, since they often built on land where new housing was supposed to be built.[101]

Rogue or "wild" construction is a multifaceted phenomenon and I consider it here only through the center-periphery relationship. Previously, I identified collective consumption as an important aspect of the "urban" and suggested that the domain of collective consumption could offer insight into the process of social stratification in the city. The understanding of what collective consumption was meant to encompass changed in the 1950s and 1960s. Whereas

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[97] Živorad Živković, "Pravo na stan," *Beogradska nedelja*, December 2, 1962, 2.

[98] Rory Archer, "The moral economy of home construction in late socialist Yugoslavia," *History and Anthropology* 29, no. 2 (2018): 150.

[99] Ibid, 151.

[100] Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital,* 161.

[101] Ibid.

housing was initially meant to be provided by the state, housing production largely became privatized, and housing was increasingly seen as a consumer good. The ability of urban citizens to participate in this collective consumption depended on multiple factors, of which the most significant were one's profession and one's employer. As Szelenyi has noted, urban spatial structure in socialist societies both reflected and (re)produced social inequalities. In the case of Belgrade, one of the ways social inequalities were woven into the urban fabric was through housing allocation. This stratification went beyond simple access to housing to include differentiation in housing quality, location, and access to public infrastructure and services. The grievances of urban inhabitants at the periphery who complained about being cut off and not feeling like Belgradians tell us about how unequal access to collective consumption shaped their daily urban experience. Those are experiences of greater or lesser exclusion. Furthermore, as the local community [*mesna zajednica*] was considered an important social and political unit, where and how one lived had broader impact on their social life. The logic of self-management meant that those who worked at large enterprises in export-oriented industries would have privileged status as participants in collective consumption.

The phenomenon of "wild" construction represented an extreme end of the spectrum between the individual and the collective. Informal building was a total self-initiative that required private funds, private labor, and appropriation of public land.[102] Informal builders were often made to resort to this practice out of necessity, because they were excluded from the collective consumption of housing. As housing became a durable consumer good, people found different ways to join in the consumption.

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[102] Archer, "The moral economy of home construction in late socialist Yugoslavia," 152–153.

3. From Backward to Modern, Through Learning How to Dwell

Modernity produces a sense of linear time, a break with the past, a belief in futurity. In *Time and the Other*, Johannes Fabian argues that western anthropologists positioned their non-western subjects as living in a different, earlier time. Subsequently, these societies were represented as backward, uncivilized, primitive. Most importantly, Fabian points out that the practice of *temporal distancing*[103] is not unique to anthropology, and that "all scientific discourse inevitably involves temporalization."[104] The result of temporal distancing is what Fabian terms the *denial of coevalness* or "a persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse."[105]

Time was important for socialist modernizing projects. Facing the sense of lateness to industrialization and urbanization, socialist policy makers often acted as if they were in a race with time. *Delay* appears as a prevalent theme in urban studies of Eastern and Central European socialist societies. In this chapter, I focus on discourses about backwardness and hygiene in relation to urbanization, in order to show how temporality was used to frame urban inequalities. Guided by Fabian's concept of the denial of coevalness, I explore the usage of temporality to depict the newcomers from the countryside as a population who lagged in the process of urbanization.

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[103] Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 30.

[104] Ibid., 28.

[105] Ibid., 31.

3.1. Imagining the Typical Urbanite

In an interview in which she was asked to comment on pressing housing issues, Lidija Šentjurc, member of the Federal Executive Council, called for more effort in adopting a housing typology suitable for "our families," adding that "one [type of] dwelling is suitable for a man who has only *recently* come from the village, another for a *typical urban family.*"[106] What is conspicuous in the framing of Šentjurc's statement is the comparison, not so much between a single man and a family, but between the recent urbanite and the typical urbanites. The logic behind why a different dwelling may be suitable for a single person and for a family seems easier to grasp. If anything, it would be reasonable to assume that single people needed less space, especially given the prevailing atmosphere of housing shortages. Smaller apartments for singles were indeed being built. However, a recent newcomer to the city would rarely have access to these apartments since they were mainly allocated to skilled professionals. As previously mentioned, a significant number of recent male migrants from the countryside were employed in the construction industry. Housing they were provided with was generally in the form of temporarily erected barracks. Bearing in mind her position as a Federal Executive Council member, it could be expected that Šentjurc was aware of these issues. Hence, her statement could be interpreted as judgment of one's suitability to become a proper urbanite in a cultural sense.

What was the archetype of a proper urbanite? A satirical article in *Beogradska nedelja*, titled "In search of the Belgradian" offers some insight into the conflict between the "newcomers" and the "old Belgradians."[107] Being unwelcomed by the old Belgradian, the

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[106] "Bolje očuvan stan, manja stanarina," *Beogradska* nedelja, December 31, 1961, 3, emphasis added.

[107] Vlada Bulatović, "U traganju za Beograđaninom," *Beogradska nedelja*, October 14, 1962, 1.

newcomer maintains his "provincial, peasant, peripheral" habits even longer than usual. After exposing the bad sides of both the old and the new urban type, the author concludes that, to arrive at the image of the true Belgradian, one needs to add the two types, divide this sum in half, then discard the lesser part. The characteristics of a true Belgradian can then be found in the better half of this combination. Putting the mathematical logic of this operation aside, the author seems to point both towards the evolving heterogeneity of urban life and the increasing need for understanding among different urbanites. On a positive note, the article also signals the belief of the author that in this process of addition, i.e., of mixing and mingling, all sides evolve and become better.

An expression that often appeared in the discourse was "our man" [*naš čovek*]. But who was this man? Just as elusive as the "true Belgradian," "our man" seems to have represented both a composite and an idealized version of a Yugoslav citizen. Manuals and other publications can help in reconstructing the image of the ideal citizen and the ideal urbanite that was being promoted at the time. In that sense, a children's textbook, a communal hygiene manual, and a dwelling manual serve the same purpose: to produce the picture of the ideal (urban) citizen.

3.2. Communal Hygiene and the Culture of Dwelling

Belgrade entered the year 1960 with a total of 126,186 housing units, the majority of which were one-room or two-room apartments.[108] Population of the city at the time was around 700 thousand people. A lack of space and overcrowding were identified as major problems, as one fifth of the population lived in shared apartments. The elimination of subletting and shared housing was identified as one of the main goals of housing policy and was made into matters

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[108] NO Grada Beograda, Gradski zavod za zdravstvenu zaštitu, Analiza zdravstvenog stanja stanovništva Beograda, feb. 1963. FSGB, IAB, 43.

of health. The City Council for Health Protection characterized the existing living conditions as detrimental to the health of the population, both physical and mental. Particularly strong fears were expressed about the possibility of spread of infectious diseases.[109]

While it was increasingly being recognized that housing conditions represented a problem for many (if not most) citizens, a certain culture of living was promoted in manuals and newspapers. The lack of proper dwelling culture seems to have been an issue that bothered educators and planners in all Yugoslav republics. In a study of 205 family homes, Slovenian Institute for Urbanism concluded that "most people [did not] know how to dwell!"[110] Discourse about public and private hygiene and proper living flourished. Hygiene was among the key preoccupations of planners from the first conceptualizations of the new city. Following modernist functionalist principles, it was defined in terms of access to light, space, and fresh air.[111] However, the publication of the Communal Hygiene Manual in 1966 represented a deeper interference in the matters of social hygiene.

Looking at the contents of the manual, it becomes apparent that the editors envisioned the attainment of adequate communal hygiene as an all-encompassing endeavor. In the introduction to the edited collection, the chief federal sanitary inspector identifies, as the overarching task of health experts, "to protect—amidst dynamic industrialization and urbanization—the health of citizens from detrimental effects of the unhygienic environment."[112] Professor Sergije Ramzin, editor of the manual, defined its purpose succinctly if vaguely, stating that the aim of communal hygiene was "to live healthily in a healthy

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[109] Ibid.

[110] Vlajko Krivokapić, "Zašto jedan institut smatra da mnogi ne umeju da – stanuju," *Politika*, July 6, 1961, 9.

[111] Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital*, 78.

[112] Radomir Gerić, "Uvodna reč," in *Priručnik za komunalnu higijenu*, ed. Sergije Ramzin (Medicinska knjiga, 1966), vii.

environment."[113] It is not precisely defined anywhere in the manual what exactly communal hygiene is or what differentiates it from other types of hygiene, such as, for instance, personal hygiene. On the contrary, it can be inferred from the contents of the manual that the authors intended communal hygiene to be understood as complete cleanliness and properness in all aspects of life, both collective and individual. The *Hygiene Manual*, perhaps unexpectedly, even considered the issue of 'mental hygiene' in relation to urbanization processes:

> Leisure time, which appears for the first time in the life of a former villager and agricultural worker, seems to hide unexpected dangers. While urban life opens a whole new set of cultural and social possibilities, it also produces new interests and aspirations in the newcomer. The new environment thus presents, at least initially, a great burden and a serious temptation for the psychological tolerance of the new urbanite. Every now and then, a newcomer will eagerly follow those who replace daylight with shiny neon billboards. Nightlife is a feature of a modern urbanized commune. It is also known as 'social narcotism.'[114]

The cautionary tone of this text seems to be aimed primarily at newcomers, even though it appears that the urban 'temptations' that the author alludes to could represent a danger to the general population. It is implied that newcomers to the city tend to be inexperienced, naïve, wide-eyed, and at greatest risk of succumbing to hidden dangers that lurk in the city. The passage is reminiscent of Simmel's writing about the effects of the metropolis on mental life. The nature of urban life, characterized by a loss of personal bonds and the abundance of stimuli, echoes Simmel's idea that the mental life of a small town is built upon feelings and emotional relationships, whereas in a metropolis it is based on rationality and depersonalized interactions.[115] The modern mind is a calculating mind and an urban mind.[116] The newcomer

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[113] Sergije Ramzin, "Predgovor," in *Priručnik za komunalnu higijenu*, ed. Sergije Ramzin, (Medicinska knjiga, 1966), ix.

[114] Branko Svećanski, "Mentalno-higijenski problemi u savremenoj komunalnoj sredini," in *Priručnik za komunalnu higijenu*, ed. Sergije Ramzin (Medicinska knjiga, 1966), 703.

[115] Simmel, "Metropolis and Modern Life," 12.

[116] Ibid., 13.

does not yet have an urban or a modern mind, as he is still adapting to life in the city. He is inexperienced and has not yet become cautious (calculated), which makes him vulnerable to dangers (stimuli). He does not yet have the blasé outlook.[117] But while Simmel situates these phenomena within a capitalist context, identifying their roots in the intense competition of the urban money economy, it remains unclear what produces the urban mind in a socialist society. On the other hand, it cannot go unnoticed that the author's tone is rather poetic and speculative for a purportedly scientific text. He only alludes to the hidden dangers without offering further explanation, leaving it to the reader to imagine what these might be.

Several articles in the manual focus on the problem of hygiene among the population of recent rural-to-urban migrants. One contributor points out that the changes in the demographic and professional structure of the population gave rise to lifestyle changes among the rural populace, which resulted in repercussions on the social, economic, and health or hygiene dimensions of the newly inhabited urban units.[118] He acknowledges that the state of communal hygiene had been undermined by a lack of adequate infrastructure, such as sewage systems and waterways providing clean water.[119] However, he sees these problems being magnified by the influx of migrants, due to their "low levels of health awareness and health culture (*prosvećenost*)."[120]

Similar treatment of rural-to-urban migrants appeared elsewhere, in a journal titled *Komuna* [Commune], which dealt with various issues related to city living:

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[117] Ibid., 14.

[118] Radomir Gerić, "Demografska kretanja i zdravstveno stanje u SFRJ u svetlu komunalne higijene," in *Priručnik za komunalnu higijenu*, ed. Sergije Ramzin (Medicinska knjiga, 1966), 4.

[119] Ibid., 7.

[120] The direct translation of *prosvećenost* is *enlightenment*, which reflects the aim of the educators to enlighten the 'backward' population. Since *health enlightenment* is an unnatural phrase in the English language, I translate it as *health culture*.

Rapid urbanization is not only a matter of material conditions. It represents an entire chain of cultural problems. Newcomers to the city, of whom many hail from remote and backward areas, find themselves in a new environment which requires an entirely different relationship to material things and to each other from that in a village or a small town. One of the most important cultural and communal problems is the maintenance of cleanliness.[121]

While "cultural problems" were blamed on the newcomers to the city, the identification of the newly urbanized populations as backward was followed by a hefty dose of paternalism:

The conditions of urban life pose much stricter demands regarding the maintenance of cleanliness, compared to a village or a small town. It would be wrong to expect that the new urban population would quickly, by itself, adapt to urban life and adopt the habits that correspond to the new way of life. If we allowed this process to happen spontaneously, it would take decades, and even then, the results would probably be inferior. […] Nobody disputes that it is necessary to develop work ethic among workers at a factory or at construction sites, to make a modern worker out of a newcomer from the village, to help them develop professionally and politically into active members of a collective, motivated to improve production at an enterprise. Everybody agrees that this should not be left to circumstance, but that it requires organized and deliberate efforts by our social forces. A similarly organized educational effort is necessary in order to make new inhabitants of our city centers abandon their old habits, produced under different conditions, and adapt to the new, compact urban life. It does not suffice to leave this educational role only to schools. If we were to implement an organized effort in maintaining cleanliness among adults, then the influence of the society would be greater and would yield better results.[122]

In a different issue of the same journal, a different author expressed similar concerns with the transformation of social relations and the wellbeing of those who had recently become urbanites:

Sharp mechanical growth of population in the city, caused by rapid industrialization, alters social relations and demands a change of daily habits. Since we know that every adaptation to a new environment implies certain dangers, it is obvious how those coming from the village to the city fare. Most people coming to the city are faced with the housing problem, which in turn carries a set of other delicate difficulties in the process of adaptation.[123]

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[121] Vojislav Popović, "Održavanje čistoće u velikim gradovima i njihovim izletištima," *Komuna* 9, no. 1 (1962): 16–17.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Milka Jovančićević, "Problemi zbrinjavanja vaspitno zapuštene dece u gradovima," *Komuna* 9, no. 2 (1962): 16.

One of these delicate difficulties is the problem of "educational neglect" of children. For instance, children's sleeping in the same room as their parents is seen as detrimental to their proper upbringing, as this habit in turn "carries other problems, which could present serious causes of disordered behavior in children."[124] What exactly these problems are is not clear. At the same time, some expressed views that the cultural dichotomy between the countryside and the city was waning. At the Conference for Women's Social Activity in 1966, the same year that the *Hygiene Manual* was published, one sociologist proclaimed the following:

> When it comes to lifestyle, the countryside is increasingly converging to the city. People working outside of the household are bringing urban habits around nutrition, dress, and behavior. Old backwards customs are disappearing fast. […] In the development of contemporary family life there is a tendency towards *urbanization*, that is, a tendency towards the disappearance of the traditional rural family as the dominant mode of family life in all parts of our country.[125]

The sociologist further adds that the Yugoslav family is still on the path of institutional transformation from the old, rural, patriarchal family towards a contemporary [*savremena*], urban, egalitarian family.[126]

The exigencies of proper urban living, as conceptualized by various experts, seem rather high and out of reach for most of the population (Figure 2).[127] The strict standards for sufficient indoor and outdoor space, fresh air, sunlight, clean water, and regular time spent in nature that would produce a healthy and happy socialist urbanite, appear at odds with the material reality that the existing urban dwellers were faced with, as presented in the newspapers of the time. One contributor addresses general problems of urban life, claiming that "city" people have

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[124] Ibid.

[125] Darinka Kostić, "Neki sociološki aspekti savremenog razvoja jugoslovenskog sela," *Žena danas* 31 (1967): 35.

[126] Ibid., 37.

[127] Branko Maksimović, "Uloga urbanizma u higijeni grada," in *Priručnik za komunalnu higijenu*, ed. Sergije Ramzin (Medicinska knjiga, 1966), 476.

turned into "room" people. As climate sensations are reduced in the city, so is the city dweller's resistance to changes in weather reduced. It is therefore *indispensable* for the city dweller to spend time in nature.[128] It is difficult not to notice the discrepancy between the discourse in the manual and that in the newspapers. While both should be interpreted as merely *representations* of reality, fragments that connect to a broader picture, they sometimes seem to depict different worlds. Whereas newspaper articles often highlighted the misery of the housing situation that many citizens found themselves in due to the lack of basic housing and infrastructure, the ideal communities that the expert contributors in the *Hygiene Manual* wrote about appear as lofty goals.
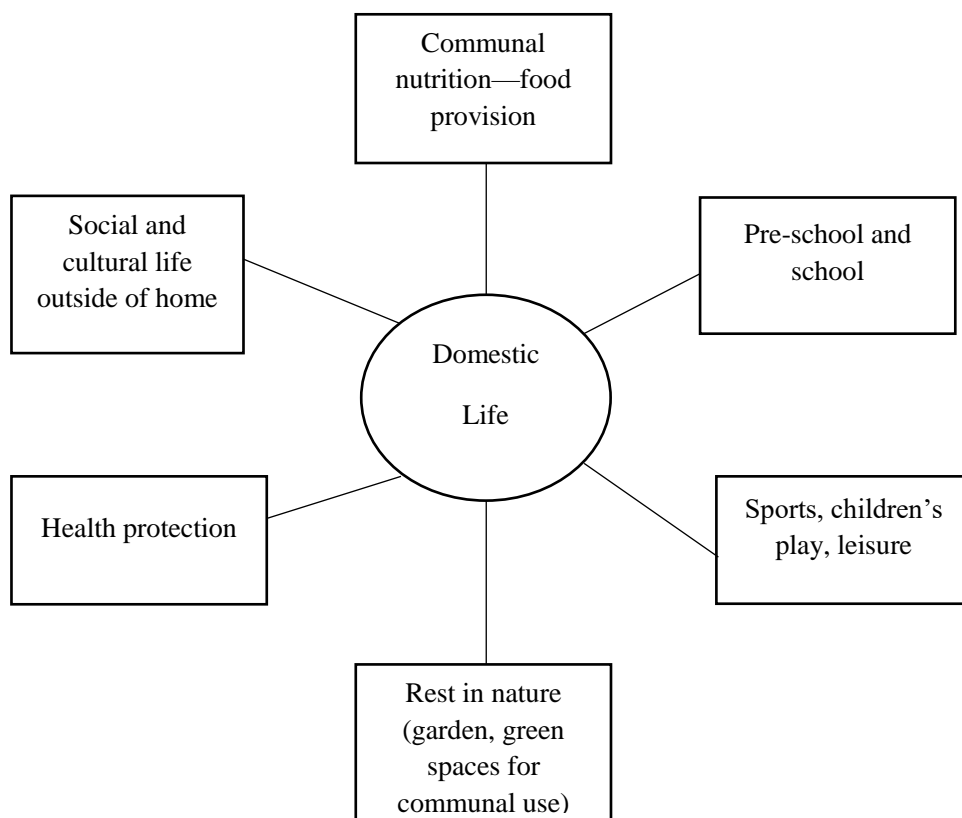

FIGURE 2: FUNCTIONS OF THE PERFECT DWELLING

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[128] Sergije Ramzin, Momčilo Mokranjac and Katarina Milosavljević, "Atmosfera naselja i komunalna toksikologija," in *Priručnik za komunalnu higijenu*, ed. Sergije Ramzin (Medicinska knjiga, 1966), 38.

Similarly high requirements applied to the size and organization of apartments, with contributors expressing concern about the ability of each family member to achieve inner harmony:

> If every adult in a family has their own room, then the principle of inner/internal isolation is achieved. That way, he can find his own peace when needing to rest or wanting to engage in some activity. The need for independence of the family is thus satisfied.[129]

One publication defined "modern living" as "a condition for harmonious life, work, and development of a family."[130] The author claimed that "the home of a contemporary working man must simplify all necessary housework, fulfill all physical and psychological needs of family members and liberate them from unnecessary drudgery associated with *disorganized and obsolete* households."[131] The culture of dwelling that these publications intended to cultivate represented a dream world, as suggested by Buck-Morss. Images of model apartments that appeared in women's magazines or exhibition catalogues were pictures of utopian domestic spaces, idealized elements of this dream world. These sometime bordered on the ridiculous. For instance, an image in a women's magazine of a stylish dining room was followed by a caption: "Are you using your dining room properly?" (Figure 3).[132] The *Contemporary Dwelling* manual shunned classical furniture, excessive decoration, synthetic materials, and disharmony of colors as everything that was "not beautiful in a contemporary dwelling."[133]

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[129] Ibid., 9.

[130] Ljubica Nikodijević, *Savremen stan i njegovo uređenje* (Zadružna knjiga, 1962), 5.

[131] Ibid., emphasis added.

[132] R. Peronja, "Koristite li nišu pravilno?," *Bazar*, December 1, 1965, 34.

[133] Ibid., 157–159.

FIGURE 3: ARE YOU USING YOUR DINING ROOM PROPERLY?

Educating the population about adequate home culture began in primary school, as a textbook titled *My Home and Clothes* indicated. For instance, one illustration depicts the evolution of human dwelling from cave to a primitive hut, to a pile dwelling, to a pit house, and finally, to a house and to a high-rise tower (Figure 4).[134] The ordering of the images can be interpreted in terms of the amount of labor or human ingenuity necessary to construct the dwelling: a cave is a product of nature, while a high-rise tower requires the highest level of human labor and technology. However, the ordering of the images can also suggest that the

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[134] Sara Bosnić and Darinka Dinić, *Moj stan i odeća* (Mlado pokoljenje, 1960), 3.

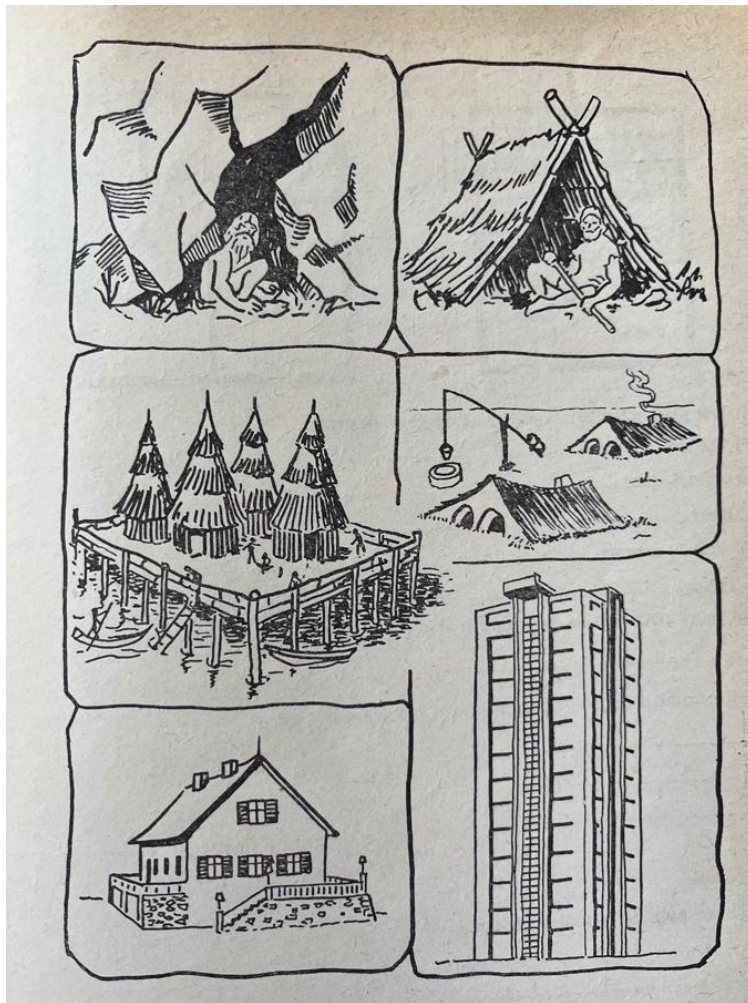high-rise tower is the ideal dwelling, superior to everything that came before it—a pinnacle of development.

FIGURE 4: PROGRESS THROUGH TIME: FROM CAVE TO TOWER IN THE GARDEN

3.3. Making Boundaries and Defining the Social(ist) Order

Mary Douglas has suggested that hygiene is rarely a matter of objective cleanliness, rather, it is a tool for establishing and maintaining a (symbolic) social order. For Douglas, uncleanness is nothing more than 'matter out of place.'[135] I find Douglas' theory illuminating

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[135] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (Routledge, 1984 [1966]), 41.

for discussion of the treatment of communal hygiene in expert discourse. However, instead of focusing solely on the spatiality of "matter out of place," I propose to also think of uncleanness as having a temporal dimension. Rural-to-urban migrants appeared to be *temporarily* positioned in the past and provided with the education to help them catch up with contemporary times. Temporality thus connects the concept of hygiene with the teleological project of socialist modernity.

During periods of social transformation, as was the 1960s period in Yugoslavia, discourses on hygiene are mobilized to separate the past from the future. Historically, different urban transformation projects have included the dimension of hygiene, which, defined in terms of improving the health of the population, served to legitimize their purpose. In this process, certain people, practices, and spaces are marked as "backward" in order to promote others as modern, clean, and progressive. Yugoslav society was in the process of a modernist transformation where modernization signified urbanization and industrialization, which can explain why discourse on communal hygiene compared the process of producing a new urbanite to the process of producing a modern worker. Simić, who conducted fieldwork on the experiences of rural-to-urban migrants in Belgrade in the 1960s, concluded that "it would be difficult to sharply contrast the lifestyles of new urbanites with those of older, more established residents of the city."[136] The overall conclusion of his year-long ethnographic study was that the observed cultural differences were not those between migrants and urban-born citizens, but those between the working and the professional classes.[137] Homes of village-born and urban-born informants with similar incomes differed little in terms of furnishing and decoration, regardless of their place of birth and of how long they had lived in the city.[138] Thus, it appears

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[136] Simić, *The Peasant Urbanites*, 129.

[137] Ibid., 131.

[138] Ibid., 131–132.

that culture depended less on urban or rural origins and more on the socioeconomic position of the informants. This finding can lend support to the argument that migrants from rural areas were positioned as unclean, backward, and uncultured, not due to their actual lack of hygiene compared to other urbanites, but because the new urban ideal of socialist modernity needed to be produced against the archetype of something old and backward. That figure was the peasant.

The new social order had to be defined against disorder. Rural-to-urban migrants were thus perceived as bringing pollution into the rationalized urban space. I would emphasize that it was the material conditions, i.e., the insufficient quantity and quality of the housing stock, that was often identified as impairing the ability of urban dwellers to become "proper" urbanites. Yet, the overarching tendency in the discourse is to conflate the "improper" urbanites with rural-to-urban migrants. It was generally the case that newcomers, recent migrants coming from rural areas, were represented as those who had not adapted to the urban way of life. Those inhabitants with longer "tenure" in the city, who also lived in bad conditions, were rarely mentioned as an example of backwardness. When they state that newcomers should "abandon their old habits, produced under different conditions," what goes unacknowledged is the fact that habits of the older urban populations were also produced under different conditions, yet these were not associated with any specific cultural backwardness, besides that of the general capitalist condition.

Why, then, were backward habits associated with newcomers? A possible interpretation is that the material conditions that affected one's ability to live "properly" were understated, while this inability was ascribed to cultural backwardness of villagers. In other words, this population simply did not know how to live properly and needed to be educated. On the other hand, newspapers implied that most inhabitants of Belgrade were not able to respect the rules of communal hygiene, not so much because they lacked willingness or education, but because

conditions would not allow for it.[139] Material infrastructural problems that plagued the city, such as insufficient waterways and sewage systems, were being reported on in the newspapers and discussed in municipal council meetings.

The cultural divide between the rural and the urban took both a spatial and a temporal form. While spatial othering can be understood with reference to collective consumption and is visible in the newcomers' often having to settle on the periphery of the city, temporal othering is most apparent in the discourses about the newcomers as "not yet:" urban, modern, proper citizens. The stark contrast between the material reality of the housing situation and the discourse on proper living necessarily placed a large portion of the population in the category of the temporarily barred from becoming full urban citizens. Many people were stuck in waiting periods and uncertainty abounded.

Whereas socialist time is linear, forward moving, and synchronizing in the sense that it is teleologically aimed at bringing everyone into the same modern time, rural-to-urban migrants were represented as temporally and temporarily "behind," out of sync with the modern urban times.

Practices such as visible clothes drying on the balcony were reminders of backwardness and needed to be made invisible. One urbanist asks: "What can we do to avoid the unwanted contrast, the *danger* of visible apartment atmosphere—pillows on windows and diapers on balconies?"[140] The framing of the 'problem' is perhaps telling of the attitude various discourse producers shared. But this logic was ultimately convoluted: while educators recognized that old material conditions had produced the rural culture which they sought to transform, they often neglected to acknowledge the seriousness of contemporary material conditions, failing to

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[139] Žegarac and Matić, "Krov za najmanjeg čoveka," *Beogradska nedelja*, March 10, 1963, 3.

[140] Siniša Vuković, "Urbanističko rešenje centralnog dela Novog Beograda," *Arhitektura urbanizam* no. 2, (1960): 4, emphasis mine.

recognize what many journalists documented: that people could not follow hygiene principles because they did not have the material conditions to do so. I do not intend to dismiss the possibility that cultural differences existed between the urban and the rural populations. On the contrary, I assume that different material conditions in the city and the countryside would manifest differently in cultural terms. Various experts that discussed the issue in the *Hygiene Manual* and in other publications shared the same logic, which is exactly why their focus on, and the singling out of rural cultural backwardness as the key concern in urbanization, rather than the material conditions underlying the culture of dwelling, can appear perplexing.

Conclusion

Following Buck-Morss's logic, urban problems can be interpreted as signs of a slow unraveling of the utopian promise. Cracks in the utopian vision materialized in the urban fabric. Despite promises of universal housing access, acute housing shortages created existential struggles for many citizens. In contrast to the often-grandiose ideas of urban planners, unhoused citizens built a different reality, sometimes resorting to informal building to secure shelter. Yugoslav socialist urban modernity can therefore be seen as a dream interrupted by contradictions: rapid urbanization accompanied by growing inequalities, self-management and workers' emancipation opposed by paternalizing discourses around backwardness. Despite aiming for equality, the collective dreamworld was experienced by some populations as partial, delayed, and inaccessible. Inequalities were manifested in space. Socialist urban modernity was thus structured around a future that never truly arrived. It revolved around anticipation: anticipating housing, anticipating the promised social equality. Practices that arose from below, such as informal building, or those that were implemented from above, such as hygiene campaigns, can both be interpreted as temporal strategies aimed at managing the perceived delay.

There were contradictions between the ideological commitment and the actual production of space. Urban development prioritized modernist planning—emphasizing order, hygiene, and rationality—often in the form of large-scale housing blocks. Meanwhile, rural migrants and other disadvantaged populations settled in peripheral areas and frequently resorted to informal building of single-family houses. These peripheral zones were a structural outcome of Yugoslavia's uneven urban development. The city as imagined and planned from the top-down perspective represented abstract space, different from the lived realities of many people.

Unlike some socialist systems which restricted internal migration, confining citizens to certain areas and prohibiting rural citizens from becoming urbanites, the Yugoslav system did not impose legal restrictions on internal migration within individual republics. Nevertheless, other mechanisms worked to produce stark inequalities. Not only was social stratification amplified by material inequalities as reflected in the housing shortages, but also through discourse on cultural differences which proliferated at the same time. Time and space were coordinated through urban planning and hygiene discourses. Modern apartment blocks were not simply places to live; they represented spatial embodiments of a teleological vision of socialist progress. By contrast, informal construction and rural migrants represented temporal disruptions: ways of life deemed incompatible with the desired future. These were symbolically unhygienic, not just as spatially out of place, but also because they were presented as out of time.

I contribute to previous literature by focusing on certain aspects of the treatment of the urbanization processes that have received less or no attention, most notably the question of communal hygiene in relation to urban living. What type of housing was available to whom, where housing was located, and the conditions under which one could access housing all worked to produce citizens that were urbanites to different degrees. In the broadest sense, this can be understood as the process of "othering" of some citizens, which was part of the urban space production. I explored how material conditions interacted with urban planning processes to produce a specific form of social and spatial segregation, and how this socio-spatial segregation was rationalized in the dominant discourse. While this outcome was, in a way, a continuation of the conditions inherited from capitalist times, and therefore not solely the result of socialist-era policies, the latter made it into the "socialist urban" condition.

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