



the wild rich

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Summer Semester 2006

the wild rich
illegal Settlers

Introduction
a Portrait

Padina is the name for the residential area we are examining. It is situated on a hill in the suburban zone; 20 minutes by bus from the center of old Belgrade. (Padina: hill slope)

To the northwest, lie residential blocks dating from the planning of the late communist era of Yugoslavia. A major traffic axis runs between the settlements, facilitating the access to public transport, as well as building the axis of the commercial zone. To the East, the area extends into a green field. The building substance is fragmented and mostly private. Structures consist of single-family homes of various size, mansions, and small apartment buildings.

Present Building Activity

The whole area resembles a construction site. A large number of buildings are under construction, renovation, or merely structural shells left in makeshift condition. In the old center the houses are smaller, left in a traditional style or with additions. On the outskirts, the buildings seem to have been built in rapid succession. Here, the houses are bigger and more ostentatious, including a number of villas. The building density decreases towards the borders of the area, until only a few houses stand in the open field. This continues over the rest of the hill.

Controversial phenomenon

The area resembles a mixture of different phenomena, which are in their entirety hard to place. The houses correspond to a standard above the average of Belgrade and their inhabitants belong to Serbia's upper income classes. The roads, however, are narrow and only partially paved, without or with only marginal sidewalks, providing inadequate access into the area. Strwn at large power lines, inadequate streetlights, indicate a failing infrastructure. When canalization is installed, streets are ripped open and the underground sewage system is installed. Roads marked in patchwork are testimony to frequent installation activity. Large houses are built close to the property line without adequate surrounding space. Barely completed buildings, with only partially completed interior construction are sufficient for the occupants to move in. The architecture aims for a representative nature.

It is characterized though the assembly of signs of multiple styles and architectural elements. Life in the residential area is often shaped by families who never leave their houses. Gardens of the mansions are often surrounded by high wall with surveillance cameras. Public facilities are absent in Padina. In this area, commerce is limited mainly to construction, car garages, and small grocery shops.

The single phenomena are understandable, yet they are hard to set into a larger picture. They do not permit known urban principles to describe their subsequent urban pattern. The associations between the different phenomena contradict each other.











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Interest emphasis
Moderated irregularity

Since the Second World War, the residential area of Padina has changed from a rural area inhabited by craftsmen, to an affluent area of representative and speculative hyper-development. The entire area was built illegally, under unclear ownership conditions, and without official building permits or building regulations. These kinds of areas exist in various border regions, as well as in the center of Belgrade, differing in their size and appearance. In Padina, specifically, the affluent class of the population built illegally. Today, Padina has better rental apartment structures, representative villas, single family homes, and traditional farm houses which are renovated or in their original state.

Levels of Observation

To better comprehend the pre existing conditions of this transformation, one must consider the geographical situation of Padina, as well as its political and planning evolution, in addition to the history of the area. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the interaction between these factors has become increasingly complex.

Politics

The political situation of the 1990s, under the Milosevic regime, produced an era of strong growth for Padina. The beginning of civil war in Yugoslavia brought about an influx of refugees, which lasted over a long time. Serbs from all over the former Yugoslavia came to Belgrade. The affluent part of these settlers found an ideal, legal grey zone in Padina, in which to establish themselves in privately owned homes during the unstable times.

Planning

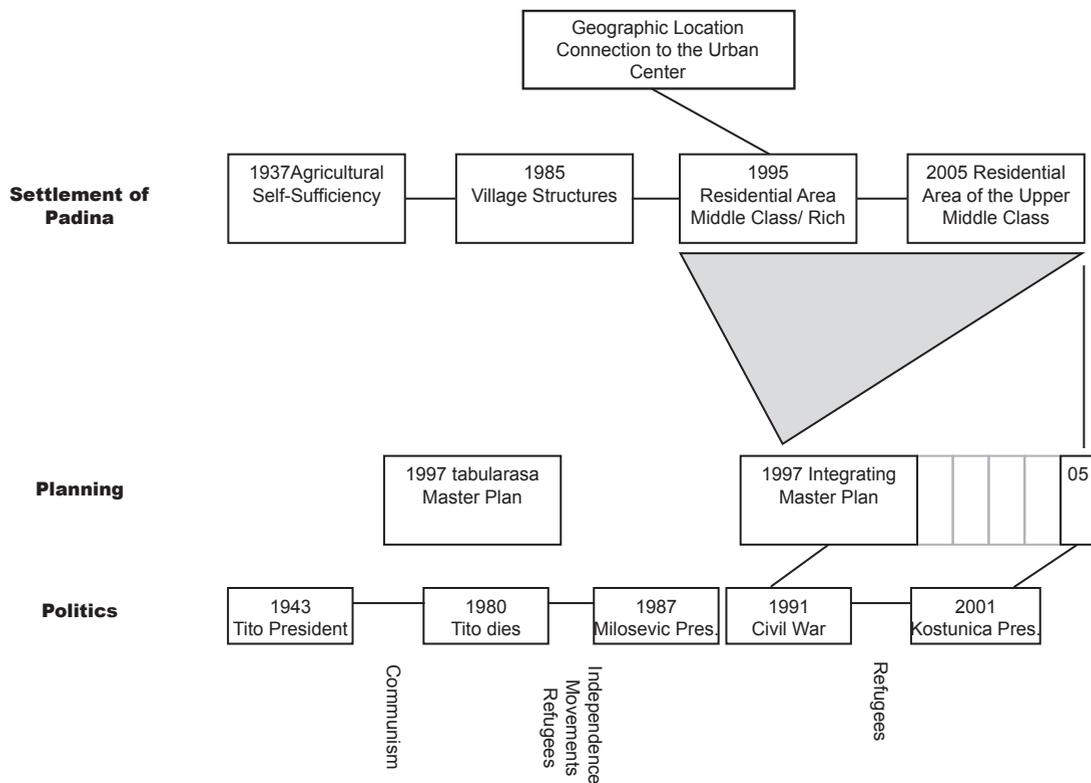
The nouveau-riche pioneers erect large illegal mansions on the edge of the existing area in the 1990s. They have the means and the connections to buy themselves the assurance that their houses will not be demolished. With the arrival of the first wave of refugees, the necessity for a master plan was recognized and set into motion. The planning was started in 1995 and was published for the first time in 1997. The plan integrated the existing structures and tried to implement a zoning and regulation of the area. As the political authorities rejected the plan, it had to be updated yearly to encompass the newest illegal development. This "Pat-situation" spans the fertile grey field, in which the development of area occurred in an explosive form.

The Grey Zone

This grey situation, which still maintains an illegal status, prevailed for a long period of time, until the new regime of Kosturnica, in 2001, put more pressure on the regulation and prevention of illegal building in Belgrade. In November 2005, a forcible ban on all building in Padina was enacted to produce a clear distinction between the illegal buildings and new, officially approved construction.

Yet in fact, this ban was hardly respected and there been little enforcement on the part of the city, sue to a lack of funds. The appeal of illegal construction, due to savings of time and cost, are tremendous.

This disposition in the 1990s had great impact on the quarter:



The Situation

The geographic situation must be included as a premise from the starting point of the triangle in the year 1995. Next to historical origins, the situation is a deciding argument for the importance of the area and its growth.

The area lies near the urban center and is well connected to both private and public forms of transit. Additionally, the hill also possesses a great deal of hillside property, oriented towards the south.

Interest Focal Points

In the following text discusses the individual stages of the transformation, which leads to the triangle of the 1990s. Furthermore, the protagonists and processes within this triangle are portrayed.

The specific conditions of the grey triangle enable the location-specific, explosive growth of Padina!?

Has the design of regulations in the illegal settlement of Padina accelerated this development?

Situation Padina

Location and Connections to the Urban Center

Belgrad

Location Padina





Magnitude of Illegal Buildings

Padina lies in the periphery of Belgrade, approximately 7 km from the urban center. Approximately 97% of all houses in this area were constructed illegally. Its attractive location led Padina to grow into a desirable residential area. Many residents enjoy the advantages of the suburb, without having to forgo an easy access to the city.

(Data Source: Daily Newspaper Blic, 2001)



1 out of 10 residents has constructed illegally in the past ten years.

Illegal buildings in the center: 73,000
Illegal buildings in the periphery: 22,400

Number of Illegal Buildings:
1975: 17'903
1995: 33'594
2001: 95'419

750 illegal Construcion Sites are started every week



Circa 97% of all houses
in Padina were constructed illegally
2005: 1450

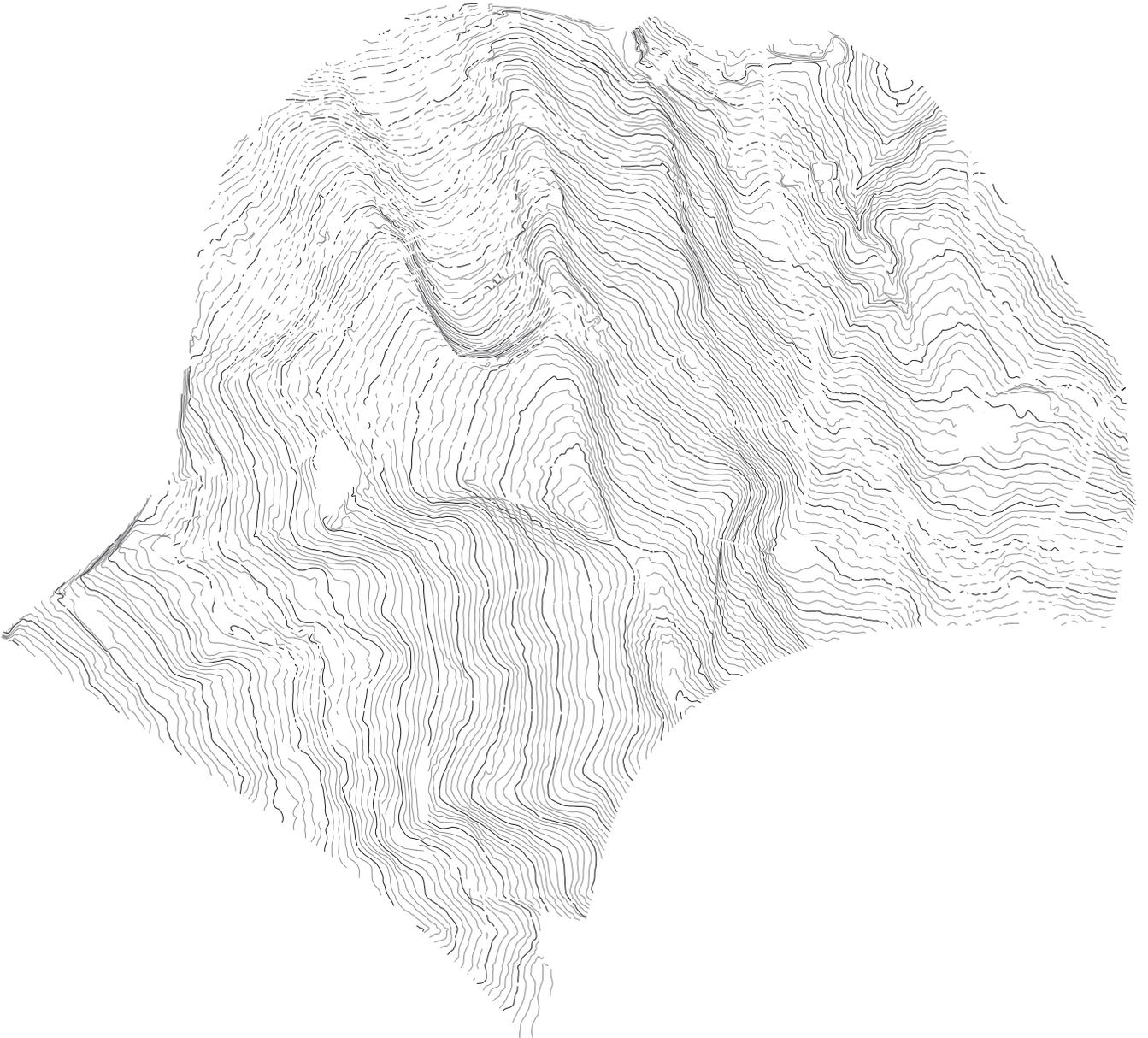
Padina

The entire area of Padina is comprised of a total surface area of circa 255 hectares. This figure includes the adjoining agricultural zone of Mitrovo Brdo. In the year 2005, approximately 1520 residential structures existed in Padina. This number is drawn from a count taken off of a satellite photo from 2005.



Topography

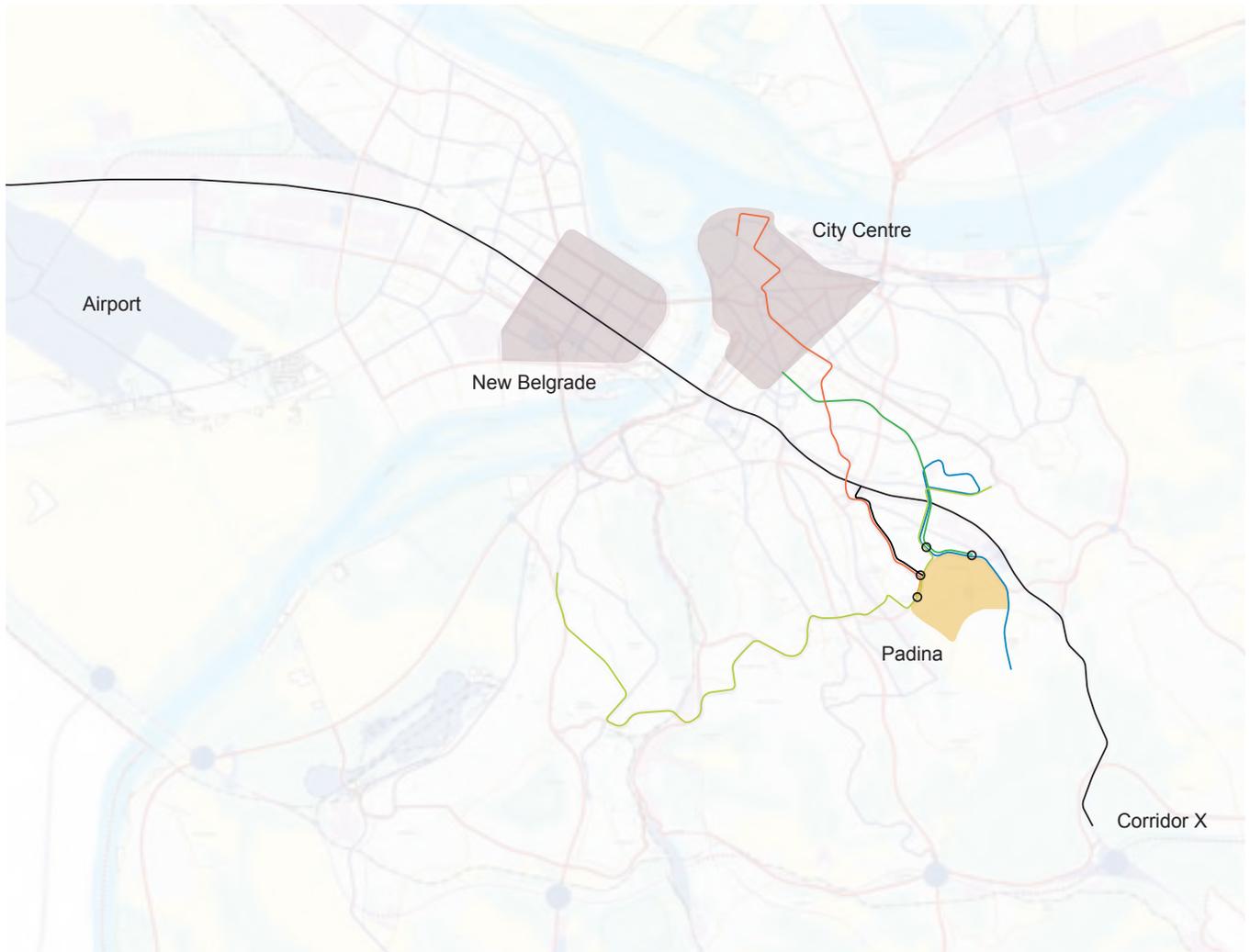
Padina lies on a hill by the name of Mitrovo Brdo (Brdo is the Serbian word for hill). The highest point of this hill is located at the center of the area. This topography lends the area many outcrops, which impact the view from individual properties. Above all, the southern slope was settled by the wealthy for its longer hours of sunlight.



Connection to the Urban Center

Padina is well connected to the center of Belgrade. Rapid bus connections enable residents to reach the inner city within 20 minutes.

Street connections into the center are also extensively developed. The bridges over the Corridor X represent the only problem factors. Through the increase of commuter traffic in private vehicles, these nodes have become overloaded during peak times.





Bus-Station near Padina

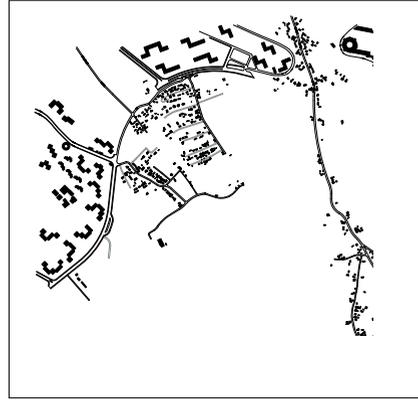
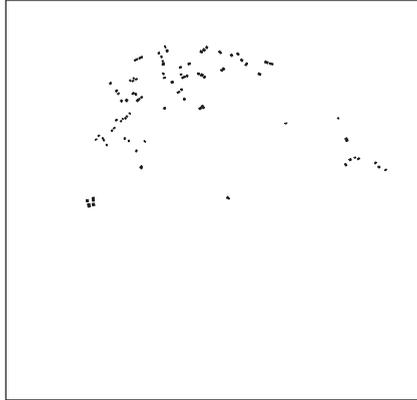


Bridge over Corridor X

Historical Demolition

from the Scattered Settlement to the Prosperous

Development of the Grey Triangle



PADINA

1937 Scattered Settlement

1985 Village Structure

Completion of
Bracé Jerkovic II

PLANNING

1977 Tabularasa Master Plan

Communist
Planning

Investment in
Stable Goods --
Building Sector

POLITIK

1929
Foundation Royal Dictator-
ship of Yugoslavia

1943
Tito becomes
Head of State

1980
Unrest
in Kosovo

1987
Milosevic President
of Serbia

1941
Entrance into
Second World War

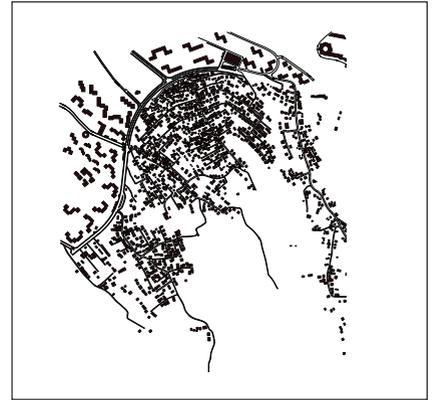
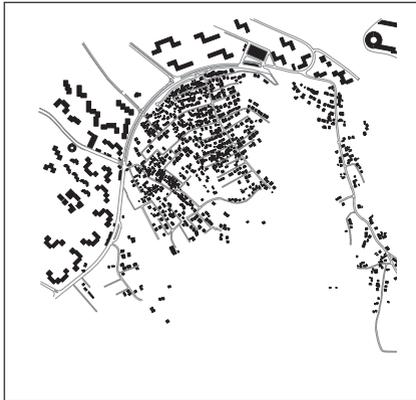
1945
State Control of Land
Ownership – Land Reform

1980
Tito Dies

1991
Serbia - Bosnia
Civil War

1947 Communism 1980

1992 Hyper Inflation 1994



1995 Wealthy Residential Area

2005 Residential Area of the Upper Middle Class

GREY TRIANGLE

2005 Building Stop November 05

Integration of Master Plan Padina											
1995	—	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2003	2004	2005
Beginn		1.Release	2.Vö.	3.Vö.	4.Vö.	5.Vö.	6.Vö.	7.Vö.	7.Vö.	8.Vö.	definitve Version

Increase of Homeless Refugees

Better Traffic Connection to the Center

1998
Fighting in Kosovo

2001
financial Support from several Countries

1999
Air-Attacks on Belgrad by U.N.

2000
End of Milosevic Regime - Kostunica becomes President

1998 Wave of Refugees **1999** UN-Embargo **2001**

1937 Scattered Settlement

The first documented record of Padina can be ascribed back to the year 1937. Similar to a scattered settlement, the time was characterized by isolated houses built on agricultural land. Most of the residents of this traditional building form were self-sufficient.



Events Around 1937

Deciding Factors

Padina

Political Events

1937 Scattered Settlement

- residents fend for themselves
- small parcel structure
- land ownership

1945 State takes control of land ownership - land reform

- former land owners are granted land use rights

- Padina develops illegally through the occupation of state owned land.

1929 King Alexander is Royal Dictator of Yugoslavia

1941 Yugoslavia joins World War 2

1943 Tito becomes Head of State

1947 Communist Social Structure

Land Ownership

The conditions of land ownership were included in the inventory taken of Padina in the year 1937. The parcels were often recorded as having a long, rectangular form and were exclusively defined as agricultural land. In most cases, only a small house and a shed for the house and livestock stood on the property. The rest of the land was used for the cultivation of vegetables and grains. Before the Second World War and the subsequent socialist regime, the people owned their land. In contrast to today's situation, the houses were constructed legally.



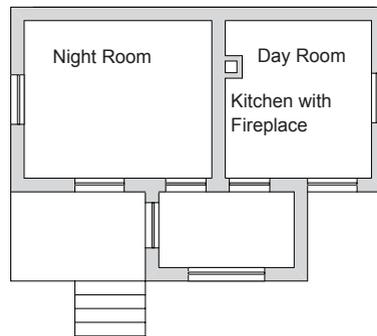
Subdivision around 1937

Traditional Forms of Building

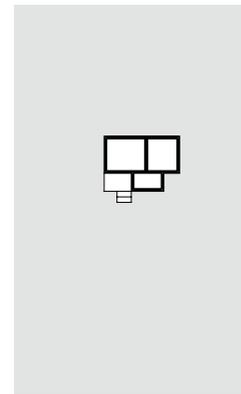
The first houses of Padina were constructed of stone, in the traditional, northern Serbian building style. This style is based on small, two room homes, which are arranged around a central fireplace. The division of rooms differentiates between night and day sections, which are accessed through a connecting space. These houses occupy only a small portion of the parcels. Being self-sufficient, it was critical for residents to retain as much surface as possible for agricultural cultivation and animal husbandry.

Type I

Single Family House: ~45m²
 Parcel Size: ~1400m²
 Parcel Outline: ~30m x 45m



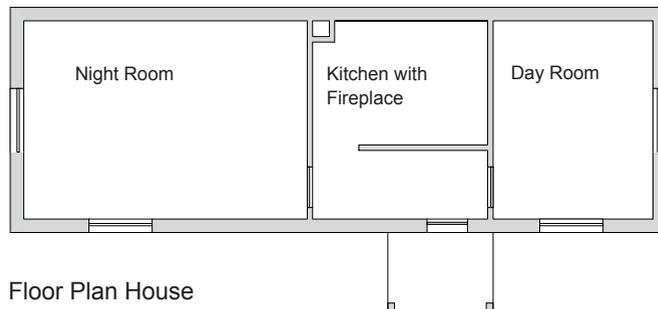
Floor Plan House



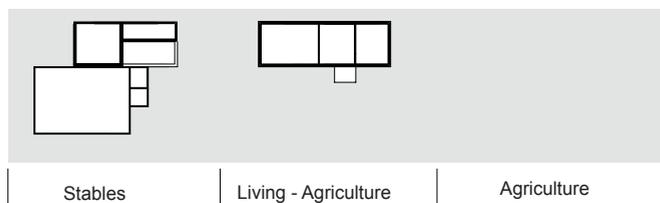
Parcel Use

Type II

Single Family House: ~75m²
 Parcel Size: ~1400m²
 Parcel Outline: ~80m x 17m



Floor Plan House



Parcel Use

Portrait Housing Type I

This house, built in the year 1939, is a typical housing form of its generation. The volume is made up of two primary rooms and a preceding entrance area with a large window. Built of bricks, the house represents a building form traditional to northern Serbia.

This building, now used only as a weekend home, stands in the northeast of Padina, where the density of new buildings is still low and a few old structures are still to be found. For the large part, this example was maintained in its original condition. Though no longer essential to daily life, the property around the house is still used to cultivate fruits and vegetables.



Though the interior spaces no longer fulfill their original purposes, they offer a good insight into the old furnishing and spatial organization of these houses.

The interior walls were plastered with straw and deposits of reeds. In many cases, these houses were only opened to the exterior, through windows, on three sides.



Living Room



Entry Door

Portrait Housing Type II

The second housing type represents a typical housing form with household animals and agricultural production. The long housing form occupies only a small part of the elongated parcel. The entrance to the home is located at the center of the volume, where the kitchen is. Before this, lies a covered forecourt, which is used as a terrace during warm weather.

This housing type was traditionally constructed of brick and later plastered. The roof is constructed of wooden beams.

To a large extent, the residents of this house live in the same way they did 60 years ago. They practice both animal husbandry, as well as the cultivation of different crops. The son however, considers constructing a new building on the parcel.





Small Stables

Village Structure 1985

After the land reform of 1943, the land ownership of farmers was given over to the state. The previous owners were granted the right to use their former parcels for agricultural production. Over the course of time, these lands were continually divided into smaller parcels and the land use rights were sold to builders. This led to the illegal construction of houses, which continues to this day.

In the years between 1937 and 1985, Padina developed a village-like structure, characterized by a mix of craftsmanship, agriculture, animal husbandry and residential structures. The settlement of Padina grew continually with its good location, inexpensive land and the housing shortages of Belgrade.



Events Around 1985

Deciding Factors

Padina

Political Events

1977 Tabularasa Master Plan

-- Padina develops along the new Bracé Jerkovic Street

1980 Unrest in Kosovo

1980 Death of Tito

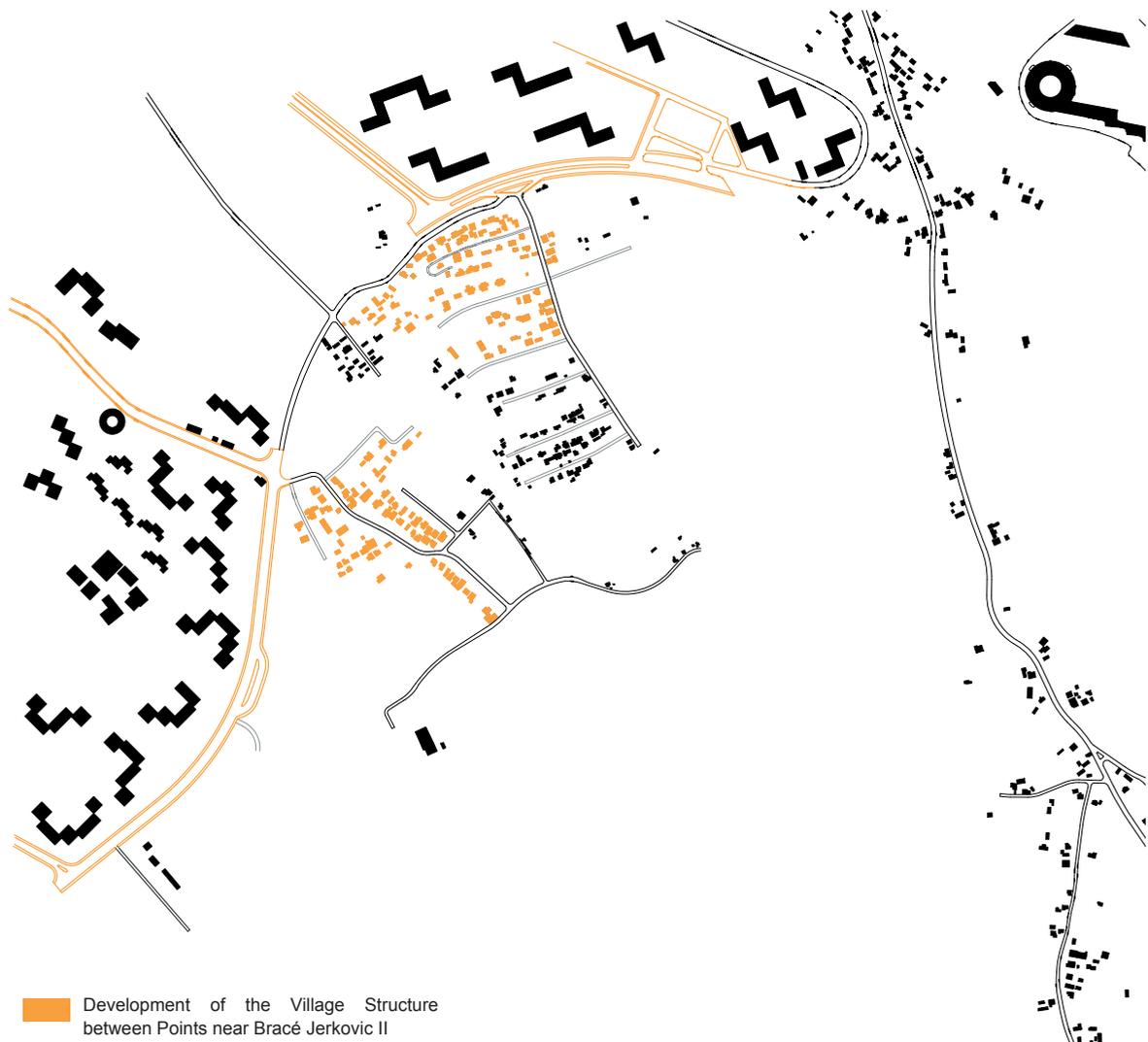
1985 Village Structure

- The village like settlement expands into the agricultural zone, more people move to Padina

1987 Milosevic becomes the president of Serbia

Village Development from Points of Access

The area of Padina was developed foremost by its connection to the Bracé Jerkovic. Through the tabularasa of the Master Plan of 1977, this once insignificant street was expanded into a ring street. The simultaneous completion of this street and the adjoining high-rise structures, promised an easy, rapid connection to the city. This led Padina, particularly the area close to the Bracé Jerkovic, to develop into an attractive residential area and acted as a starting point for the further settlement of Padina. Today, the village-like, traditional structure is best visible in this part of Padina.





Southern Point



northern Point

The Village Structure

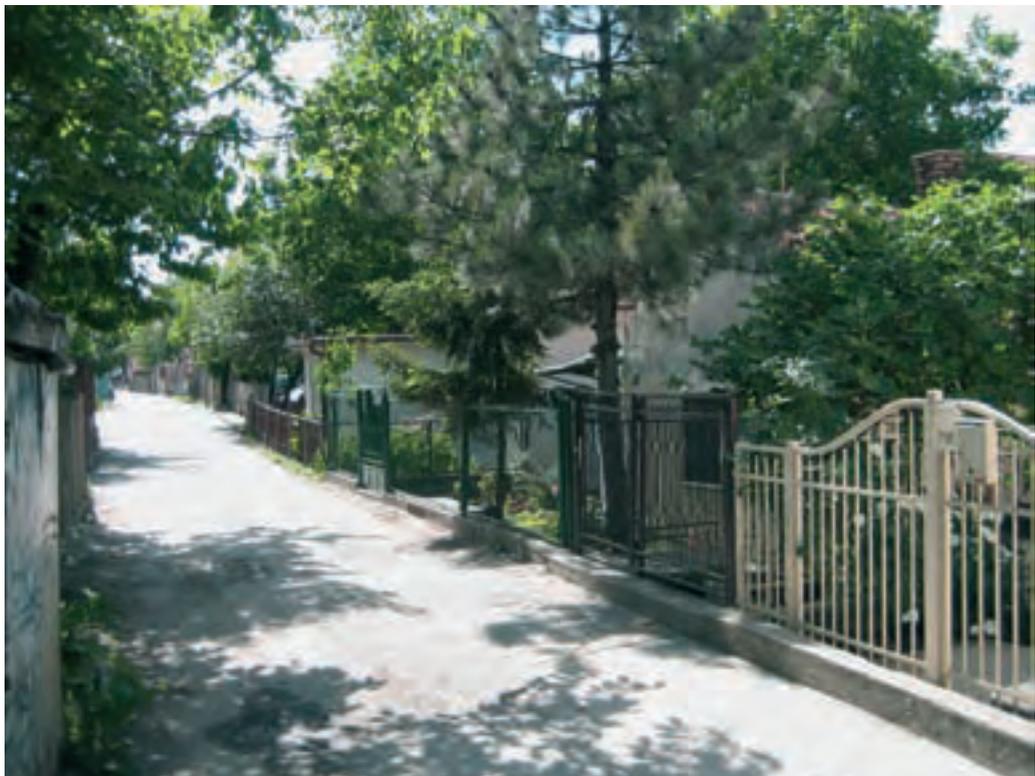
The areas, which were developed first, still retain a formidable number of old, traditional buildings. In some parts, building constellations exist which give evidence of these village-like structures.

These sectors are distinguishable from the remainder of Padina not only in their architectural style, but also retain a much older population. Often, these are original residents who have lived in their homes for over 40 years.





Photo Urban Planning Institute, 1997



Wealthy Residential Area 1995

Within approximately ten years, the newcomers to Padina change to a wealthy category. In total, three housing types are found during this period:

On the one hand, the middle classes build residences primarily indented for their own use, while the nouveau riche move to the south and north edges of the area, into large, over-dimensional villas. The core of the old village structure is compacted, altered, and additional floors are built onto existing structures.

In general, this time is characterized by the emergence of a large building boom, which represents the starting point of the era of the grey triangle.



Events Around 1995

Deciding Factors

Padina

Political Events

1992
|
1994
Hyper Inflation

1995
Beginning of Master Plan

1997
Release of first
Master Plan

1998
2nd Release of
Master Plan

1998
|
1999
Refugee wave from
Kosovo

1999
3rd Release of Master
Plan

- Investment in stable goods
- Building activity increases in
Padina

**1995 Wealthy residential
area.**

- The Master Plan promises a
regulated future of a legal
borough.

- Explosive development of
Padina.

1991
Civil War in Serbia and
Bosnia

1996
UN Trade Embargo

1998
Fighting increases in Kosovo.

1999
Air attacks on Belgrade by
the UN.

Completion of Bracé Jerkovic II

The construction of the ring street, Bracé Jerkovic II, was completed in the early 1990s. For Padina, this signified an optimal connection into the center of Belgrade, as well as the facilitation of traffic within the entire area over this main axis. The two bus stops in the north and south of the area can were also connected to one another. The improved of transit routes resulted in an increased appeal of the borough.



Expansion and coalescence

The large increase in population led to the impressive growth of Padina. On the one hand, an expansion into agricultural land is to be observed. On the other, individual villages increasingly begin to coalesce, into one entity. Among other factors, this can be explained by the completion of Bracé Jerkovic II, which facilitates access to the entire eastern side of Padina, whereas to fore the area had been accessible through only two transit nodes. Next to expansion, a continual increase in the density of the old village area is also observed.



The Rich Pioneers

More and more wealthy residents move to Padina between 1991 and 1995. The majority settles on the southern slope of the area, where they erect large villas, which differ strongly from the rest of Padina in their size, surrounding property, and architectural appearance.



Photo Urban Planing Institute, 1997



Photo Urban Planning Institute, 1997



Photo Urban Planning Institute, 1997

The Middle Class

The middle class of Padina is composed, foremost of wartime refugees from Bosnia, Croatia, and Kosovo. These refugees lead to the rapid growth of Padina within a short period of time. The simple homes are often conceived for extended families. Usually un-plastered, the houses lend the area an aesthetic of a continual construction site.

Residence is often taken up before the completion of the building, the completion of the exterior and interior finishes occurs in the following years. Usually, the construction of a house is viewed as a long process. The continuation of work on a building reflects the momentary financial situation of the family. The middle class we have described builds the largest social class in the population of Padina.



Photo Urban Planning Institute, 1997



Photo Urban Planing Institute, 1997



Photo Urban Planing Institute, 1997

Densification

The transformation within the old village structure builds a further important phenomenon. This transformation process is shown in the reconstruction of the existing substance. Predominantly second-generation owners expand the small volumes, add additional floors or completely replace the old buildings. This type of adaptation to changed living conditions can be observed in many places.



Photo Urban Planning Institute, 1997



Residential Sector of the Upper Middle Class 2006

In comparison to Belgrade, Padina has developed into a sector for the upper middle class. The stark contrast between the middle class and the extremely wealthy residents has been moderated and the area is more balanced than it was ten years ago. Yet, it is easy to see that the majority of residents enjoy an income above the norm.



Built Structure in 2005

Events Around 2005

Deciding Factors

Padina

Political Events

2000 4th Release of Master Plan

2001 5th Release of Master Plan

2001 Financial Backing from other Nations

2002 6th Release of Master Plan

2003 7th Release of Master Plan

2004 8th Release of Master Plan

2005 Definitive Master Plan

2005 Building Ban November 6

2000 End of Milosevic Regime
- Kostunica becomes President

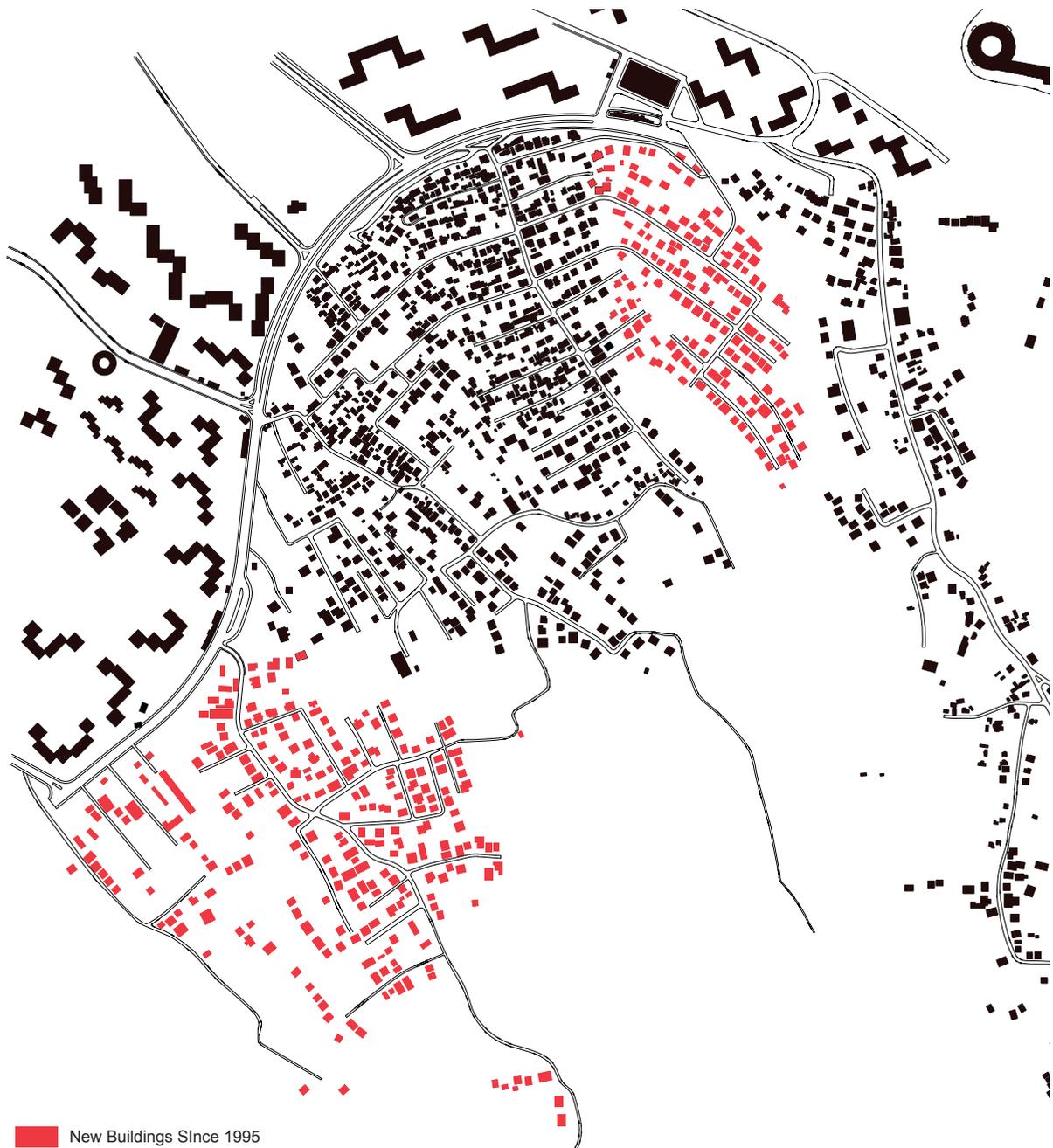
- Padina receives a good bus connection to the center of Belgrade
- Padina grows further

- Already begun houses may be completed
- Permits are required for new projects

2005 Residential Area of Upper Middle Class

Explosive Growth

Padina experiences a renewed wave of strong growth during the years of 1995 and 2005. In merely ten years, two new neighborhoods develop on the southern slope and in the north east of Padina. While primarily homes of the upper middle class are to be found in the northern areas, a great number of very large villas are constructed in the southern sector of Padina. However on the whole, the area experiences a leveling of class differences, and can be defined as a residential area of the upper middle class.



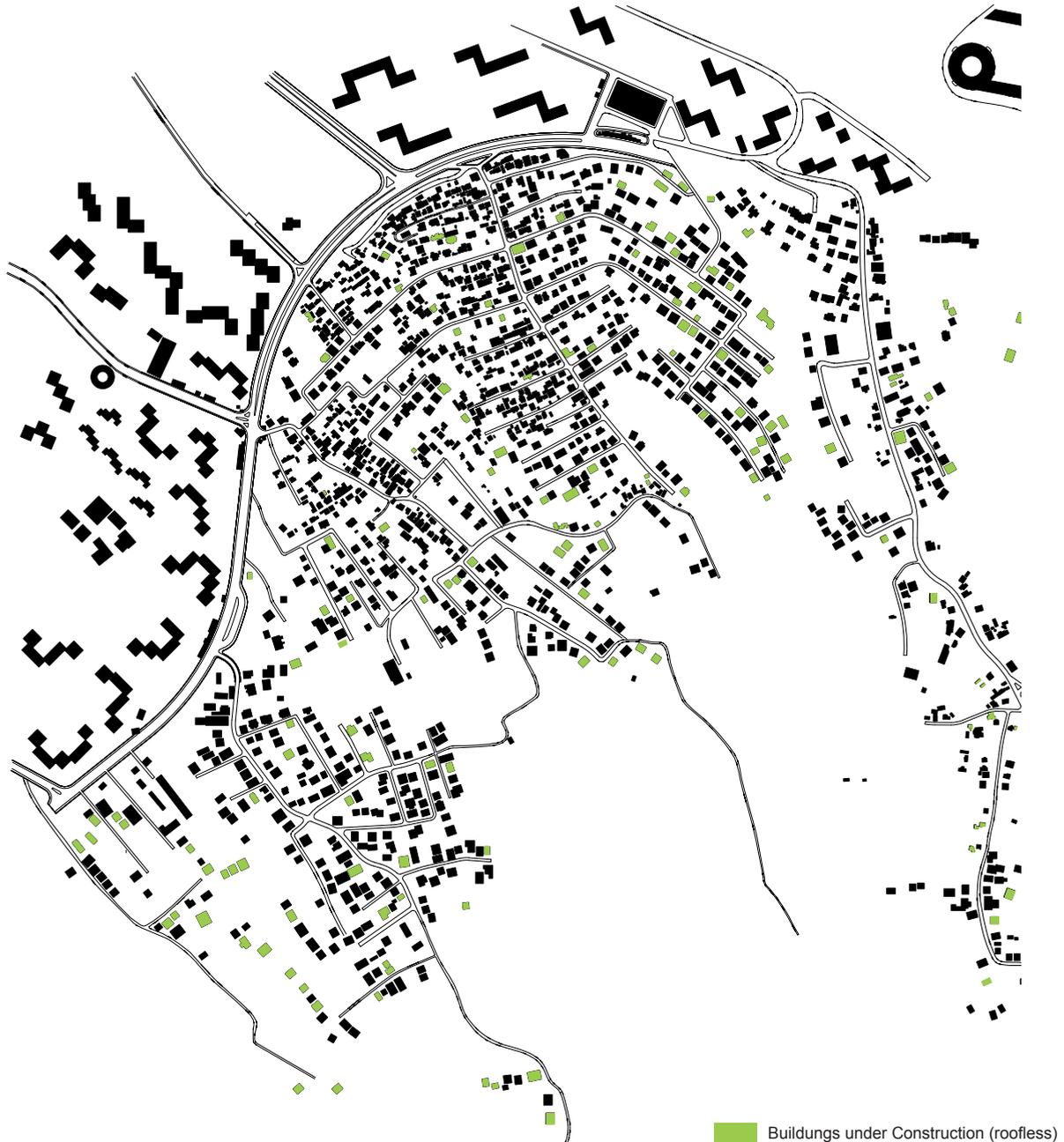


Satellite Photograph from Google-Earth 2005

Houses Under Construction

The high level of building activity in Padina is evidenced by the many construction projects found in the area. The map, below, shows those buildings still under construction and without a completed roof, in a satellite photo dating from 2005. According to our estimation, approximately 60% of all houses in Padina are still under construction.

It is also evident that the building activity is not restricted to the periphery of Padina, but has also led to an increased density of the entire area.





Streets

The streets also offer a great deal of information on the establishment of their respective neighborhoods. Gravel streets are often an indication of newly constructed parts of the area. Residents pay for the construction of roads communally and from their own funds. An unfinished street can therefore be attributed to the failure of neighborhood solidarity. The configuration of the streets reflects the decisions of the direct residents. The streets mirror the existence of canalization, as multiply repaved streets indicate the subsequent installation of canalization.





The map below shows the existence of streetlights. Though not always reliable, nighttime illumination is found in most parts of the area.

According to our observations, in the majority of Padina there is a correlation between the existence of streetlights and sewage systems.

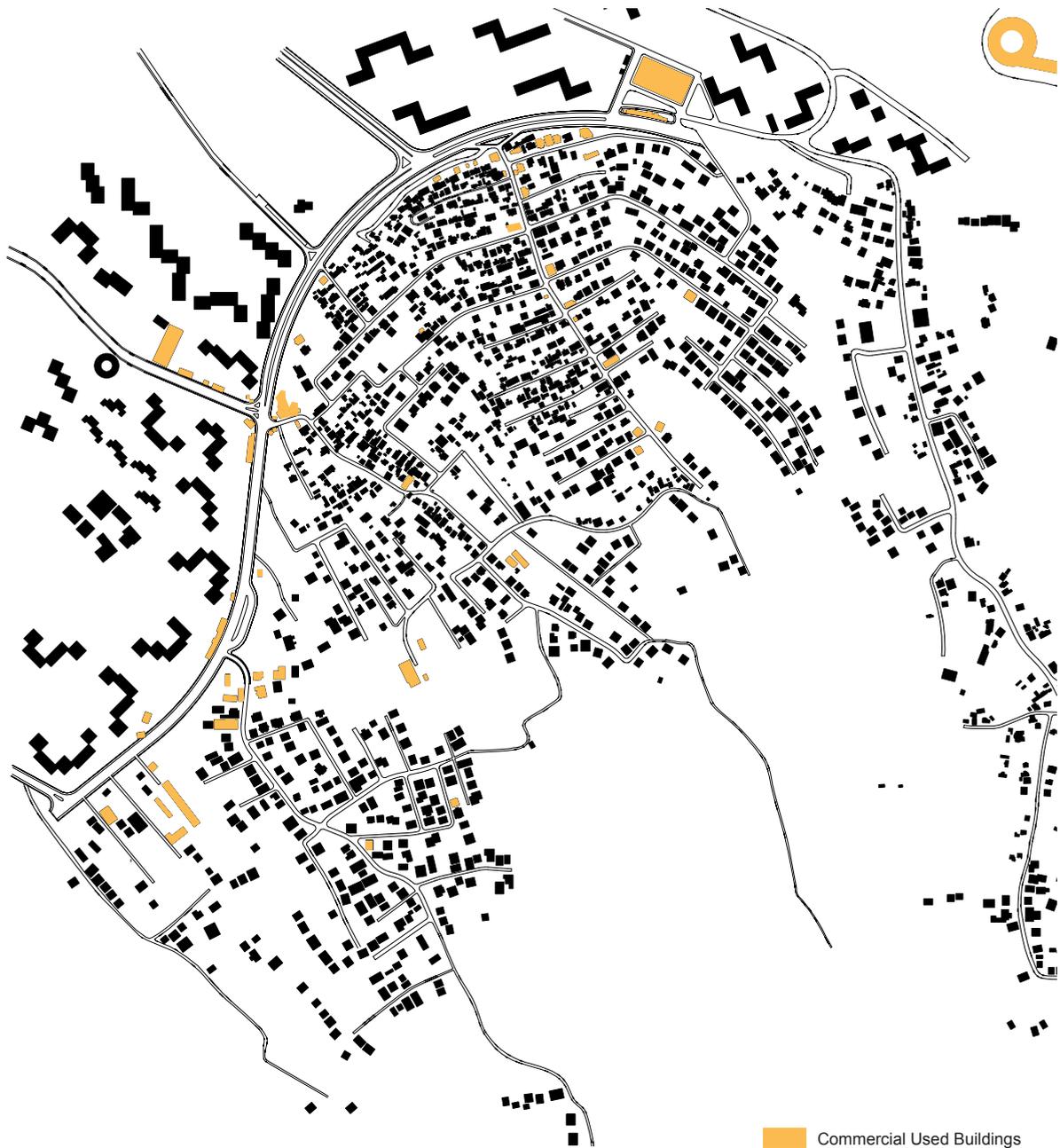




Commercial Uses

The commerce of Padina is made up, primarily, of auto-garages and construction firms, which sell building materials. These businesses are principally located along the Bracé Jerkovic II. The large number of construction firms can be attributed to the high level of construction activity in Padina.

Foremost small, grocery stores are located in the center of the borough, next to which small, service institutions such as tanning salons, doctors, and sports facilities are to be found. The main activity of commerce, however, is limited to the area along the ring street, where two large shopping centers are located.

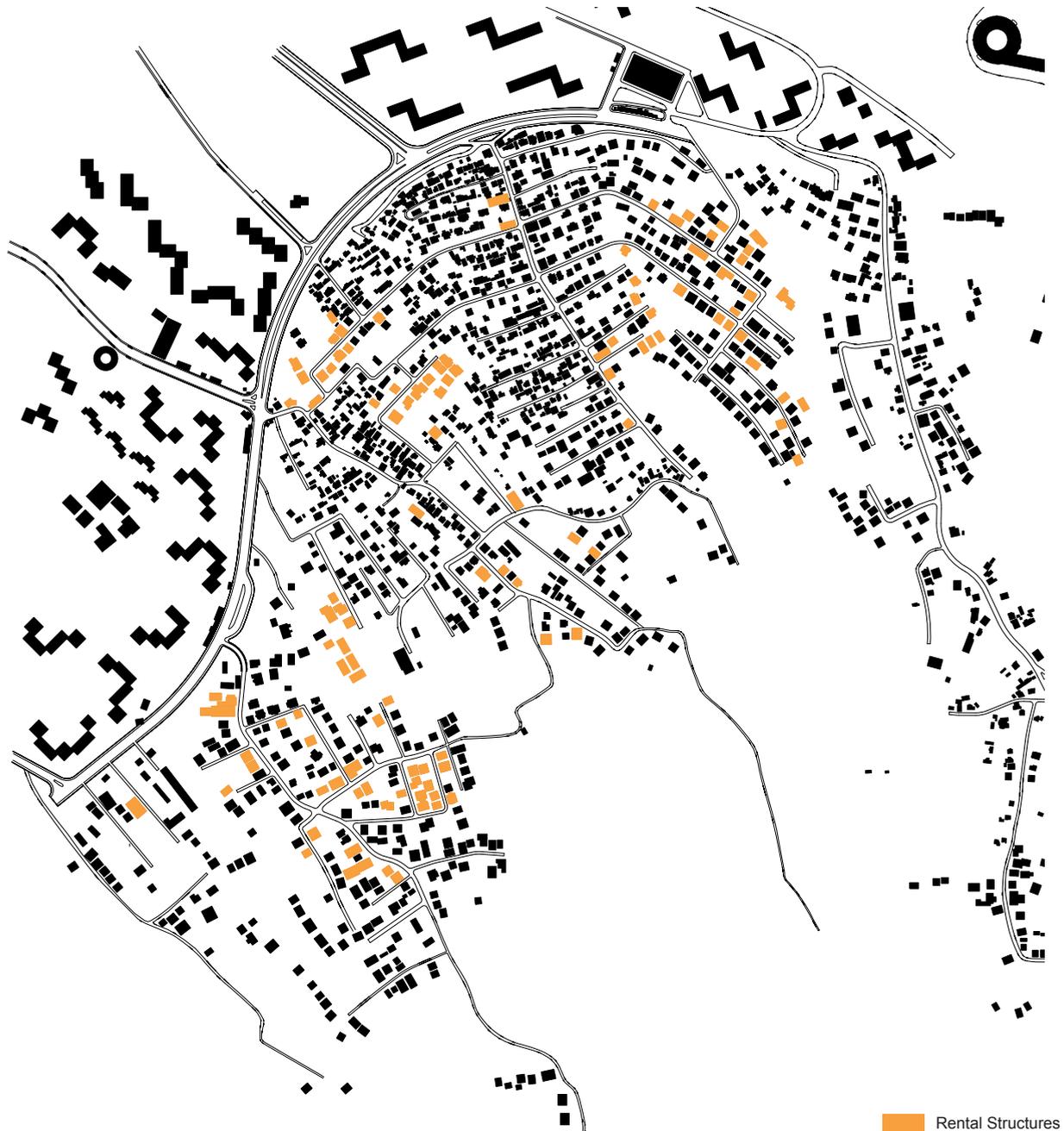




Rental Structures

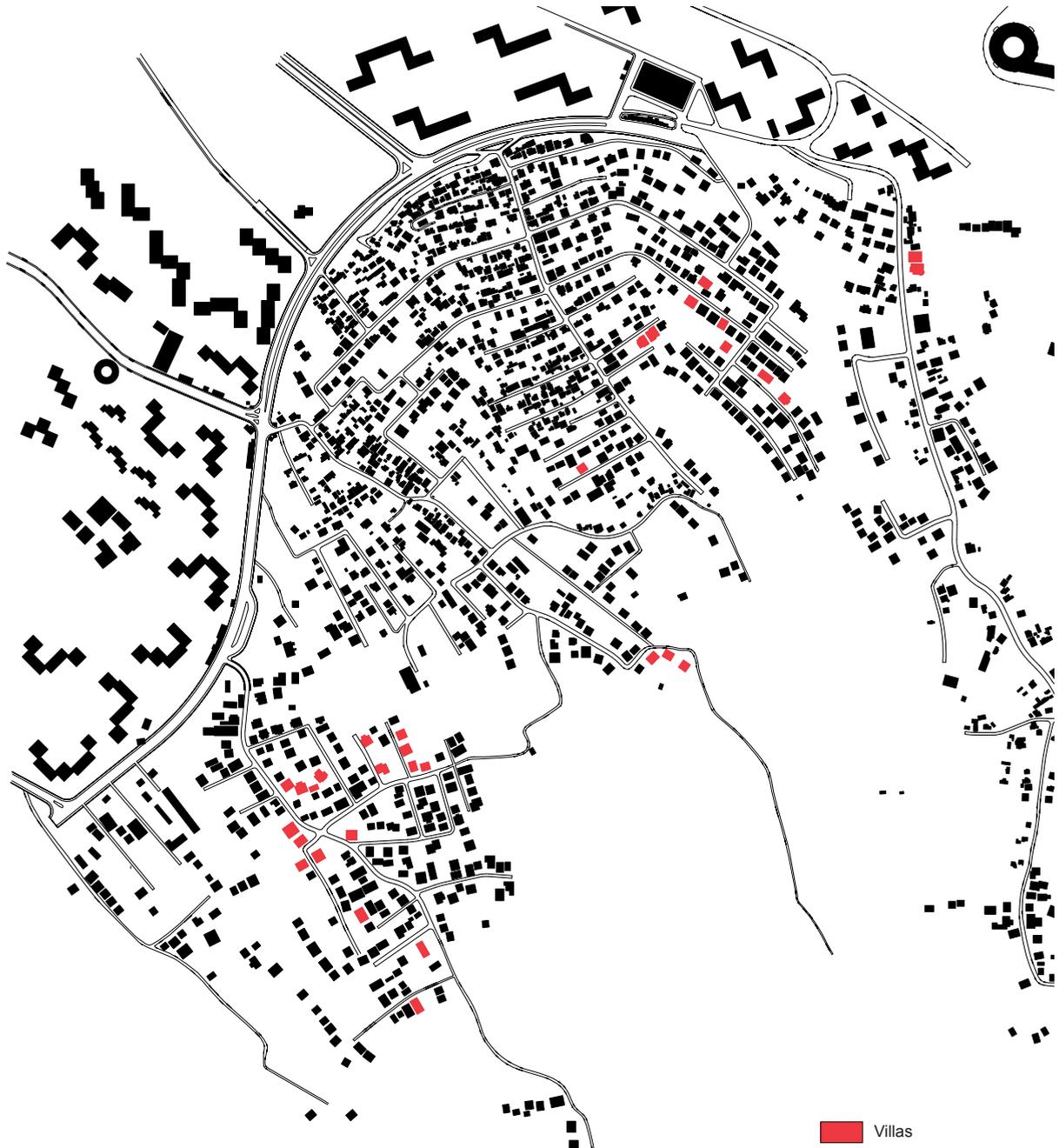
Around the year 1996, a change occurs in the building structure of Padina. The development of the area shows a continual increase in the number of investment projects with rental apartments. These apartments are constructed for the middle classes and are rented within the same price category as those of the city.

These new structures present problems, above all for the sewage system of Padina.





A number of representative villas are developed between 1990 and 2005. Particularly ostentatious homes are to be found above all on the southern slope of Padina. Below, the map points to a few examples of such homes. The criteria used for the selection of these examples, include not only the size of the building and its surrounding property, but also its architectural representation within its context. The designation of 'villa' is given to those objects, which are particularly noticeable in their context and attest to the significant wealth of their residents.



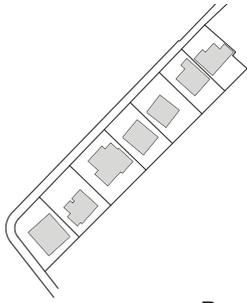


In the peripheral zone of Padina, one encounters signs advertising land for sale. Builders purchase their parcels directly from the landowners and the change in land ownership is only regulated by a contract between buyer and seller. There is no public notarization or registration of the transaction, which involves the transfer of land use rights rather than the actual sale of the property. This form of transaction is illegal as the land use rights of these parcels stipulate agricultural use of the land and thereby prohibit building. Furthermore, the sale of state-owned land is forbidden.

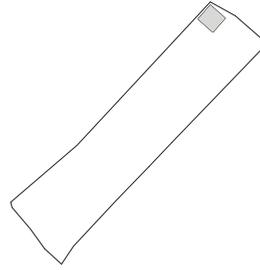
In the comparison between the parcel structure today and that of 1937, shown below, it is readily apparent that owners have subdivided their properties, in order to later sell these to builders.



Existing Parcels in 2006



Parcelstructure 2006



Parcelstructure 1937



Existing Parcels in 1937

Borders of the Borough

The municipal border between Zverdara and Vozdovac runs along the Bracé Jerkovic II and across the southern portion of Padina. Previously, this border had little influence on the development of Padina. However, since the building ban of November 2005, the municipality of Vozdovac has taken more drastic measures against illegal, new construction. While in this part of Padina an illegal construction project has been demolished, no such incident has yet occurred in the municipality of Zverdara.





After this Construction of a Rental-Structure in Vozdovac was torn-down in 2001. The Project was rebuilt 250 m across this Site in the Community of Zvezdara.

Border zone

The border zone builds the transition between residential and agricultural areas. This zone is characterized primarily by new buildings, which stand as pioneers in the agricultural land. Usually, these buildings possess neither canalization nor access through paved roads.

The residential area of Padina continually expands to the southeast, in the direction of the agrarian region of Mitrovo Brdo.





Development

The development of Padina between 1997 and 2006 is shown in the following photo comparison.



1997



1997

Photos Urban Planing Institute

2006



2006



Photos Urban Planing Institute



1997



1997

Photos Urban Planning Institute



2006



2006

Photos Urban Planning Institute

the Masterplan

Integration of the Existent Conditions

The Master Plan 2005

The Master Plan for Padina was begun in the year 1995 and released for the first time in 1997. It was revised over a period of ten years before taking effect in 2005. The area lies within the urban municipalities of Vozdovac and Zvezdara, encompassing an area of 200 hectares.

The political attitude towards illegal settlements changed in the 1990s. The extent and necessity of defining a position towards the phenomenon of these settlements was realized. The Master Plan attempted to integrate the existing structures of 1995 into the planning and treat these conditions as the starting point of future developments.

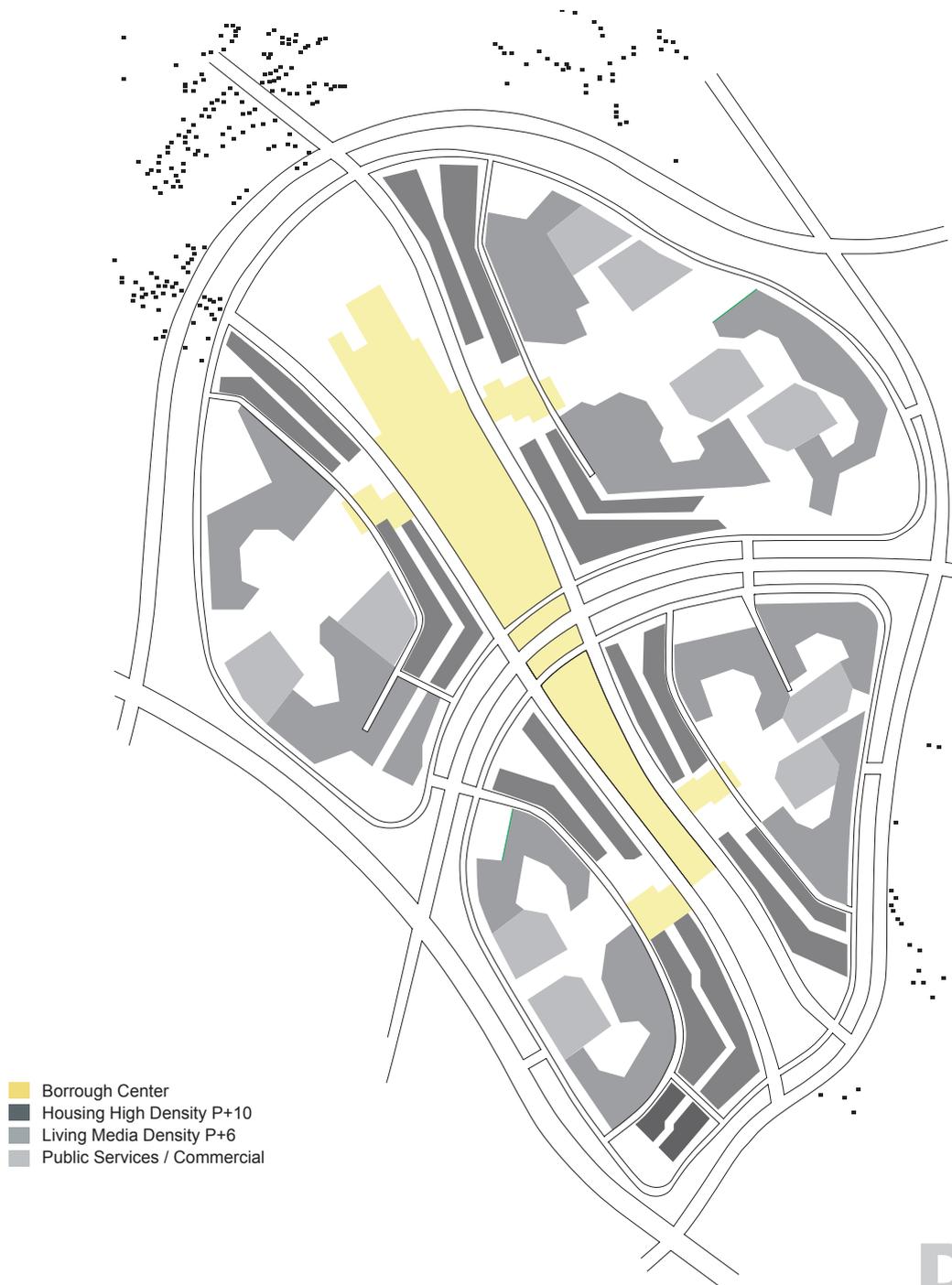
The Master Plan regulates land conditions, zoning, and building regulations, as well as the planning of streets, infrastructure, and public services.



The Master Plan 1977

The first Master Plan for Padina arose from the end of communist Yugoslavia in the year 1977. The plan was based on a tabularasa and encompassed a larger surface area than the plan of 2005. According to the modernist vision, block-settlements were planned, with a complete street network and large-scale residential structures within open, green space.

However, the impact of this plan on today's situation is minimal. The only impacts, which were retained to this day, were the first-time idea of a rezoning from agricultural to residential use and the planning of the ring street.



Planning with the Existent Conditions

Interview with V. Maric and Z. Romic-Aavantic

The Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade is responsible for the strategic planning of Belgrade. We spoke with Zoric Romic-Aavantic and Vesna Maric, who, from 1995-2005, worked on the Master Plan for Padina.

From the First Plan to the Survey of Existent Conditions

Planners first showed interest in the area of Padina in 1977. A first Master Plan was designed, of which however, nothing was realized. For the first time, the land was rezoned from an agricultural to a residential zone.

The new Master Plan was begun in 1955. Illegally constructed housing and illegal property sale contracts already existed at that time. As planners sought to integrate the existing structures in the planning, they first needed to create a record of the existing buildings and infrastructure. At this time, neither statistical data nor aerial photos were available to them. They conducted the first measurement of the area.



Time of Adjustment

When, in 1997, the plan was completed, opposition from political authorities inhibited its implementation. Year after year revisions took place, “It was a race against time and illegal settlements.” Intensive illegal building activities occurred, not all of which followed the Master Plan. Buildings were constructed in public zones and the paths of projected roadways. It was always possible for builders to review the status of planning. Due to the illegal building, the Master Plan had to be altered in accordance with these developments. The majority of changes occurred at the expense of communal functions and public space. Houses were never demolished.

“ It was a race against time and illegal settlements.”

Vesna Maric

“In Serbia, under Milosevic, we had a political situation which enabled corruption. A number of powerful families with political connections live in Padina. Money was laundered with investments in expensive houses.”

The largest building activity began in 1991. Many inhabitants from Bosnia, Croatia and the Kosovo came to Padina. Before this time, primarily agricultural buildings existed in the area.

No End in Sight

Illegal building continues today. There are no existing institutions capable of controlling or preventing such development. With the introduction of the Master Plan in 2005, an attempt was made to sever legal from illegal construction. The Master Plan was passed onto local architects of the urban area involved. The case is thereby closed for the Urban Planning Institute.

The disposition of Vesna and Zoric was very resigned. According to their statements, their plans and ideas have no chance of realization. Their institution lacks the authority of implementation. The political and economic situation of Serbia is poor, lacking in a constant, which would serve as prerequisite for successful planning.

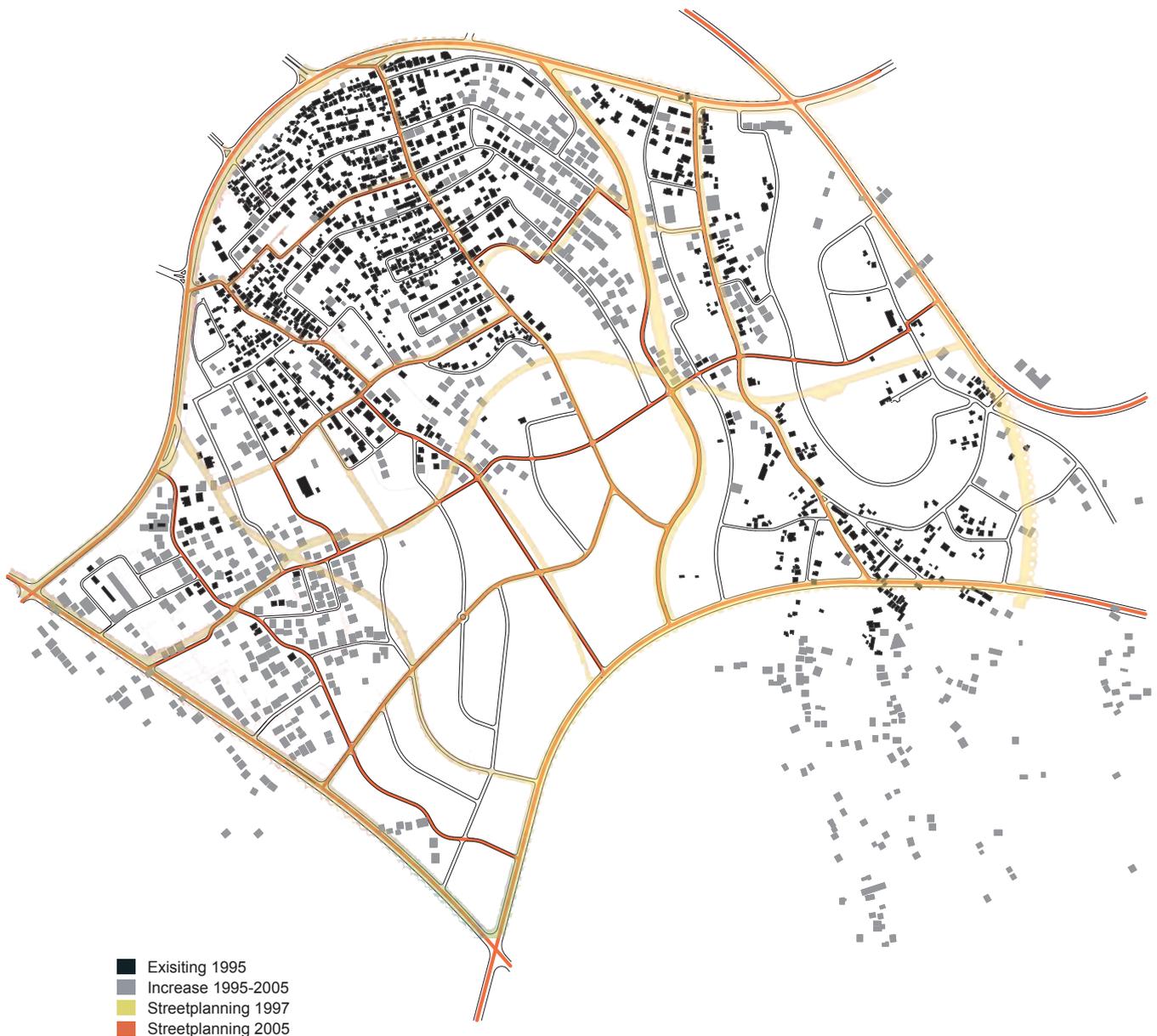
“In Serbia, under Milosevic, we had a political situation which enabled corruption. A number of powerful families with political connections live in Padina. Money was laundered with investments in expensive houses.”

Vesna Maric

Adjustment to Existing Conditions

On the map, the existing structures at the time of the first survey, in 1995, are visible (in black). The Master Plan was designed on this basis. The growth up to the year 2005 is shown in gray and represents the substance to which the planning during the ten years of adjustment reacts. Streets and public zones had to be altered continually.

The process of adaptation is most evident in the example of street planning. The overlay of the plans of 1995 and 2005 show the strength of the alterations and the way in which each individual building must be examined separately.





Streetplanning 1995

Satellit Photograph 2005 overlay Streeplanning 1995



The Streets

The main streets, which provide access around the borough, are part of the large-scale urban plan of Belgrade. Their planning was already included in the Master Plan of 1977. Today, only the street to the north (Brace Jerkovic II) has already been built.

Within the borough, the Master Plan attempts to break up the many dead-ends and thereby enable circular traffic flow. At the same time, a greater degree of connection between the individual sectors of the borough is achieved.

The construction standard is also a part of the planning. The existing streets no longer meet the new demands on public transit or the safety of pedestrians, and must therefore be upgraded.



Land Ownership

The planning attempted to clarify the conditions of land ownership by specifying a new parcel structure based on the ownership conditions before the Second World War. In the case of retroactive legalization, the parcels are accredited to the owners of the houses. The parcel structure becomes more fragmented as multiple parties build on the same piece of land. The long, narrow parcels lying perpendicular to the topography are transformed into small land plots along the roads.



Zoning and Building Regulations

The zoning encompasses residential zones, green spaces, and zones for sports facilities, as well as social institutions, business zones, infrastructural installations, and parking lots. Most public facilities are displaced to the south, where land is still relatively free of construction. In this area, a center with businesses, schools, public facilities, and the necessary parking spaces is planned.

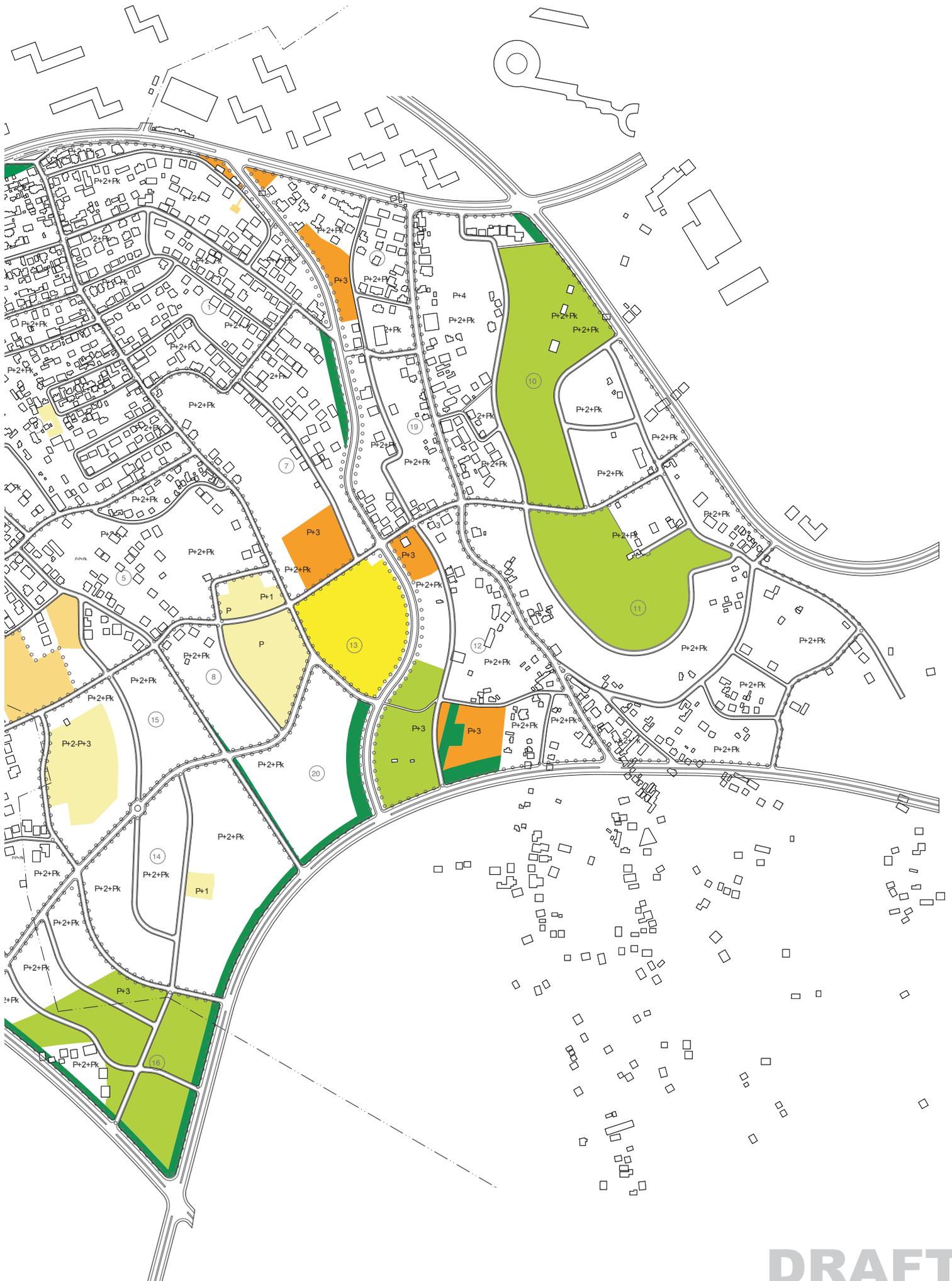
The regulations for residential zones apply to all areas equally, with a number of exceptions. A two-meter setback must be respected on all sides. It is possible to build a ground, two upper, and one attic level. The maximum livable surface area is 800 m² with a maximal coefficient of use (relationship between brutto-livable surface area and land surface) of 0.8.

In regards to infrastructure, the existing facilities are to be extended. Most extensive is the enlargement of the existing water-pump station.

In the green spaces, differentiation is made between public facilities and buffer zones.



- Commercial
- Public Services
- Parking
- Green Area 1
- Green Area 2
- Sportsgrounds
- Infrastructure
- P+2+PK Ground Floor
+ 2 Upper Floors
+ Attica



The Grey Triangle
Processes

Increased Security through Curbed Illegality

The building situation in Padina was altered with the first public release of the integrated master plan in 1997. Though the building regulations, zoning, and street planning were established, they could not yet be placed into effect. The political situation prevented implementation on multiple occasions. Over ten years, the plan is continually revised in order to take into account illegal developments. Yet despite these alterations, the design of the master plan acts as a sign that illegal buildings are able to gain formal status in Padina. At the same time, the provision of access to infrastructure and public services is assured. In contrast to early illegal situations, the settlers find themselves in a grey condition in which they experience a higher level of security for their building and investment, if they adhere to the regulations of the provisional master plan.

Adherence to Provisional Building Regulations

A large part of the buildings constructed after the first public release of the master plan, adhered to the building regulations. The exceptions were houses built by influential people with the means to purchase the assurance that their house would not be torn down. These buildings are among the reason why the implementation of the Master Plan was postponed for a long time. In Padina, the demolition of illegally constructed houses was restricted to a small number of individual cases.

Explosion

The grey zone acts as a catalyst for the development of Padina up until the implementation of the Master Plan in the year 2005. In terms of possible return, the singular shift in the balance between possible security against the interference of building authorities and cost-effectiveness enabled by the possibility of illegal construction, in connection with the political situation of the country, resulted in a building explosion within the area. At the same time, a stream of immigrants emerged from the refugees of the different regions of Ex-Yugoslavia. These refugees created both a demand on residential space, as well as on opportunities for investment in real estate, which was viewed as stable investment within the otherwise uncertain economic situation of the country. The largest portion of residents came from Bosnia, Croatia, and Kosovo.

Building in the Grey Triangle

The same protagonists are involved in the illegal and legal building processes during the grey period. However, the relationships are shifted in time and less individually characterized, instead occurring more rapidly and reduced. The planning of illegal buildings is faster and reduces the cost of construction by up to 75%. The costs and waiting times (up to two years) for building permits are eliminated. In the 1990s, the conditions of land ownership were still unclear due to the dispossession, which occurred during communist times. The ownership status before the Second World War was referred to and land prices, which had risen strongly in the past ten years, were thereby low (1995: 1500-2700 €/acre, 2005: 8000-10000 €/acre). Today, architects sell their location generic projects for 20 €/sq m. Construction workers often work illegally; the weekend marks the highpoint of production on construction sites. Access to infrastructure is arranged within the neighborhood and attached to the central service line. Contact with public institutions is established only after the completion of the building, when the desire for greater security moves owners to seek legalization. In this legalization process a tax must be paid, which is lower than that of the original, legal building permits process. The rapid growth can be attributed primarily to this rationalized building process.

The Investors

In the last years of the grey era, investors discovered the area for themselves. They built rental structures with the expectation of profits of 200-300%. The building program thereby shifted from the villas of influential pioneers, through single and multi-family homes of the upper middle class, to the rental structures of investors.

The Rich Pioneers

One must speculate in regards to the first settlement of the wealthy in the Padina. Factors determining the particular point in time could have been the relationship to the military or politics. At the time, farmers and the military occupied the land in Padina. Locals often spoke of corruption and bought security. Residential use was legitimized, to an extent, through the existing village structure, yet the desire for exclusivity by the rich is more clearly evident. With the emergence of the grey period, it was no longer necessary to pay for security, which attracted other classes.

Legal Building Process

Interview with Z. Zecar, Architect

Housing is a general investment firm in Belgrade, which primarily invests in residential buildings. They constructed a building with condominiums in Padina. We met with Zoran Zecar who is employed by the firm as an architect.

Condominiums in Padina

The project in Padina was completed and moved into in the year 2004. It included seven apartments of various sizes, designed for middle class residents with an approximate income of 400-500€/month. The apartments were sold for 1000€/sq m and were all sold before the beginning of construction. The plans are simple and differently generous in size. There is a high demand on apartments with an encompassing spatial program, as well as installations and balconies, but compactly organized. For instance, a 3-room apartment might be organized on 40 sq m. The attic level was built out as a full floor, the entire building comprising a livable surface area of 700 sq m with a coefficient of use of 0.8.

The building was constructed legally. After the purchase of the parcel of land, including the right to use the land, Zoran designed the building in a first phase.

“Padina is a mistake! It is a mistake by the government.”

Zoran Zecar



In this case, the land was not purchased from a farmer. In the previous years, the farmers had sold off their entire land. The firm purchased the land from an intermediate dealer. For the building permits, the project was submitted to the borough architect for approval. It took two years before the permit was issued. In a second phase, each apartment was sold and attuned to the individual wishes of each client. The primary structure and façade were begun while the construction plan was already underway. The building was completed and residents were able to move in within one year.

„As an investor you can make a lot of money in Padina.“

Zoran Zecar

Ideal for Investors

Although the rent and purchase prices lie relatively low in Padina, investors can count on a very high level of return. Land prices are still on a low standard and often land plots are not even purchased, instead owners participate in exchange for an apartment.

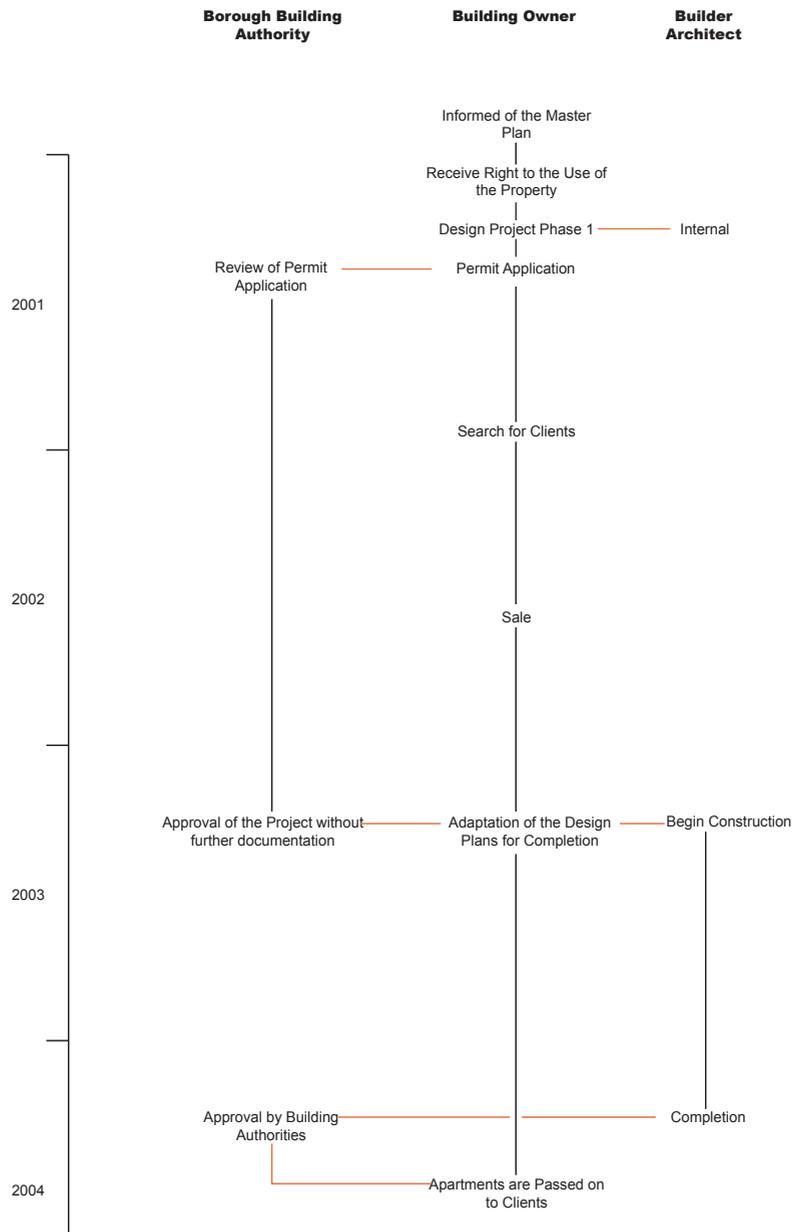
Problems for the Borough

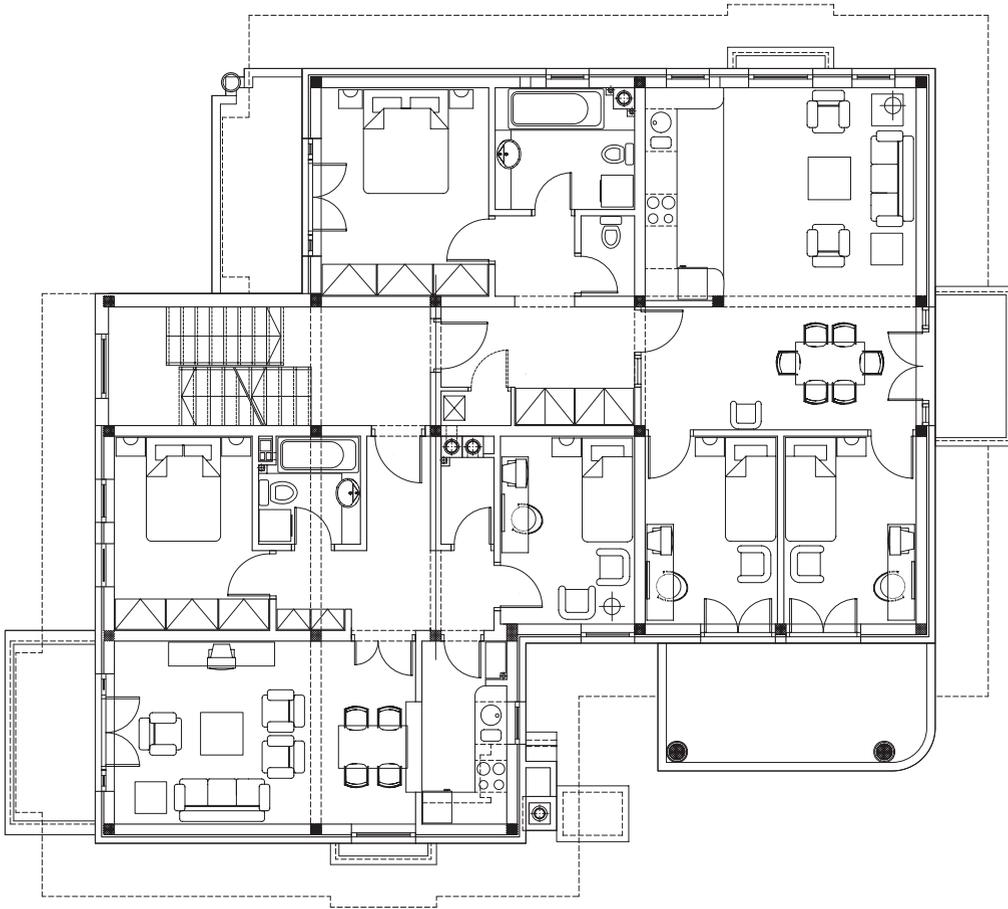
“Padina is a mistake! It is a mistake by the government. It is impressive how far they succeed in organizing themselves, but still.....” Zoran finds fault above all in the condition of public spaces or, more precisely, their absence. All residents strongly separate their property from the public realm and retreat into their private homes. The streets are in poor conditions and the provision of infrastructure, in particular canalization, will become a problem. The capacity of infrastructural installations is not sufficient for the new building program of large rental structures.



Processes

For architects, it is a difficult time. One is not able to design. The rich believe they can all act as their own architects. Zoran does not like the style, which is currently in demand. "The style? It is an anti-style! It is chaos in style!"





Floor Plan 1. First Floor



Illegal Building Process

Interview with S. Popolic, private building owner

Srboljub Popolic builds and lives in a house in Padina. The house is still under construction and Srboljub lives, with his father, in the completed basement. Above, the primary structure of the first and second floors is under construction, they have not yet begun the construction of the roof.

Planning and Organization

Srboljub began the construction of the house in August of 2004. Shortly before this, he purchased the land from an old man who was leaving Serbia. The whole parcel was sold for 5000 €/acre, which means that all the neighbors with adjoining houses under construction are located on the same, original parcel. The neighbors have divided the parcel among each other; they established a joint access route and installed canalization and water supply. Srboljub is building the house together with his family. Above him and his father, his brother and family intend to move in. Together, they will occupy approximately 200sq m. The building costs are approximately 450€ per meter squared. Srboljub informed himself about the master plan, he knows which rules must be respected and what papers need to be prepared in order to register and legalize the building. Up to now, everything has been constructed illegally. He has respected the setback regulations, floor heights, and coefficient of use.



A large street and bus line is planned in front of his house, yet he expects this line to be redirected. The house lies across from an existing water pump station, which, according to the master plan, is to be upgraded. On the other side, there is a vacant lawn on which school facilities are planned.

Building with Friends and Illegal Workers

After the purchase of the property, Srboljub bought the project from an architect for 20 €/sq m. One can also work together with a GU, who offers a free standard project in exchange for the commission to build the house. However, it is more affordable to purchase a project and make the decision with whom to construct the building. One is thereby able to find cheaper sources of building materials: brick, adobe, cement and concrete are more affordable, while steel is said to be extremely expensive. Srboljub often works together with friends, who help him on the weekend. A construction worker in a temporary position makes 20€/day, while as a fixed employee of a construction company, a worker can earn 100€ per month with additional bonuses for work, equaling approximately 200€ per month.

“I know the masterplan. I informed myself!”

Srboljub Popolic

“I will legalise my house afterwards. I'm sure they will accept it!”

Srboljub Popolic

Faster Completion

After the completion of the primary structure in the second floor, the interior finishes were begun in the ground floor, so that the family could move in as soon as possible. How long the completion of the brother's upper floors will take, one cannot say.



Legal Infrastructure

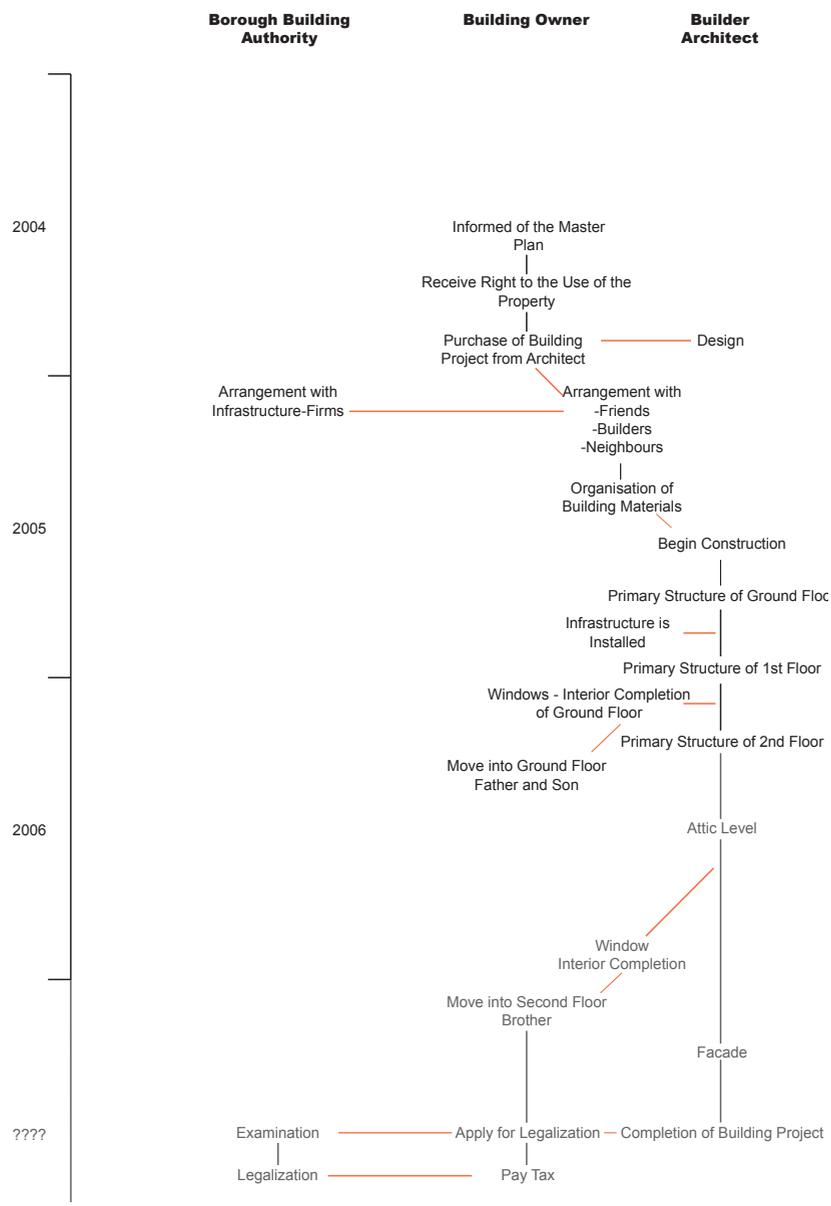
Srboljub pays for his infrastructure together with his neighbors: all are connected officially. The organization of electricity, canalization, telephone connection and water supply is not regulated on the basis of city borough, but for all Belgrade as a whole. For the connection to the power supply grid, Srboljub paid 500€. A connection to the main line of the canalization under the Brace Jerkovic, costs 15000€, which is divided between the residents. 1000€ is paid for the connection to an existing pipe-line.

Intended Legalization

Srboljub intends to have his house legalized after its completion. He is certain that the house will pass the inspection of the planning commission, as he knows all the rules and would be able to provide proof of land ownership and the necessary papers for the house. For the legalization of the structure he will be required to pay a tax, which is slightly higher than that of normal cases, yet had he applied in advance for a permit from the housing commission a waiting period of up to two years might have been possible. Additionally, it is common for further conditions to be applied to the approval, such as, for instance, the information regarding the architect involved on the project.

Great Pressure by the Authorities

Djerjenack works as vice director for a general enterprise firm in the field of construction. According to Djerjenack, it is possible to make a short-term return of 200-300% as an investor in Padina. A 2-room apartment can be rented for 200€, which is cheaper than in the center of the city, but coupled with inexpensive construction and much lower land costs. It is no longer quite as easy to build illegally; the building authorities of the borough have augmented the vehemence of their enforcement measures and will even demolish structures when necessary. At the same time, lawsuits concerning land ownership have been initiated between the city and private persons, for instance, this has occurred in the area of the planned pump-station, whose ground actually lies under private ownership. The time by which the planned public buildings and the central area are to be constructed is still unclear.



Rationalized Building Process

The illegal building process is differentiated from that of the legal process in the duration of planning and construction.

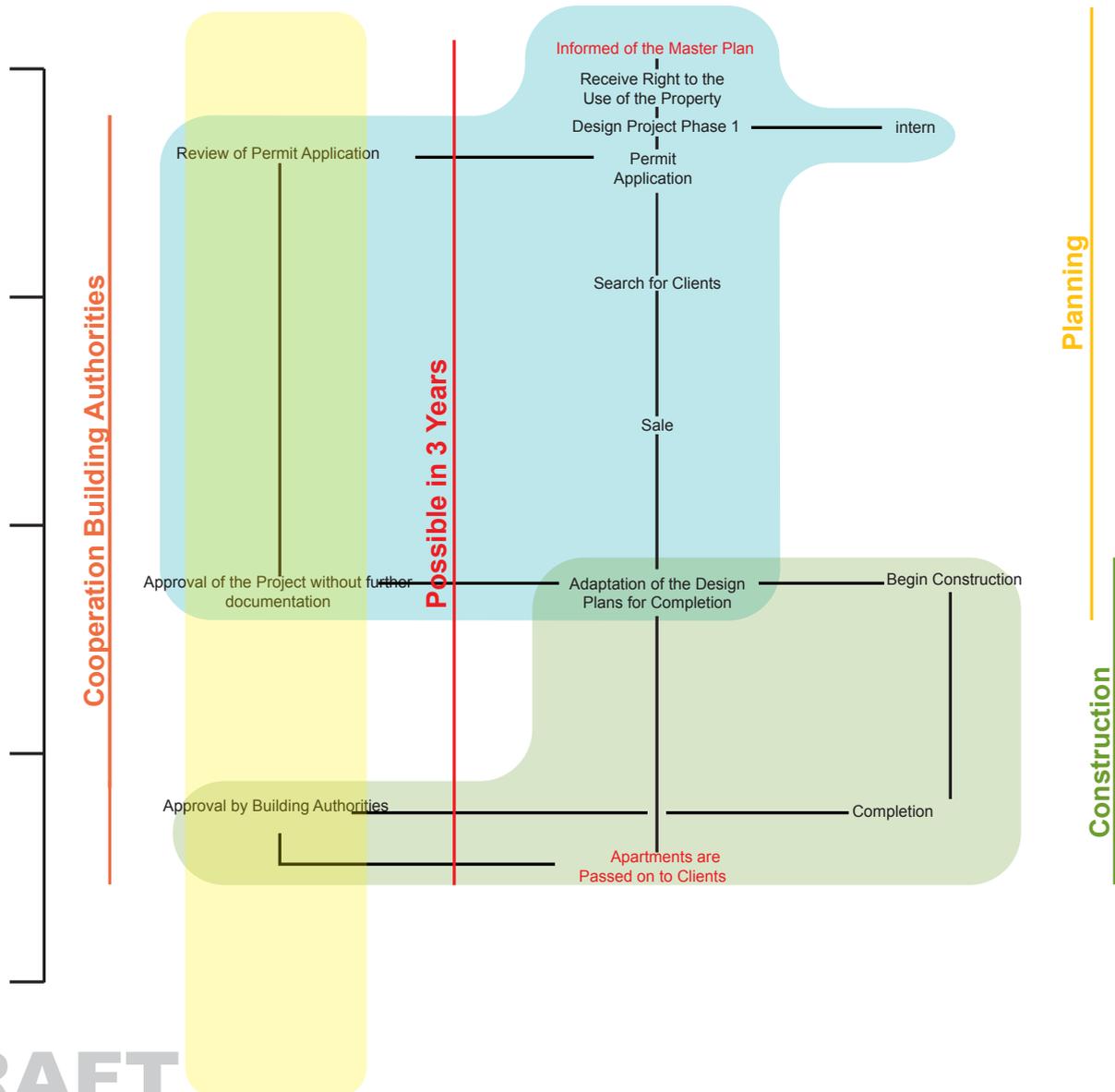
While under the legal process a great deal of time is required for the permit process during the planning phase, this step is eliminated on the illegal path. Thereby, the time between land purchase and the end of construction can be shortened significantly. This period can become even shorter by taking up residence in the building before its completion.

Die Zeit bis zum Einzug kann halbiert werden.

On the other hand, the building phase in illegal construction can also prove to be a drawn out process. People often lack the money to complete the over-dimensionally large house in one stage and the building is thereby constructed slowly, step-by-step, while residence has already been taken up. In the legal process, buildings are usually better planned and enough capital is available in order to complete the construction in a single building phase.

Einzug vor Abschluss der Bauphase

legal Building Process



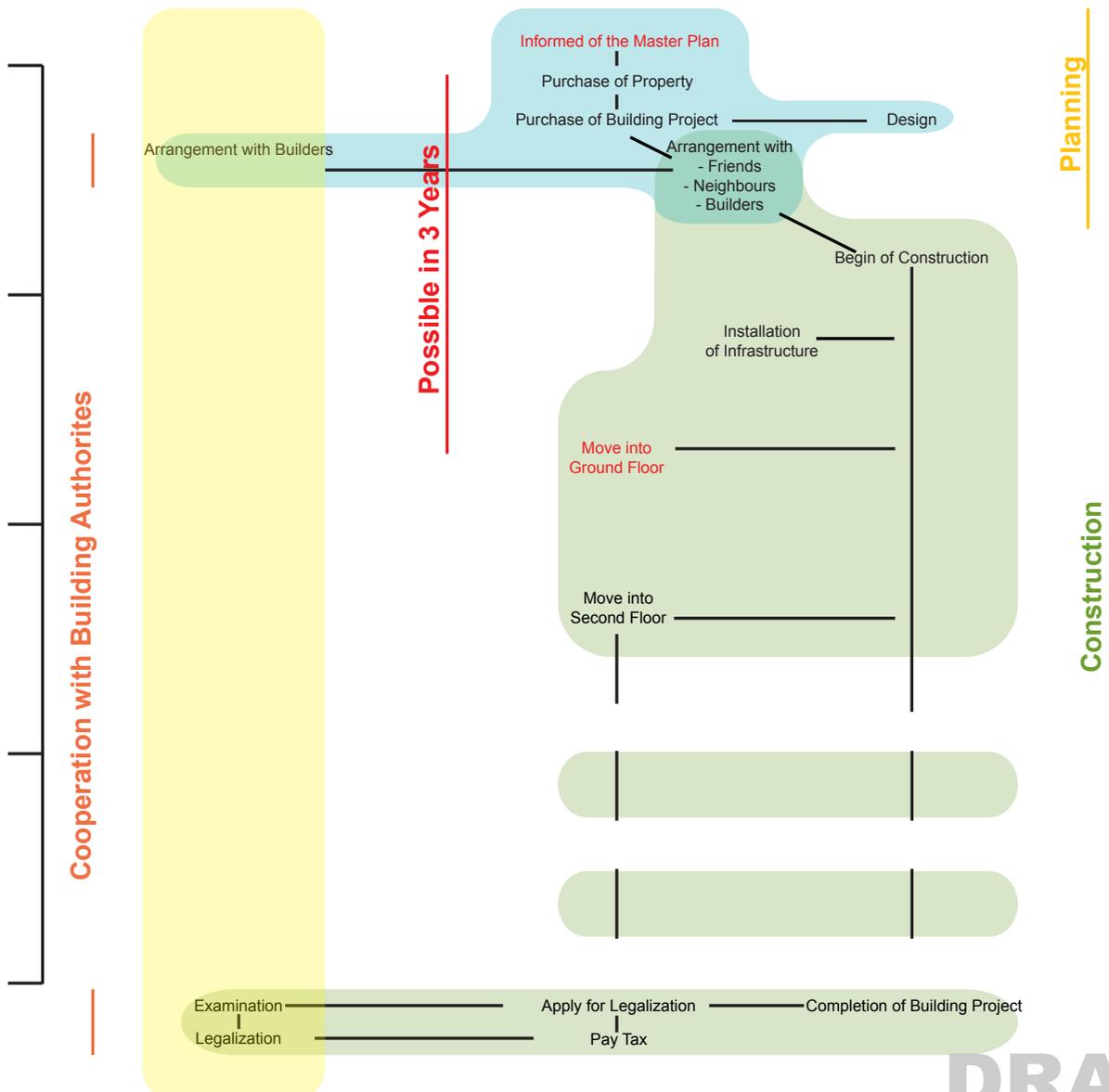
The rationalization of the building process enables faster and more cost-efficient construction. Through illegal construction one is able to cut costs by nearly 75% and, in the best of cases, reduce construction time to a provisional level of habitation by up to half. For people who build in Padina out of housing shortage, these act as deciding factors. For others, these elements promise a higher return on investment or simply a greater level of savings.

“To build illegal can become 75% cheaper than legal!”

M. Ferencak
Manager of the Urban Planning Institute

For the rich pioneers, building before the year 1997 and the release of the provisional master plan, additional limitations were eliminated. Yet at this time, the pioneers were individually responsible for the full cost of access to infrastructure.

illegal Building Process



Planning Process

Interview with Vesna Pesic, Borough Architect

Padina lies within the two city sectors of Vozdovac and Zvezdara. We met with Vesna Pesic, of Vozdovac. In our conversation, we attempted to discover the role of the public authorities in the process of the grey triangle.

Site Argument for Rich Settlers

Vesna Pesic listed the following arguments for the settlement of the rich in the area of Padina after the year 1991:

- Attractive area in a good location.
- Good connection to the center of the city.
- Inexpensive land.
- Corruption. It was possible to purchase the assurance that one's house would not be torn down.
- Access to infrastructure.

Adherence to the Master Plan

"Everybody living in Padina knows the master plan. Most of the buildings are built according to the new guidelines." Since November 2003, a general ban on building has been placed over all Padina. Yet residents do not respect this ban. In most cases, retroactive legalization is not a problem as buildings are constructed according to the regulations. The most difficult point is usually the clarification of land ownership.

"Everybody living in Padina knows the master plan. Most of the buildings are built belonging to the new guidelines."

V. Pesic



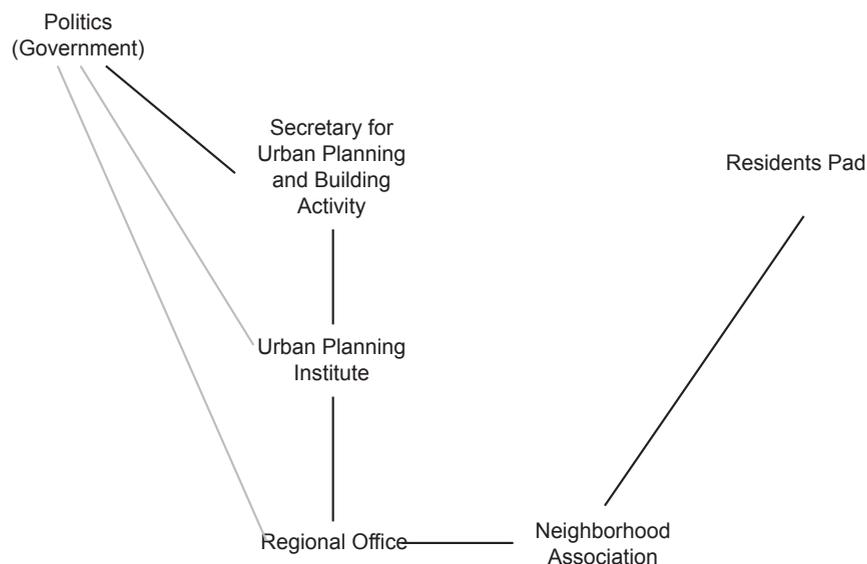
The cost of legalization can vary in differing situations. In a normal case the cost for a residential building is 25 €/sq m, if one applies for an official building permit in advance the cost is 150 €/sq m. This difference is inexplicable, and cannot be sustained in its present form. Even today, one is relatively assured of approval when one requests a building permit in advance, assuming the request concerns residential use in accordance with the new master plan. The approval process should take no longer than three months.

Collaboration between Officials

The borough office and its building authorities are powerless in the face of illegal development. The role of enforcement lies with the central building authority of Belgrade (The Secretary for City Planning and Building Affairs). To this day, one building was demolished because stood in the way of a projected roadway. There is little opportunity for savings in the planning process. The building authority initiates the planning process themselves. Changes to the structure of the process must be made at a political level. While the Urban Planning Institute develops the plan, they have only a partial right to voice their opinions. During the planning process, the Institute maintains contact to other planning agencies. The completed plans are given over to the borough authorities. Local offices are then able to take a stance on these documents. Should an approval be reached, the plans are published in the borough newspaper and publicly displayed throughout the area. Residents have recourse through the neighborhood association.

„Legalising after the construction is much cheaper than going through the official way. I regret that!“

V. Pesic



Processes

From this moment on, everything is managed through the central secretariat. Rekurs einlegen. The borough office is henceforth responsible only for permit applications and the legalization of residential buildings with a livable surface area of up to 800 sq m.

Next Steps

The current problems of the borough are the conditions of land ownership, roads, and infrastructure.

Though the miserable streets, which were integrated into the plan in their current condition, are insufficient to meet future demands, the retroactive expansion of these streets is difficult to organize.

The situation of land ownership is difficult to clarify, as the original parcels have since been divided. In most cases, multiple parties have constructed on the same parcel. Yet for the implementation of the master plan, the status of land ownership must be regulated. The land use rights received by private persons is valid only for agricultural purposes, in the process of legalization these permits must be transferred to residential use. Land that is used for public functions is reserved. Although owned by the city, the right to land use must first be purchased. For instance, the Ministry of Education must give proof of the money necessary to pay for the land rights as well as the construction of the school project.

An expansion of infrastructure must occur in order to meet future demands, as the current capacity will prove to be insufficient. A central office regulates the provision of infrastructure.

Vesna Pesic also seems resigned and stresses that there are insufficient means to prevent illegal developments. Her position as borough architect was recently altered in order to precisely demarcate the areas for which she is responsible. Yet, according to Pesic, these areas correspond too generally with many public institutions of Belgrade.

Beginning and End Point

Corrupt Pioneers initiated the grey triangle?

Next to logical arguments explaining the settlement of wealthy pioneers in the year of 1991, such as the good location and legitimization of residential use by the settlement of poorer residents, we encountered various allegations of corruption. The first settlers of the 1990s bought their security, and with large villas they were able to launder money during the economic uncertainty of the war.

At the time, the land first appropriated by wealthy settlers was owned by the military, which still maintains a district on the opposing side of the valley.

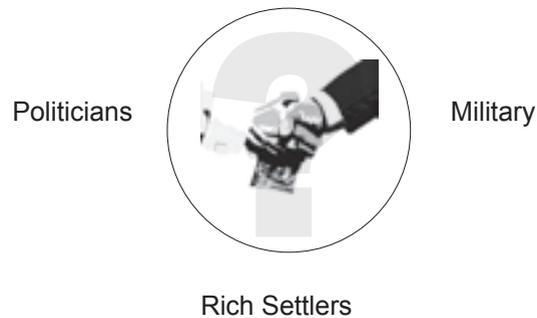


Photo Urban Planning Institute, 1997



Processes

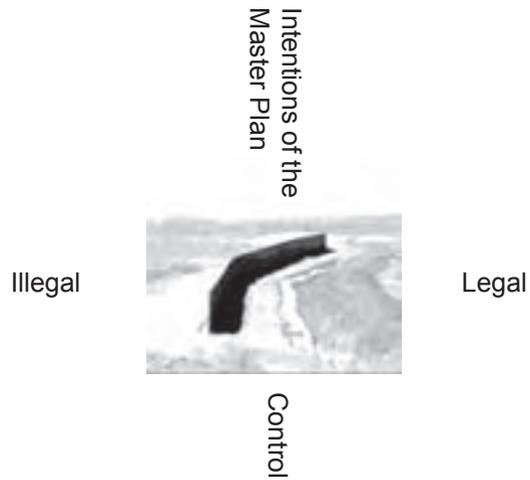
Beginning Point, Ideal Balance

The survey of existing structures by the Planning Institute marks the beginning of the grey triangle, as well as the initiation of the first Master Plan. The work of the Planning Institute acts to further optimize the situation of Padina for illegal settlers. The balance between security and building costs seem to be unparalleled. It no longer becomes necessary to purchase security, instead it is offered through the planning efforts, and, simultaneously, building costs can be kept at a minimum through the illegal building process. In conjunction with the refugee situation in Serbia, these factors lead to a building explosion.

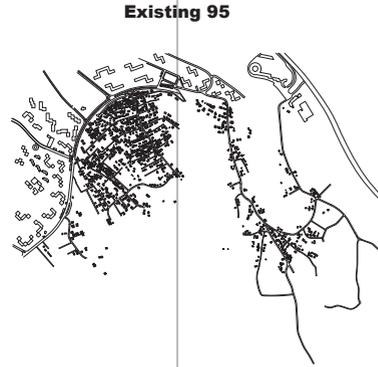


End Point

The end of the grey triangle is marked by the implementation of the Master Plan in the year 2005. Effective immediately, a halt on building was placed over all of Padina. Only those persons who had already completed the foundation were able to complete their construction projects. For the first time, buildings were demolished in Padina. These buildings were situated on the site of main streets, projected for construction in the next years.

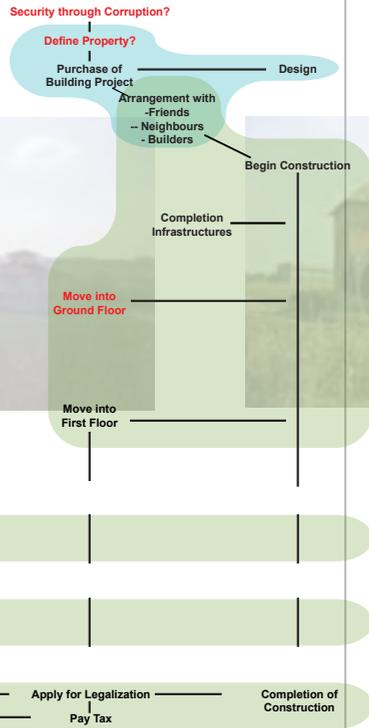


Processes in the Grey Triangle

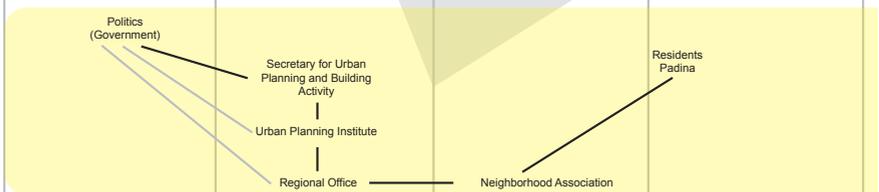


Examination of Existing Circumstances
 -Land Price 1500-3000 €/acre - Optimisation
 -Agricultural Zone / Military Security / Construction Costs

Building Process Pioneers



illegal Building Process



1995 1996 1997 1998

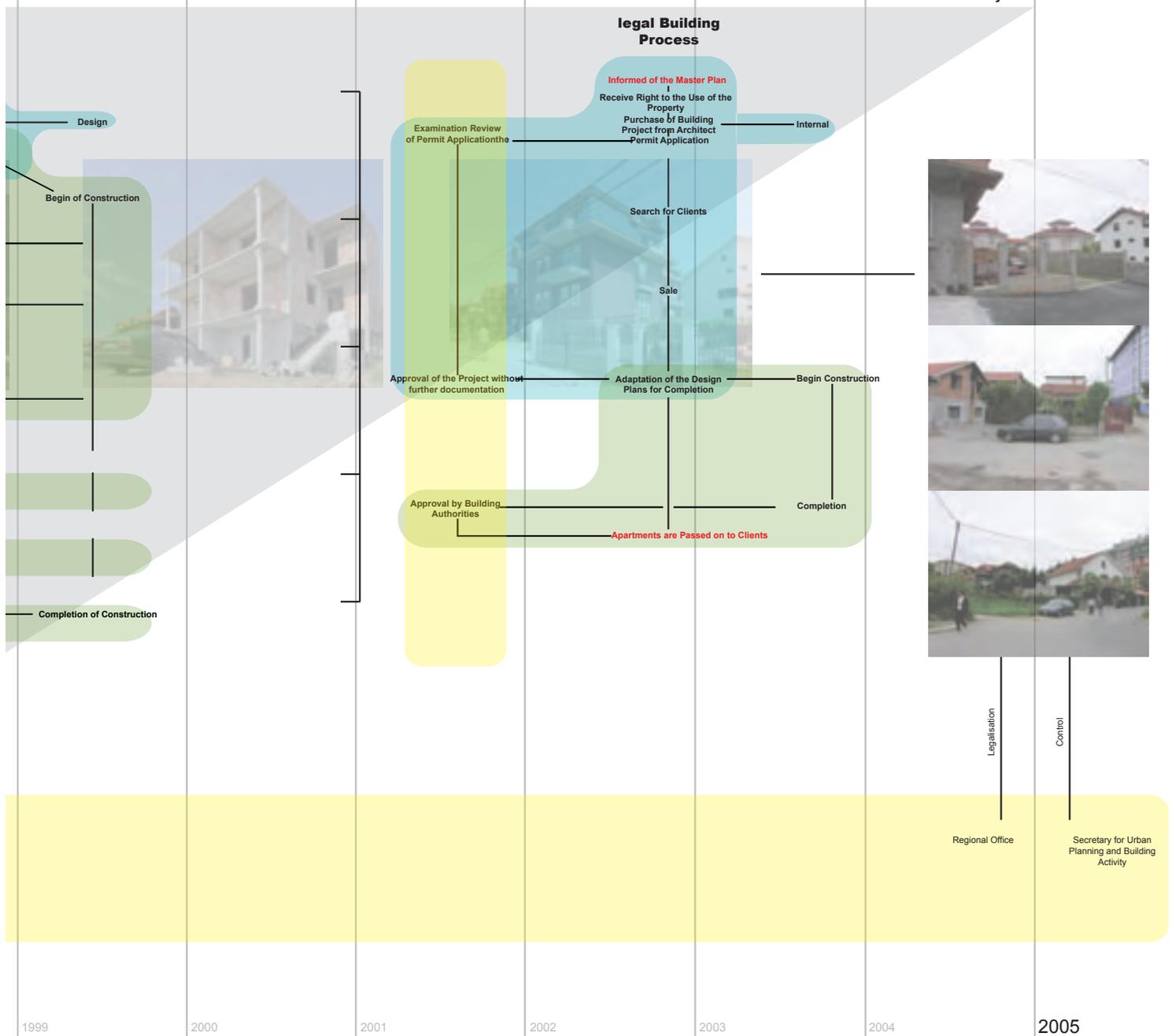
the Grey Era



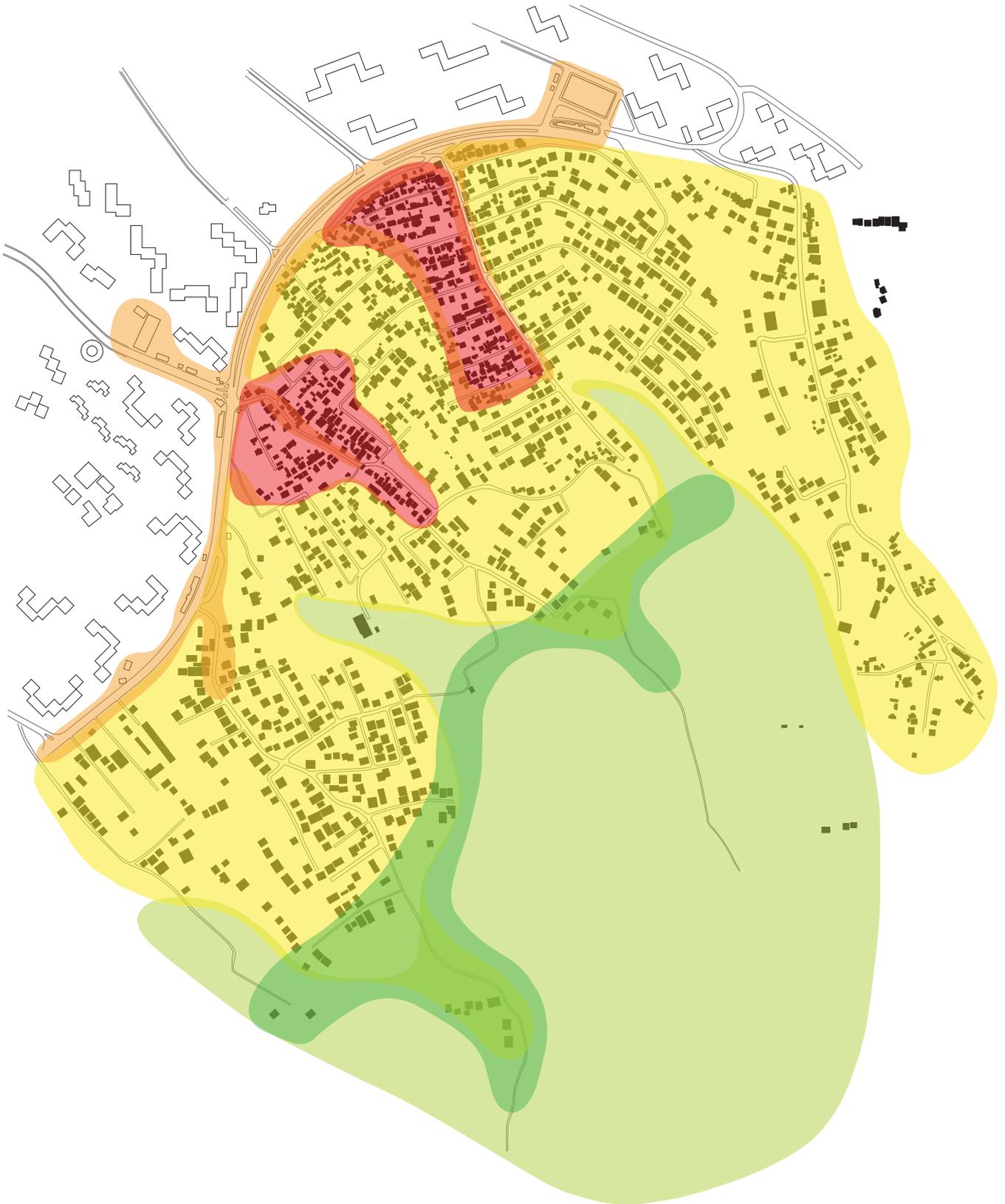
Existing Structures 2005



Implementation of Master Plan
 - Land Price 8000-10000 Euros/acre
 - Primarily Residential Zone



The Grey Triangle
Phenomena





Swiss mountain landscape and potential building land

Open, green fields, divided by paths and rows of trees, stretch over the hill. The still partly cultivated agricultural land presents a potential space of appropriation by settlers. One can imagine the future roads running along the paths and houses rowed between today's agricultural divisions, in this rural landscape.



Phenomena



Mulholland Drive and the Border in Motion

The simultaneous presence, of both the urban center of Belgrade and the green, agricultural fields expose the border of the urbanized area.

This border is continually shifted further onto the green hill through the growing mass of the urban borough. Individual pioneers diffuse this edge by setting themselves into the green fields.



DRAFT

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Japanese Buses and the Axis of Provisions

The strip is drawn out along the edge of the borough, occasionally penetrating into the body of the area. It simultaneously builds a strict edge and an axis of provisions, lined with small, improvised businesses, high-rises and villas. This street keeps its distance from the extremes of idealistic planning and rampant self-realization. It is the liveliest exterior space in the area.



Phenomena



The “Tauern” and the Web of Time

The space is fragmented, tangled and overlain with layers of time. Strong contrasts between slow developments, overlain with subsequent planning efforts, lead history itself to seem alienated. The borough acts as a collection of credentials and differing pages. The street spaces cut severely through the emergent structures, which appear to find themselves in constant transformation.



DRAFT

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American Suburban Development and Improvisation

The space is strictly partitioned and segregated. Structures are led by concerns for the immediate future. The rigid, exterior spaces are occupied by improvisations and adaptations to unforeseen conditions. These adaptations can result in the partial dissolution of the rigid structures and lead to the appearance of a context-free assemblage of individual elements, within the open field.



Life in the Edge Zone

Conversation with the Ralevic Family

In 1973, the father of the Ralevic family moved to Serbia from Bosnia with his parents, settling in a small village on the edge of Belgrade. After his marriage, he moved to Padina with his wife, brother, and father.

“... we are not yet sure how we should build the roof ...”

Hr.Ralevic

Do-it-yourself

The family built a small house for themselves on the edge of the settlement. After the completion of the ground floor, they sold their apartment and moved into the house in Padina. In the early years, there was no neighborhood in the area, not to mention infrastructure or paved roads. They had to organize and pay for their own access to infrastructure. They hired an architect to draw the plans for the house. In the beginning, the family also hired a building firm for the construction of the house, yet after the firm was forced to declare bankruptcy, they decided to complete the building themselves.

The father works as a waiter in a dignified restaurant in the city. On the weekends he and his brother work on the construction of the house. The Ralevic family does not know how long it will take to complete their home, they resume the construction each time they have enough money.



Difficult Connection to Transit

Life in the edge zone of Padina brings with it certain difficulties. The Ralevic family does not own a car and the mother must therefore do all her shopping by foot, which is particularly strenuous as the house is located on a hill. Additionally, her travel is made more difficult by the unpaved roads, which are often muddy or covered in snow during the winter. The roads are never cleared as few people live in this edge zone. Moreover, the access to infrastructure in this zone is expensive, as there are rarely any initial installations on which to rely. The children experience a further problem: no school was built in Padina and the children must therefore attend the school in the neighboring area of Bracé Jerkovic II. These schools have been overrun by the continual growth of Padina and it has become difficult for children to find placement in a neighboring school.

The Ralevic family regrets that Padina has no mandatory building regulations as in their neighborhood everyone works against one another. At the current pace, the streets will never be opened to public traffic, complains Mrs. Ralevic.

“It is exhausting to live here without a car. I always have to carry the groceries up the hill. It is even worse during the winters.”

Fr. Ralevic



Changes to the Program

traditional farmstead



legal

Single-family homes, often conceived for an extended family, replace the previous farmsteads and have since become the most common housing type for Padina. The owners of old farm structures begin to expand and restructure the old substance of their houses into single-family homes.



Villas



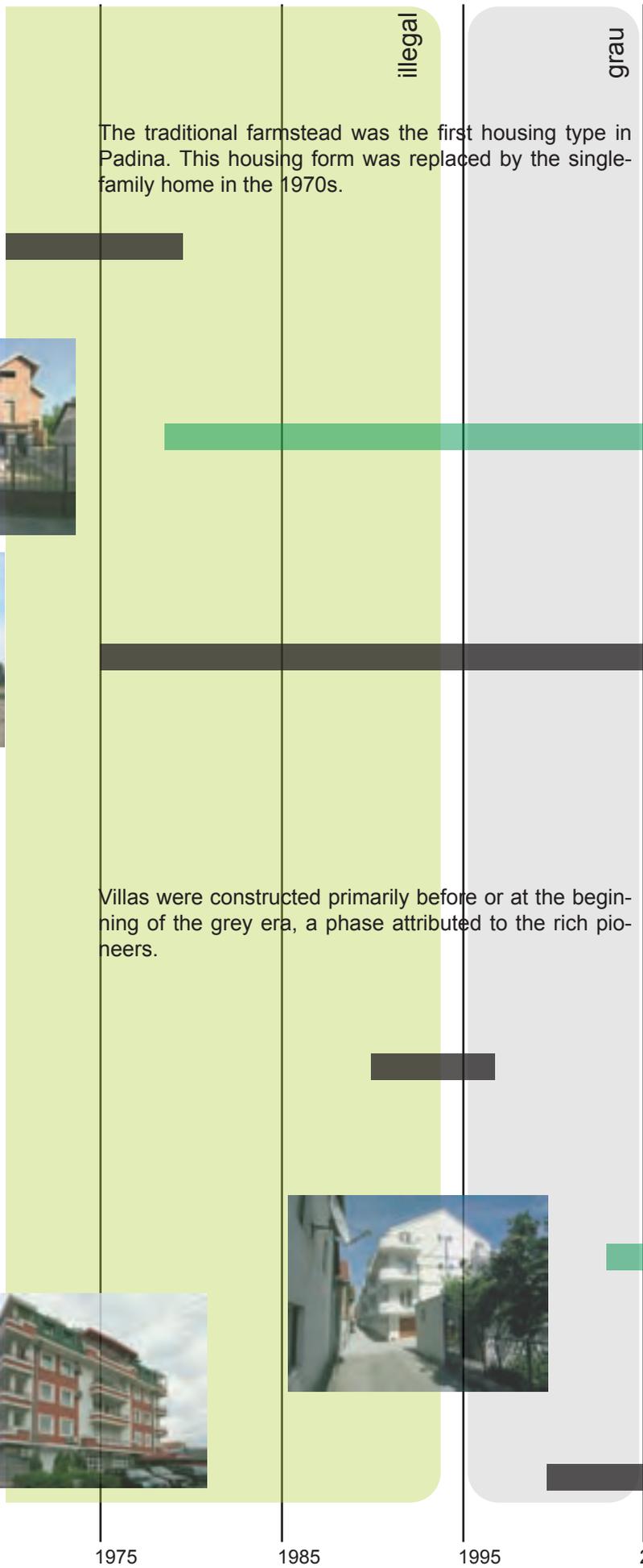
Rental structures, or condominiums appear last in Padina. They are speculative projects built by investors. The landowner is often paid for participation in the form of livable surface area. Today, this program has begun to replace the old substance of farmsteads.

1935

1945

1955

1965



The traditional farmstead was the first housing type in Padina. This housing form was replaced by the single-family home in the 1970s.



Family Homes (Transformation of Old Building Substance)

Family Homes

Villas were constructed primarily before or at the beginning of the grey era, a phase attributed to the rich pioneers.



Rental Structures (Transformation of Old Building Substance)

Rental Structures

1975

1985

1995

2005

Transformation- Remodeling

A change in living standards, as well as the ageing of the next generation has led to the remodeling of existing houses by their residents. The desire for more livable surface area is often acts the primary trigger. Transformations of old houses are seen in the form of increased height or additions, all the way to the complete enveloping of the old structure within a new volume. The type of transformation depends, among other factors, on the size of the land parcel.

For this reason, additions to the height of a structure are often seen in the old, small-scale village structure of Padina. Land parcels become larger in the zone of transition between old and new structures. Here, residents construct new, larger volumes around the existing house.



Transformation- Replacement, New Construction

Replacement construction builds the most radical form of transformation. In this process the old building substance is not integrated into the building process, but instead eliminated to make way for new construction.

This process has a greater impact on the emergent context than additions, which are restricted by the laws of physics to a smaller volume. The most common form of replacement, new construction in Padina is the multi-family home.

Four existing houses on the parcel were demolished in order to make way for the multi-family structure pictured below. However, such voluminous investment projects are (still) exceptions in this part of Padina.



Infrastructure

Interview with Mr. Ivanovic

In 1997, during the war, Mr. Ivanovic and his family moved from Bosnia to Serbia. Mr. Ivanovic chose to live in Padina as he was able to buy land and had been told that services such as water, gas, and electricity were planned for the area. The only building regulations, which the family had to respect in the construction of their home, were the number of floors and the setback from neighboring parcels. They paid an architect 3000DM for the plans and commissioned a building company to construct the building.

“... in the beginning, the neighbors were organized. Today, everyone does what he wants.”

Mr. Ivanovic

Neighborhood Organization

In the beginning, the neighborhood organized itself communally in order to gain access to infrastructure. The Ivanovic family paid 15,000 DM for the access to water, gas, and electricity. Each family on the street paid the same amount plus a further sum for the completion of the street. There are a number of problems with the infrastructure in Padina. Services are usually marginally dimensioned and thereby often overloaded. Problems arise, above all, through the parking and garbage situation.



Electricity

The supply of electricity is regulated by the central planning authority and made available by partially state owned businesses. Electricity is brought into the borough via over-ground channels. Residents must register themselves with the local provider and pay for their access. All the houses in Padina are linked to the electrical supply net.

Normally, an electrical wire is led directly from an electrical pole into the house; streetlights must be purchased by the residents themselves.



Connection to the Power Network by private financed road lamps.

Post and Telephone

Underground wires bring telephone connection into private homes, while the main service of the borough is organized by local businesses. Residents determined street names and house numbers for the area; the residents thereby have addresses and are able to receive mail through the postal system.



Phenomena



Not all the streets have a name.

The Borough Streets

The streets of the borough were all financed and erected by the residents themselves. Accordingly, the construction standard of streets vary from simple, gravel roads, to roads with asphalt and signage. The streets often follow the old, field pathways already in existence since the cultivation of the land. The lack of an overarching plan is visible above all in the high number of dead ends, which provide access into the residential area from the main street without any coordination.

The asphalt streets are demolished in order to make way for infrastructural installations. Sidewalks are sparse.



Uncommon Sign of a dead end Road



Dirt roads along the periphery

Water and Canalization

Every access to water and canalization is connected to the main line of Brace Jerkovic II. In addition to the street, these installations are organized communally. Most houses are supplied with water, but the access to canalization is more difficult. Only those houses topographically situated above the branch point of the main line are connected.



Construciton of suprastructure before infrastructure

Life on a Construction Site

Slivowitz on a Sunday with the Vasic Family

In the year 1999, the Vasic family moved to Padina from the small city of Bro because their daughter wanted to learn Greek. The family purchased a parcel of land from a farmer and it was shared between brother-in-law, Slivowitz's brother, and Slivowitz. Slivowitz is in the process of building the house himself, illegally. He works at a window company six days a week and on the construction of the family home on the seventh. The house is still under construction; only the interior of the ground floor is in a livable condition. The floor surface is still made up of the concrete ceiling, the surface of walls and ceiling of plasterboards. The kitchen has been installed and the building is supplied with electricity and water. Slivowitz has just begun with the outer insulation of the structure. In the interior, the installation of the parquet floors and the bathroom are next on the list. The living room and kitchen are also furnished and arranged. Mr. Vasic sees the construction as a long process; the home will be built in stages.

“To save money, we insulated the ground floor with 6cm foam.”

Mr. Vasic



A House for the Extended Family

Mr. Vasic lives in the ground floor with his wife, their three children and their godchild. The second floor is intended for his son and a third was planned for his daughter, though she and her newborn child now intend to move in with her boyfriend.

Legalization

Mr. Vasic is now in the process of legalizing his house. This has become very tiresome, as the Serbian bureaucracy has proven to be very inefficient. In a first step, all the receipts, plans, and contracts must be organized. An architect designed the house; Mr. Vasic took on the construction himself.

End of Illegality

Mr. Vasic's brother lives in Switzerland and has a Swiss passport. Mr. Vasic himself has visited Basel and speaks some broken German. His brother has begun the plans for his own house, yet this has proven to be more difficult than in the time Mr. Vasic completed his house. The brother plans to complete everything legally and has hired an architect to work on the permit application process.

“It is no longer as easy to build illegally in Padina. My brother is doing everything legally.”

Mr. Vasic



Delineation of Private and Public, Exterior Space

There is no designed, public space in Padina. Public space is composed of the remaining spaces between private parcels, streets, vacant lots or green fields. The border between private and public is delineated to varying degrees. Villas are usually surrounded by high walls, whereas rental structures rarely have a private border.

„There is no public space in Padina!“

Zoran Zecar



Exterior Activities

The life of most residents of Padina is played out primarily within their own four walls. Contact between neighbors is reduced to the minimum of communal organization of construction projects. The activities occurring in exterior spaces are also very limited.

„I would have no problems if there were no neighbours!“

Hr. Ralevic



Neighborhood Communication

Noticeable principally along the main street is that the lampposts are covered with announcements. Primarily obituaries, advertisement for building materials, and the contact information for legalization firms find their place here. This form of public announcement is found often in Padina.



Construction on the Weekend

Many owners spend their weekends on the construction of their homes. This is related to the fact that most pursue their actual job during the week and only find the time to continue work on their home over the weekends. Yet on multiple occasions more workers were observed at a construction site during the weekend than on any given day of the week. In these cases, owners take advantage of the weekend as the two days of the week in which building inspectors are off duty.

“There are a lot of construction workers on weekends. The inspectors don’t work on Saturday and Sunday!”

V. Petrovic



Legalization

In 1998, Mr. Jovanovic and her husband received the right to the use of the land on which they have now built their home. Over time, they sold off the majority of this land use to others. Records exist of these sales. In the course of legalization, all the residents of one former parcel must agree to the demarcation of their property lines, in order to permit the division of land ownership.

In order to legalize a structure it is necessary to present all the architectural plans and purchase contracts to the building authorities. These officials subsequently inspect the building and, for a tax of 25€/sq m create an official record of the building.



A notary office advertises the legalization of residential structures, office buildings, and additions. “Fast and Cheap!” Costs: 1.50€/sq m”



Land Ownership

The conditions of land ownership are unclear to this day. After the dispossession in the year 1945, residents received only rights for agricultural land use. After the communist times, the conditions of land ownership before the war were referred to. Farmers began to sell their land use rights to new settlers, who used the land to construct illegal, residential structures. The large, elongated agricultural parcels were thereby divided into smaller residential parcels on which multiple residents constructed their homes. These homes are therefore owned by the residents, while the land on which they sit continues to remain under the possession of the state.

In the process of legalization, land ownership is transferred to the resident and transformed into residential zoning. Posters advertising land for sale, are found most often in the edge zones. Both residents and investors believe that land is more difficult to come by today. Almost all the farmers have sold their lands and the land costs have been multiplied four times in the last four years.



Land Ownership
|
1945: Dispossession of
Ownership Rights
|
Rights to Agricultural Use
|
1980: Unclear Conditions
reign after Communism
|
Referral to Land Owner-
ship Conditions before
1945
|
Sale of Land Use Right to
Residents
|
Land Use contrary to Zon-
ing Regulations
|
Since 2005: Legalization
|
Registered Owners

Architectural Style

„The look of a neighbourhood generated by less rules and more individual freedom“

„Battlefield of tastelessness and kitsch“

„Sampling bits and pieces of stolen sources (...)"

S. J. Weiss

The architecture is a collage of citations from different times, cultures, and modes of construction. These are removed from their original context and reassembled to form the representative character of a residential façade.

This style is so far established that these new style combinations are further replicated or imitated. Their representation has established itself as an individual element. The provisional regulations of the master plan contributed to this style in so far as it provoked the use of unconventional methods.

Clients and architects can count on a higher tolerance by the building authorities if they legalize their building retroactively.

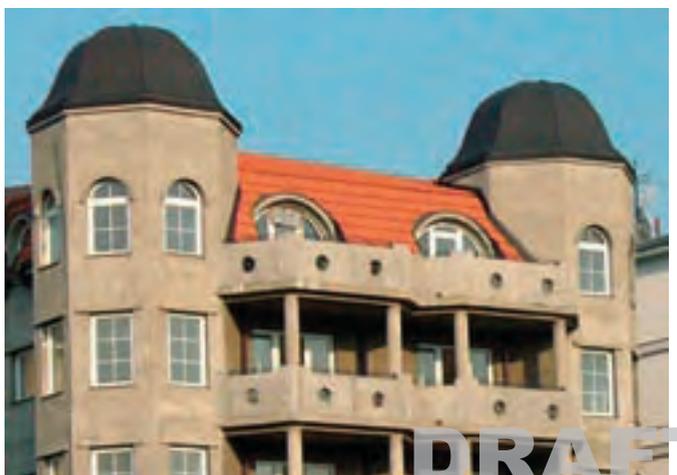
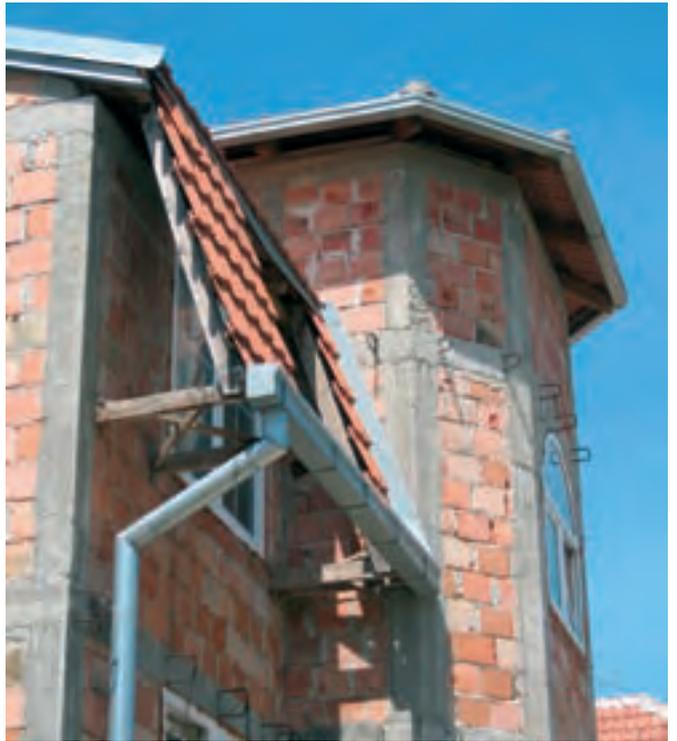
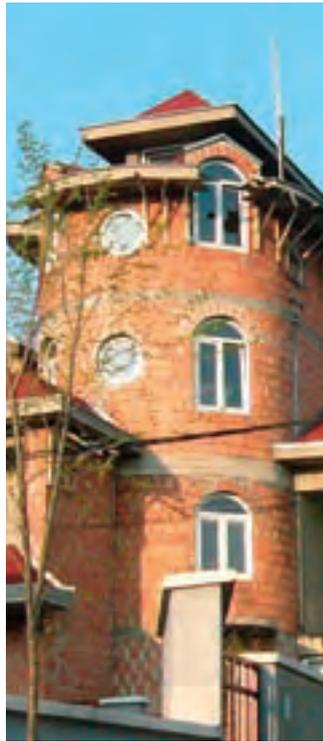
“Style? It is kind of an anti-style!”

Zoran Zecar

“Especially rich people think that they can be their own architects.”

Zoran Zecar





Self-Organization

Interview with V. Petrovic, President of the Neighborhood Organization

The Neighborhood Organization of Padina is involved in the development of Padina, within the borough of Vozdovac. The organization is the entity, which regulates all neighborhood agreements relating to individual streets and thereby acts as an intermediary between the public interests of the borough and the residents of Padina. For instance, residents must submit their objections to the Master Plan in written form with the Neighborhood Organization before these are forwarded to the borough.

The president of this organization, Vladeta Petrovic, and his co-workers fear a congestion of the infrastructural installations in Padina. At the moment, the self organized access to infrastructure still works, but new multi-family structures have already begun to surpass their available capacity.

To the south, the existing infrastructure was built in the year 1997 and was organized communally among all the residents of this sector of Padina. At that time, 150 people lived in the area.



Limits of Self-Organization

Padina is an example of self-organization among residents. The additional influence of the Master Plan was introduced in the last ten years. Most residents are happy with life in Padina; the borough appears to function well. Only a few are concerned for the future, specifically for the capacity of roads and infrastructure. Where are the limits to self-organization?

Stabilizing the Conditions

The unofficial Master Plan resulted in the first movements away from an unregulated condition to the narrowed field of development laid out by the Master Plan. Similar conditions apply to builders of Padina. Land costs and building conditions have begun to move towards an equal standard with that of Belgrade. However, regulations are respected less out of a desire for solidarity, than for personal security.

Other Horizons

The organization of the neighborhood functions in so far as each participant profits from it. In view of projected growth, the streets and infrastructure constructed in this context are thereby stretched to their functional limits. The time horizon of residents and the Neighborhood Organization differ so long as their existence is not definitively secured. No public or social institutions have been constructed.

Lack of Perspective through Legalization

Legalization provides the city with necessary tax revenue and statistical data for the realization of their planning and social goals. The legalization is an issue for the residents of Padina, yet it has been approached only hesitantly. Illegal settlers lack incentive. Through their partly legal, gray situation, these residents are secured against restrictive limitations. They expect nothing of the city. Without increased pressure or decreased real estate value resulting from communal problems, the residents lack the persuasion to legalize their structures.

Difficult Implementation

The step out of the grey zone to the implementation of the Master Plan has proven difficult to define. The possibilities open to state institutions are limited by their organizational and financial situation. The residents seem not only content with the living conditions they have achieved under their grey status, but the cost-effectiveness of illegal building acts as further incentive to uphold the current situation. Measures, which have attempted to eliminate illegal building processes, such as the ban on building in Padina, do not seem to work. On existing foundations, the completion of building projects is still permitted, and the interpretation of this regulation is very variable.

A rental structure in its primary structure was demolished as it stood in the path of a projected main street. This is the only known case of such an intervention by the city. The same investor is now building the same rental structure a few hundred meters to the north, in a different city sector; once more it will be constructed illegally.





We would like to extend special thanks to the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Belgrade and to Milica Andrejic